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NOTES

An Economic Plan for India

A plan of economic development for India drawn up by eight eminent men, Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, Sir Shri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbai, A. D. Shroff and Dr. John Matthai, has been placed before the Government of India. This plan, which envisages an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores, has come as a sort of challenge to official planners who had so long been tinkering with the all-important problem of post-war reconstruction in India.

Adequate food, clothing, accommodation and education for every person, a school and a dispensary with a qualified doctor and two nurses in every village and a threefold increase in the per capita income are the goals aimed at. To bring about this revolutionary change, the plan aims at increasing the industrial income 500%, agricultural 130% and services 200%. The total expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores is to be spent over 15 years and in three stages—Rs. 1400 crores in the first five years, Rs. 2900 crores in the second five years and Rs. 5700 crores in the third five years. The plan for finance takes its stand on the policy that "money or finance is not the master of a country's economy but its servant and instrument. The real capital of a country consists of its resources in materials and man-power and money is simply a means of mobilising these resources, and canalising them into specific forms of activity."

This attempt at clearly visualising the work that lies before the nation-builders of our country deserves commendation. This is no

abstract plan, got out of the dream of a political visionary but it is a concrete plan with specifications drawn up by a set of hard-headed businessmen aided by a thinker of the highest calibre. The complete plan is before us. The introduction clearly states that it is not in any sense a complete scheme. The object is merely to put forward, as a basis of discussion, a statement, in as concrete a form as possible, of the objectives to be kept in mind in economic planning in India, the general lines on which development should proceed and the demands which planning is likely to make on the country's resources. This is just as it should be in a plan of this nature. A spirit of defeatism pervades the atmosphere at the present moment which makes the average nationalist desist from thinking about the future of this country, tied as we are now, hand and foot, to the wheels of a bureaucratic government that does not even possess the competence and efficiency to preserve even what little we have. But whatever the situation at present is, we must not forget that despair or despondency can only result in the extinction of the Indian nation, and the only way to ensure our future is to have a clear-cut plan before our eyes, a plan not only for mere reconstruction but also for large-scale development, in which all our assets must be fully and efficiently mobilised. This plan admirably serves that purpose, inasmuch as it is timely, realistic and above all concrete in all its details.

We have received the booklet rather late for the fullest consideration of the proposals. But even at the first glance it is evident that the basic problems that beset the future of our

nation have been given a thorough and dispassionate consideration before the plan took shape. The method adopted in the planning has been that of an economist and of an engineer. The sums required for the carrying out of the project are astronomical in their magnitude, but we fully believe with the planners that even such a figure as Rs. 10,000 crores is nothing impossible if the potential of this country and its nationals be considered in the light of freedom, as was done by the planners of Soviet Russia, and as is being done by those of Free China. We may remember in this connection that this present starving India has granted England a credit of about Rs. 1000 crores in a period of just over four years.

We must be prepared for a lot of disillusionment in the years to come, it is true, and it may be that forces beyond our control at present may cause endless delays even in the making of the actual blue-prints. But unless we resign ourselves to a hopeless, helpless and inglorious total extinction in the way that millions have done last year, we must prepare ourselves, individually and jointly, to contribute to the fullest, in cash or in kind, towards the consummation of the ultimate plan. Ataturk had neither money nor machinery nor yet had he the skilled men and trained executives. He utilized his soldiers and the devotion of his people. Russia in 1919 was in worse condition than we are now, but that did not prevent the formulation of the five-year plans—greeted as they were by the loud and ribald laughter of a capitalistic world—nor did the plans stop with the formulation as the world now realizes. We hope this booklet is only the first announcement of the birth of a scheme and that the planning continues in the same spirit as permeates the initial formulation. If nothing else, the Plan shows clearly how low down in the scale of civilization we have been placed by those who have been in control of this country's affairs for the last century and a half, and no sacrifice is too big, no effort too great, for the work of setting-up of India in the place that belongs to her amongst the nations of the world. Let the makers of the Plan indicate how, in the years preceding the commencement of the actual work on the Final blue-print, each individual can prepare to do his bit, and it is our belief that the nation will respond. The planners must be prepared for being scoffed at by the mouth-pieces of those whose purpose is best served by the utter degradation of India and Indians. They must not forget what reception the planners for Russia and China,—and to a lesser extent Turkey—received from the so-called

civilized world in general and the Anglo-Saxon world in particular. And they must not forget how those very same rich, highly supercilious and self-sufficient nations were saved from being totally wiped out by a combination of three "utterly bankrupt" nations, by the objects of their derision and pity during the first three years of this World War.

"Deaths in Bengal Famine Did Not Exceed One Million"

We do not know how the British Parliament received Mr. Amery's smug and brazen announcement when he coolly stated with the utmost composure that the number of deaths in the Bengal famine did not exceed one million. Bengal however believes that even this is an underestimate. Total number of deaths in the past famine which was brought about and allowed to continue by Amery, Linlithgow and Sir John Herbert, is much higher, at least not less than 3,500,000. Large additions to this colossal figure may yet be expected unless adequate steps are taken to arrest the raging epidemics.

The most prominent question in Britain, in all the discussions on Bengal famine, centred round the allocation of responsibilities for this calamity on Indian shoulders, particularly on the Bengal Ministers. Taking for granted the initial mistakes of the Bengal Government, we must try to understand what that Government is. The present Ministers have been put in power by Sir John Herbert with the support of the European vested interests. Previous Ministers were deprived of all executive powers by Sir John Herbert. It is ridiculous to say that the Fazlul Huq-Syamaprasad Government enjoyed any powers. To go deeper down, neither the Bengal Assembly nor the Ministers even enjoyed power derived from the people, they were creations of the British Parliament and Ramsay MacDonald's Communal Award. Undue weight and unjust preference have been given to all anti-national and pro-Imperialist elements in the Communal Award and the Constitution Act of 1935 with the specific purpose of dividing India into warring units to hamper the nation's progressive movements. The general elections that followed were not free from all suspicion of official interference as the case of Nawab Faroqui clearly showed. The Executive, consisting of the I. C. S. over whom the Ministers were never given any control, have gradually been armed with powers of gagging the press, of barricading the platform and of preventing all agitation for the amelioration of political conditions to an extent hardly surpassed by the fascist countries.

Bengal Ministries were formed out of these conditions. Under the Constitution, the Governor and the bureaucracy were left in complete control of all executive functions in this country. The statements of Mr. Fazlul Huq and Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee on the floor of the Bengal Legislature after their resignations give a clear picture of what power the Ministers ever enjoyed. So we can dismiss this attempt at fixing the responsibility on Indian shoulders, particularly on those of the Bengal Ministers, with the contempt that it deserves. The only rebuke that the first Ministry must squarely face is that instead of resigning they carried on under impossible conditions for reasons best known to themselves. Even when they did resign, they did not do so either in time or jointly.

The famine was on its way for the last ten years. Bengal had a supercilious and incompetent Executive put in power by the Secretary of State and holding responsibility directly to him. They did nothing during the past ten years to ameliorate the living conditions of the people. They confined all their activities to putting down nationalist movements and devoted all their energies and skill to that purpose. What little change was made in the country's economics was made for the benefit of the foreign capital in Bengal and their Indian henchmen.

We give below some facts collected from Government sources which will illustrate how slow starvation had set in Bengal.

Population (1941) 6,14,60,377.

Total annual production of rice (avr.)

1932-33 to 1936-37)	..	24.65 lakh mds.
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Rice needed for annual consumption ..	33.28	" "
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Therefore, avr. annual deficit ..	8.64	" "
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Estimated outturn of rice in 1942-43 was even less, viz., nearly 20 crore mds.

Our basis for arriving at the consumption figures is :

Persons	Daily diet		Percentage of population by age	Calory value of rice
	14 oz.	19%		
3-10 years	14	19%	1,568	
10-20	24	21	2,568	
20-40 (male)	32	32	3,438	
(female)	22	16	2,354	
40 and over	20	..	2,140	

At the first sight, this consumption of rice may appear to be high. But it must be considered that this high consumption of rice is amongst a population normally protein starved and poor in fat diets. The total energy derived from all meals being mainly that from rice with a minimum of thin dal soup.

To arrive at the final deficit figure, we must allow for the following deductions :

(i) 8 per cent. of the total population who may be regarded as sick during the year. On this count, 2,24 lakh mds. may be deducted.

(ii) In Bengal, there are 25 lakhs of wheat-eating people. For them 1.43 lakh mds. may be deducted.

Thus allowing a total deduction of 8,67 lakhs from the gross deficit of 8,64 lakh mds., the deficit works out at 4.97 lakh mds. To this must he added 1 crore mrd. for seed reserve and 50 lakhs for indirect consumption as *chira*, *muri*, etc., required for extra energy stock during hard work period such as harvests and ploughings. The total deficit in rice requirements for Bengal thus amounts to six crores and a half mrd. per annum in round numbers.

Population of Bengal has increased to more than six crores during the last ten years. The authorities never thought of increasing productions to keep a balanced supply of food to the increasing population. Out of dire need and without the least help from the government, the people tried to make up whatever deficit they possibly could by procuring rice from Assam, Patna, Orissa and such other sources. Export and import figures have not been taken into consideration as they cancel each other under normal conditions.

Several pointers, from White Hall down to the Secretariat in Bengal, have been directed at Burma as the main cause of the trouble, and the conquest of Burma was declared as the principal remedy for the famine. But Burma was not lost by the Bengal Ministers. They had no control over shipping that might have brought food from outside. Neither had they any control over the means of transport and communication. These were affairs for the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, and it is on the shoulders of these two men that the blame for not compensating the supplies from Burma and from other sources, even after more than a year of the loss of Burma, must squarely rest.

Is Present Year's Crop a Bumper One ?

The Director-General of Food stated on November 18 that :

"Bengal this year is going to have a record crop. The average annual requirements of rice in Bengal before the war, including imports, were 8.86 million tons; this year the total rice crop is expected to be 10.0 million tons. On such a crop there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

The actual output, according to the Director of Agriculture, Bengal (second forecast) is 8,303,000 tons, i.e., falling short by 1,697,000 tons of the estimated crop. It is bumper in comparison with the crop for 1942-43, when it was 6,916,000 tons only, but cannot be regarded as

such when compared with 9,821,000 tons in 1941-42. We must not lose sight of the fact that even 8,303,000 tons that is about 22,85 lakh mds., falls short of the normal requirements of the province and it would be rash to assume that "there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

Jute—Bengal's Curse

Jute has been an unmitigated curse of Bengal. The cultivator has got very little benefit out of it. Fabulous profits have no doubt been made by the jute industry, but almost every pie of that has gone into the pockets of British entrepreneurs and their Indian satellites. The poor illiterate cultivator has been swindled out of every profit, getting in return misery, debt and disease. The Government never came to their aid for fear of incurring the displeasure of British interests in Bengal. The Jute Mill industry refused to co-operate with any measure proposed to be taken for improving the condition of the cultivator. They have persistently declined to submit any data for their cost of production either to the Government or to any private research worker. The lot of the jute mill labour is no better.

During 25 years after the last world war, there was not a single occasion when the jute-grower received adequate price for his crop although very high profits have been earned by the mills. In many cases, prices of raw jute were insufficient to pay for cost of cultivation. Many will remember even today that a few years back, probably in 1936 or 1937, jute was allowed to rot standing in the fields as the price did not justify the cost of cutting a crop which had already been sown. In spite of these facts, every year the agriculturist has been fooled into planting more jute than the market actually wanted. Combinations among Jute Mills for depressing prices are facts only too well-known.

Even in 1941-42, we find that 2,751,000 acres were planted with jute. If only half of this area was planted with rice, then, allowing for comparatively low yield on a soil made poor by jute, at least 1,45 lakh mds. of rice could have been grown. This amount would have substantially reduced the normal deficit of rice.

We do not hesitate even to advocate for a total stoppage of this curse of Bengal. If at all it has to be cultivated, Government should do so under their own supervision and with adequate guarantee for return to the jute-grower and to the factory labour. The mills must be com-

elled by legislation to submit every relevant data regarding cost of production, and the profits and commissions earned by the managing Agents. On the basis of that, a minimum price for the raw material and a minimum living wage for the labourer may be calculated.

The Voice of Industrial Australia

The *Australasian Manufacturer*, a weekly newspaper devoted to industrial efficiency and the manufacturing progress of Australia, has been, for some time, publishing reports of the conflict of British capital with Australian industry. It has published, in its issue for November 6, a report of the speech of Mr. H. J. Hendy, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, who has declared that for many years, Australians have increasingly depended on manufacturing industry for their employment, which dependence will be progressively complete in the years that lie ahead. Manufacturing industry alone, can offer the most substantial measure of permanent employment for the Australian people. Mr. Hendy emphatically said :

"And this being the case it is indeed a vital responsibility to demand that no external considerations should be permitted to clutter and impede the vast development which is industry's logical destiny and our only sure means of bettering the Australian way of life.

"In all the talk about Charters, Pacts, Agreements and the like, in the undisguised concern of overseas manufacturers for their future export markets, with the implications of Lend-Lease so clearly unstated and unknown (in this country at least), with all the theorising of economists and social welfare experts about the Golden To-morrow, I detect too strong a tendency among some whom I think should know better, to accept as inevitable a lowering of tariffs, the barter of trade agreements and pacts and to capitulate before what may be the damaging implications of Charters and Agreements. To my mind nothing could be more harmful to the future prospects of our people and of Australian manufacturing industry than such a weak and precipitate surrender."

Australia is a self-governing Dominion. When she outlines the industry's logical destiny, she means to honour it, whether it pleases the authorities or vested interests at London or not, the voice of the Australian Chamber of Commerce is the voice of the whole country, and the Dominions Secretary has no power to veto it. The British vested interests are left to make out their field themselves. This is exactly what has happened there. The Australian Association of British Manufacturers has developed a mysterious passion for the *laissez faire* doctrine now discarded all over the world. The Director of this body, Mr. S. F. Ferguson has declared : "The Association feels it would be inappro-

priate for Trade interests of one country to endeavour to influence the Government of another in its post-war policy." Those same vested interests had no fancy for this doctrine when safeguards for British industry in India were embedded in the Indian Constitution framed in England. Mr. Ferguson has discussed the Australian tariff policy and has classified the functions of the Tariff Board over past years as :

- (1) To protect infant industries.
- (2) To overcome local scepticism for untested local products.
- (3) To maintain necessary uneconomical industries, such as defence undertakings.
- (4) To compensate for the disadvantage of being a high cost country.
- (5) To establish industries that are economically unsound because local consumption does not justify them.
- (6) To enable local manufacturers to make greater profits than those overseas are content to secure.

The last two have been dismissed by the *Manufacturer* as being unworthy of attention. The paper has emphatically pointed out that the integrity, sincerity and thoroughness of the Australian Tariff Board over past years, particularly during the war, has reflected great credit to its capable members and has proved of inestimable benefit to the nation. The whole of Australia knows, and refuses to forget, that her manufacturing progress, *made possible by protection*, has helped very materially to bring the Commonwealth through the darkest shadows of the war, and enabled her to contribute in a telling measure to the Allied cause. Australia is convinced of the permanent need for sane protection and sees in it the only means of obtaining a balanced economy, providing real employment, improving living standards and promoting national prosperity and development. The sole difference between the progress of industries in Australia and India lies in the fact that political power, without which no national progress is possible, does not belong to the people in this country. In a statement at Adelaide, Mr. Curtin, the Australian Premier, has declared that he did not believe Great Britain would be capable of managing the Empire with a Government sitting in London, and Australia is preparing for an independent existence.

Horace Alexander on Bengal Famine

Writing in the *Spectator*, London, for October 15, 1943, Mr. Horace Alexander, the leader of the Friends' Ambulance Unit, who had obtained firsthand knowledge of famine conditions in Bengal, makes the following comment

in conclusion of his article, *The Famine in Bengal* :

No one authority alone is to blame, and that everyone concerned—the Bengal Ministry and the Bengal Government, the other political parties in Bengal, the other provinces in India, New Delhi, Whitehall, the inter-allied shipping control, the Dominion Governments, and perhaps the United States—must all co-operate if the present famine is to be brought under control and similar conditions prevented from recurring next year. Finally, it should be noted that some of the men best qualified to deal with Indian hoarding, whether on the grand scale or among the peasants, are today in detention.

Mr. Alexander is perfectly right when he points out that the best men qualified to deal with the situation are today in detention. The whole famine situation would have taken an entirely different turn if the British Government had the courage and the good sense to release the leaders. They know that the Congress leaders cannot be kept behind prison bars *eternally*, they will have to be released some day even if they refuse to rescind or amend the August resolution. The most opportune moment to release them gracefully for the service of humanity, had come and the opportunity has been allowed to slip unheeded.

Quinine as Essential as Food

In the course of his presidential address at the annual session of the All-India Medical Conference held at Ahmedabad, Dr. S. N. Kaul of Lahore said :

"Malaria alone is responsible for the loss of thousands of valuable lives and yet the country did not have its proper and adequate supply of quinine for the last two years. In provinces like Bengal, Assam and the Punjab, which experience regular epidemics of malaria, 'quinine is as essential as food and drink.' It is admitted that it is largely due to the removal of Java from its lists of supplier countries. If the cultivation of cinchona would have been on sounder lines in India, this condition would not have risen. He recommended that cultivation of cinchona should be developed further so that in future if such a condition rises we should be self-sufficient with regard to this drug at least."

"Soviet Russia has achieved remarkable success in its nation-building plan, simply because the Soviet Government took the medical profession into confidence."

The bureaucratic Government in India never takes anybody into confidence except the omniscient officials and some of their hangers-on. Expert non-official opinion expressed through the press and the platform has been scrupulously neglected even where such disregard had brought about disasters causing millions of human beings to lose their lives.

Dr. H. Ghosh, in his presidential address at the fifth Annual General Meeting of the Indian

Chemical Manufacturers' Association had also said :

The Japanese occupation of Dutch East Indies has exposed millions of people to the scourge of malaria which has now joined hands with famine to depopulate Bengal at an alarming rate. India possesses large tracts of suitable land for cultivation of Cinchona, but the Government has so far refused to take any step in spite of the repeated requests and recommendations of the Indian medical practitioners and public to extend the cultivation of Cinchona.

Need for Milk Supply

Dr. Kaul said about milk supply :

"Milk is one of the most essential articles of diet in this country, not only for the growing baby, the expectant mother and the infirm, but also for the vast population of whom majority are strict vegetarians. Milk is the only food from which they get their necessary animal proteins and fats and thus safeguard against tuberculosis and other infectious diseases. It is sad to say that the price of milk has risen so exorbitantly high—that it is beyond the capacity even of a middle class man to buy it. India proverbially known as the land of milk and honey from times immemorial, has now reached a stage when even babies cannot secure their daily ration of milk and other requirements. While in England they are arranging for a pint of milk per man per day we are crying for its actual supply."

Dr. Kaul suggested that the slaughter of cattle should cease and the milk supply be properly controlled.

U. P. and Bihar have stopped the slaughter of milch cows and work bulls by means of statutory orders. We have yet to learn whether the Bengal Government has done anything :

Ever Depreciating Value of Britain's Promises

At the Bombay session of the National Liberal Federation, Sir Chimanlal Sitalvad said :

"To my mind, in the ultimate analysis, it is the British Government that is responsible for the political deadlock in this country. Because of the great distrust arising out of their past actions, promises and performances, and the way they have treated India in the past, they have very nearly made it impossible for Indians to take them at their face value."

"We cannot forget," Sir Chimanlal continued, "that for a 100 years the Britishers held the I.C.S. Examination in England.

"We cannot forget that for 30 years they throttled our infant textile industry with iniquitous excise duty in order that the Lancashire goods may sell in this country.

"When we were at the Round Table Conference and also when the Government of India Act 1935 was being framed, they steadily and stoutly refused to mention even in the preamble that Dominion Status was the political goal of India.

"Later, when the Parliamentary Committee met them, and the Indian delegation under the Aga Khan united in presenting a series of demands, not one of them was accepted or incorporated in the Bill.

"We all know what stringent safeguards for British interests disfigured the Government of India Act."

These bitter memories are still fresh in the Indian mind. People in this country sincerely believe that Britain does not mean business when she talks of Indian freedom; she only means it is her own business. One fully agrees with the *Bharatjyoti* when it points out that the abrogation of the legislature, the refusal to hold general elections, the use of force in dealing with political parties, the barricading of all constitutional avenues for the ventilation of public grievances, economic scarcity and destitution brought about by chaotic Government control and the unwillingness to settle up either with the minorities or with the majority—these and other actions of the Government only accentuate the old distrust.

The Economics of Control

The following report deserves close study :

MADRAS, Jan. 1.

The All-Indian Economic Conference which resumed sitting on Friday at Senate House Dr. B. V. Narayana-swami Naidu presiding, continued discussion on the subject of economic controls in India during the war.

A number of speakers expressed the view that in times of war economic controls were inevitable both in view of the needs of war economy and the necessity of securing social justice. It was pointed out that *controls were not an easy affair, and that even price controls would ultimately be successful only if they were also accompanied by control of cost and control of incomes.*

Theoretically, there was not much disagreement on the need for having this kind of control but it was pointed out that there were a number of factors peculiar to this country which make the effective control of prices rather difficult. The vast majority of producers were unorganised, produced small outputs and were not linked together in any effective trade associations whose services could be availed in working the machinery of price control.

The vast size of the country was itself a difficulty. There was also the administrative problem of securing the necessary personnel with competence, integrity and knowledge who could undertake the task of working the machinery. It was also pointed out in very emphatic terms that *interference of the type called for by successful economic control was possible only on the basis of public confidence in both the efficiency and responsiveness of the Government. Economics could not be divorced from politics and only a responsible and responsive Government could have the necessary public goodwill so essential for working economic controls.*

Members of Governments in India from the Viceroy down to the Bengal Food Minister are loud in declaring that economics should not be "mixed" with politics. Modern experience shows that food without politics is a contradiction. Bengal famine has proved that such an idea is absurd. This inspired doctrine found supporters among the ranks of economists in this country. The Madras session of the Economic Conference has taken a definite step forward by

opening this question, discussing it threadbare and in finally declaring that "Economics could not be divorced from politics, and only a responsible and responsive Government could have the public goodwill so essential for working economic controls." Any attempt to advance the economic life of the country can never succeed unless it is backed by a Responsible National Government.

Ocean-Going Ships not to be Built in India

At the launching ceremony of H.M.I.S. Cochin, Mr. Walchand Hirachand said :

The participation of the State of Cochin and of the ship-building company in this common war effort was not only significant of the geographical unity of India, but it also brought home to us all the oneness and indivisibility of the people of this country in all matters which vitally affected their life and interest in all directions. Satisfactory as it was that an Indian ship-building yard under the ownership, control and management of Indians themselves had been able to construct the vessel that had just been launched, the company had been looking forward to the day when it could build and launch large ocean-going steamers. They had spared no effort to hasten the day when a large ocean-going steamer could take the water from an Indian ship-building yard and thus begin to revive the glories of the Indian ship-building industry which, in the words of Admiral Sir Herbert Fitzgerald, was world famous. *'Why was it that in spite of the urgent and immediate need of ocean-going ships all round, and of the ship-building yards to construct them, India had not been able to build a single steamer which could participate in the carriage of its maritime trade?'* It could not be argued that a country could not start or develop its ship-building industry during the course of the war.

Mr. Walchand Hirachand instanced developments in America, Canada and Australia, and added that the answer was to be found in the policy of the present Government of India.

India has no ocean-going ships today because she was *not allowed* to build them in spite of every facility being obtainable in this country.

Need for Co-operative Research

Dr. H. Ghosh, in the course of his presidential address at the last Annual General Meeting of the Indian Chemical Association, has drawn attention to the need of Co-operative Industrial Research in this country. The following extract from the *Science and Culture* for January will illustrate :

Dr. Ghosh stressed the need of industrial research which has now become the recognised practice in all leading industrial countries. The importance the industrial research has received in Europe and America is reflected from the fact that one concern in Germany spent 31 million marks for experiments in the liquification of coal. In the United Kingdom, the coal industry

with the assistance of the D. S. I. R. spent 200,000 pounds a year on coal utilisation researches. The Fuel Research Board in addition spends 100,000 pounds a year on the survey of coal researches, and the gas industry spends about 400,000 a year in research. American Petroleum Industry's contribution is no less than 600,000 pounds on research. He referred to the limited scope of research afforded by the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research and advocated better co-operation of the Board with the existing industries. He further suggested the establishment of an independent institution of industrial research under the control of a Board appointed by the Chemical Manufacturers' Association, for which funds should be made available by the leading industrial concerns of the country.

Industrial concerns of this country have betrayed a woeful lack of imagination in this sphere of activity which, if done, would have been beneficial equally to them as well as to the people. Neither has the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research set up in India financed any research association or suggested the formation of any. Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Director of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, who was present at the meeting, pleaded the eternal excuse of paucity of funds at the disposal of the Board. Funds have never been wanting in this country to finance measures considered necessary by the Government, and they came in millions at a very short notice. One may only be reminded of the colossal amount of money wasted through panicky measures like the Denial Policy of Sir John Herbert or the A. R. P. measures in certain parts of India which were believed by sensible people to have been well beyond the range of Axis bombers and which have subsequently been dissolved.

Post-War Educational Development in India

The Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education on post-war educational development in India has reached us just when we were going to press. We shall discuss it after we have had sufficient time to digest it. Glancing through its pages we find that they have taken into consideration the two fundamental points of education in this country. In the Introduction, the Committee say that "even though all the nation's children are brought to school, success will not be achieved unless the teaching is effective and efficient teachers will have to be properly paid." Elsewhere they say, "there will probably be general agreement that religion in the widest sense should inspire all education and that a curriculum devoid of an ethical basis will prove barren in the end."

Adequate salary to the teachers and an ethical basis of education must be taken into

consideration in any attempt to build an educational system for India worth the name.

Rau Committee

We are glad to learn that in spite of Sir B. N. Rau having left the Government of India, his services on the Hindu Law Committee have been retained and the Committee has been reconstituted with a view to strengthen it. It is gratifying to find that no new Chairman has been needed to pilot the deliberations of the Committee after Sir B. N. Rau has so successfully done it, and after the work has progressed favourably so far.

Humanity and Post-war Plans

E. Dixwell Chase writes in the *Worldover Press* bulletin for October 13, 1943 as follows :

"A phase is apt to be reached in any long-drawn struggle when a people, particularly if it has been engaged in a fight against odds, has so habituated itself to endurance that it may be tempted to forget that war is fundamentally an intolerable thing. From time to time it is necessary to stand back from the grim concentration upon the immediate past, to renew the consciousness of the cruelties and the miseries that desile the world, and with it the resolution, not merely that the horrors shall be ended, but that they shall not be permitted to continue for a single avoidable day."

Thus wrote the London *Times* as the war entered its fifth year. Only two weeks earlier the 275th Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in London had issued an appeal addressed : "To all Men Everywhere," saying : "All thoughtful men and women are torn at heart by the present situation. The savage momentum of war drags us all in its wake. We desire a righteous peace. Yet to attain that peace it is claimed that, as Chungking, Rotterdam, and Coventry were devastated, so the Eder and Moehne dams must needs be destroyed and whole districts of Hamburg obliterated... War is hardening our hearts. To preserve our sanity, we become apathetic. In such an atmosphere no true peace can be framed, yet before us we see months of increasing terror."

Though the two messages conclude with different proposals, the first to redouble the war effort, the second to "issue an open invitation to co-operate in creative peacemaking" entailing "sacrifice of national prestige, wealth, and standard of living," both put a finger on the nightmare that tortures us.

On this side of the Atlantic the same question has been raised of whether war, fought to save democracy, can be prevented from destroying it. *Fortune* magazine, in its July issue, wrote : "War itself, one of the chief instruments by which all civilizations have in the past established themselves, has become a threat to the life of Western civilization."

It has become a commonplace to compare our international society of today with the rip-roaring days of this country's pioneering West, when the only law was the law of the six-shooter. Yet the comparison is a good one. Walter Lippmann and Clarence Budington Kelland, apparently assuming that that is the best we can hope for, propose that we should keep our six-guns strapped on, adding more if necessary to overawe anyone in a rival gang who might want to pick a fight or rustle our cattle. Ely Culbertson suggests that the boys should get together, hand in their guns to a community council, which would then pass them out again, but

distributed in such a way that no single gang would dare attack the combined triggers of the rest. But others have held that the men of the community must first of all make up their minds that feuding doesn't pay; that if a neighbor steals your horse, the wrong is not redressed by setting fire to his barn. With that idea accepted, then a court and a police force become possible. Without it, those institutions not only will not be able to preserve the peace, but may actually aggravate the feuding.

Said William B. Ziff, author of the forthcoming book, *The Gentlemen Talk of Peace*, when speaking on a recent radio forum : "It is a fallacy to believe that by the application of unlimited force peace can be insured. Police power did not prevent Southern Ireland and the American Colonies from breaking away from Britain. It did not prevent the Russian Revolution. It will not prevent any war... The causes of revolution and war are moral and economic. They do not relate to police power."

We are living at present under conditions in which the Law of the Jungle has largely superseded the Laws of Man under which civilizations developed and flourished. Blinded as people are by rage and greed and fear—fear not only of loss through enemy action of our life and legitimate belongings but also of that of losing ill-gotten gains—Post-war plans made by the Western democracies have a tendency towards perpetuating the misery of the weaker and the vanquished nations. The lessons of Versailles and the Post-World War I plans seem to have been forgotten.

Nepal Chandra Roy

Sjt. Nepal Chandra Roy has passed away on January 21 at his brother's residence in Calcutta, at the age of 77. He had lived an active life till the moment of his death. A silent worker as he was, he always associated himself with any cause undertaken for the good of the country. His life was devoted to the noble calling of teaching and the service of humanity. He went to Allahabad as the Head Master of the Anglo-Bengali School there, but was compelled to leave the Province for having participated in the political movements of that Province. Rabindranath admired him and took him to his own Institution which he had served for more than quarter of a century. He was the guiding spirit behind the formation of the Nationalist Party in India and he actively participated in the movements of the Hindu Mahasabha. He loved his country with a devotion and a passion rarely to be seen; his response to every call of human suffering was quick even when his health was failing him. His life was the life of a sage—plain living and high thinking, ready to serve each and every noble cause that might demand his attention.

We offer our sincere condolences to his bereaved family.

"Era of High Prices Has Ended"

Mr. C. C. Desai, Controller of Civil Supplies, Government of India, in a talk on the Anti-Hoarding Ordinance broadcast from Bombay, said :

"The era of high prices has ended, profiteering is no longer able to stalk the land unashamedly, public awakening has been remarkably keen and swift and there is already a noticeable fall in the prices of goods in daily use. The black-marketeer is gradually being pushed into lanes and pavements until one day he is pushed into the underground sewage system or into the sea. This is but the beginning and we mean to intensify the drive until we are restored to normal conditions and prices."

Too much familiarity with hollow declarations of this type has tended to breed contempt for them. Prevailing conditions as yet are the reverse of what Mr. Desai wanted the people to believe. He said :

It did not matter whether the offender was a big gun or a small person. A number of cases had been caught in Bombay, Delhi, Karachi and Calcutta, including some of the biggest shop-keepers as well as some of the worst known profiteers. Investigations had been completed, and the cases were just going to Court and suitable punishments would be awarded in due time.

His speech was broadcast on January 10. At the end of January, no such prosecutions have been reported. Instead one finds the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court voicing the sentiments of the people when the following bitter observations while delivering judgment in a rule obtained by G. N. Ray who had been convicted and sentenced to 6 months' R. I. for having offered a bribe of Rs. 25 and a bottle of whisky :

It was strange that cases were brought in respect of relatively small bribes when the town was full of stories of big bribes which went unpunished.

It has been pointed out on several occasions in the Press and on the Platform, inside and outside the Legislatures, that profiteering thrives on the patronage of corrupt officials. No tangible action has been taken by the Government to find out and bring such hidden criminals to book. Mr. Desai's desire to push the profiteer "into the underground sewage system or into the sea" will be regarded as mere bombast unless he is prepared to look into government departments for the detractors.

The responsibility to bring these social criminals to book has, in the usual bureaucratic manner, been shifted to the shoulders of the people. Mr. Desai announced :

The measure lays down that no dealer shall charge more than 20 per cent. above the landed cost or the cost of production of an article, and further that the selling prices of articles should be marked on them.

The Government had, thus, placed a useful weapon in the hands of the public for safeguarding themselves against the charging of unreasonably high prices. The benefit derived by the public would depend upon the vigilance exercised by the purchaser and the courage with which he was prepared to render civic duty by reporting delinquent shopkeepers to the police.

This announcement is not worth the current he consumed in broadcasting it. No arrangement has been made for listening to the peoples' complaints. The harassment one experiences at the Police Stations to record such complaints is a sufficient deterrent in favour of the profiteering. Absence of complaints does not indicate that profiteering or bribery has stopped, it proves that confidence in the Government has been so badly shaken that nobody thinks it worth-while to complain. Very few people believe that such complaints will be remedied, and those who may have such a pious belief do not come forward because they are not sure of any result.

Drug Control

At a meeting of the Managing Committee of the Bombay Medical Union, the following resolution was passed :

"The Union views with dismay the disparity between the prices of certain drugs which prevailed before the issue of the order and the ceiling prices fixed for the same drugs in the order which are very much higher than would be warranted by a reasonable margin of profit to the wholesale or retail dealer. The Union therefore feels that the list of prices needs revision in the interest of the consumer."

The Government control measures always remind the people that for every commodity today, there are two sets of purchasers—the Government with its Contractors, Agents and its Satellites, the rich profiteers; and the second, the poor and middle-class people. The former can enforce the controlled prices in their favour, while the latter cannot. In fixing the "controlled" prices, the Government seems to keep it in mind that the dealers, particularly the bigger ones, should get what they consider to be a fair deal.

Causes of Rise in Cloth Prices

Lala Bihari Lal Channana, President of the Punjab Beopar Mandal, pointed out the responsibility of the Government in permitting cloth prices to soar sky-high. While inaugurating the Punjab Provincial Conference of Retail Cloth Dealers, he said :

The Government appeared very late on the scene and did something after its inflation policy and its greed to share two-thirds of the profit had played havoc.

What had been done now by the Government should have been done two years ago. He added : "But if it had been done earlier, how could the Government get its share of two-thirds in the profits?" What was described by Mr. Channana, a short-range policy of the Government was, in his opinion, responsible for the situation in India to-day, particularly in Bengal.

Had the Government moved in time and not allowed bogus businessmen in offices and banks to enter into speculation and not created, by its policy of inflation, two groups of men, firstly, those who made pots of money and carried bundles of currency notes in their pockets and secondly, those whose incomes were fixed, things would not have assumed the form they had done.

He pointed out how, as a result of the decrease in import, a lull in production, resulting from political events in the country and the increased demand for military, had resulted in lesser supplies being available, and because of increased paper money in the market, greater demand. *The capacity to purchase, of a particular class of contractors, for instance, increased and they were found willing to pay any price for any cloth they wanted.*

All that, he said, resulted in creating a vicious circle. He admitted that the shopkeeper also made his profits and was carried away by the general and common desire to make money. *Government was interested because it got E. P. T. and was a shareholder of two-thirds profits.*

What he described as rationalisation was attempted very late and he asserted that the attempt now being made to break that vicious circle was futile by tackling only one link. If Government desired to break that circle, *it must break the whole circle and not merely accuse and defame one unit only.*

Lala Bihari Lal, from his own experience, has given a correct estimate of the reasons for abnormally high cloth prices. When the Cloth Control Order was first introduced, big loopholes were left in it and the big guns were quick to take advantage of them. Some bales were stamped maintaining an appearance that the Order was being obeyed, while the bulk of the stock was left unstamped and loose. At long last, every pair has been ordered to be stamped and the physical possibility of doing so within the time limits has already been questioned. Prices have not come down by any appreciable extent.

Medical Aid to the Villages

Dr. K. V. Krishnan, in his address on medical education to the Science Congress, has pointed out the too well known fact that the number of medical colleges in India today is ten and of medical schools 27. They turn out about 1700 doctors annually. The number of doctors in this country was estimated in 1940 to be about 40,000. There is, therefore, about one doctor to 10,000 persons in India while in Britain the number of doctors is about one to 1,000 persons. Russia had in 1914 about 25,000 doctors. Between 1925 and 1940, by planned effort, Soviet Russia was able to turn out 120,000

doctors. Dr. Krishnan pointed out that the Soviet Government was able to do so by adopting the shift system in Medical Colleges. It is unnecessary to emphasise the need of trained medical men in India. Dr. Krishnan expressed the opinion that the financial commitment for introducing the shift system in the medical schools and colleges in this country would be negligible.

Attention should also be given to the future prospect of doctors practising in villages. If any post-war reconstruction scheme can raise the rural standard of life, our doctors may profitably disperse from crowded urban areas and settle themselves in villages.

A Britisher as Director-General of Archaeology in India

A London message states that Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, a British archaeologist, is leaving for India shortly to take up his appointment as Director-General of Archaeology. There is something behind this apparently innocent announcement. The term of service of Mr. K. N. Dikshit, the present Director-General of Archaeology, has not yet expired. It is difficult to understand why an archaeologist from Britain should proceed "shortly" to India to take his place. Is there anything wrong with the Archaeological Department of India? Why this unseemly haste to foist a British archaeologist of unknown fame at the top of this department? It has been given out that Dr. Wheeler had participated in some excavations in the Far East, but whether he has made any contribution to Indian history or archaeology remains obscure. We cannot gather from Indian sources that he has any such thing to his credit. At the time of his appointment he was the curator of a provincial museum in Wales and did some work in the Roraan antiquities of Britain. This would not appear to be any qualification worthy of mention for an archaeologist who will have to deal with excavations unearthing relics four or five milleniums older than those he has unearthed.

Oriental scholarship and knowledge of Indian history and conditions ought to be the basic qualifications for the post of Director-General of Archaeology in India. India is not wanting in scholarship and efficiency of this kind. Public opinion in this country will certainly demand to know why the claims of Mr. Madho Sarup Vats, the next man after Mr. Dikshit, has been passed over in favour of a Britisher of obscure knowledge and experience. Apart from

his long career in the department, in the course of which he has done brilliant field work, Mr. Vats is the author of the monumental Harappa Excavations Report, published by the Government in 1940, which will remain classic in Indian Archaeology for our pre-Aryan, Sind and Punjab culture, taking its place beside the works of Marshall, Mackay and Majumdar. Will some legislator at the Centre take the matter up and demand clarification from the Government?

Land Mortgage Banks and Rural Economy

At the annual session of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, the question of agricultural finance was discussed at length. One day's sitting was devoted to the discussion of the problem of providing long-term agricultural finance, with special reference to land mortgage banks.

From the papers that were read at the conference and in the discussions that ensued some interesting points arose. First it was suggested that the present rate of 6 per cent. interest on borrowings by cultivators from land mortgage banks was too high as it was doubtful whether agriculture as an industry and business could afford to give a return of 6 or 6½ per cent. on the capital invested continuously for a period of twenty years. Emphasis was therefore laid on the need for reducing the lending rate of land mortgage co-operative banks to 3 per cent.

The second point raised was that, so long as the land mortgage banks restricted their operations to aid the agriculturist to redeem his old debts, it would not prove a success. It was, therefore, suggested that the primary function of land mortgage banks should be to advance money for productive purposes—a suggestion which was fully endorsed by the president.

The third point was that land mortgage banks could play their true part in the rural economy of the country only when they formed a part of a planned programme of rural reconstruction in co-ordination with other activities undertaken to improve the condition of the cultivator.

The fourth point that arose from the discussions was that, although land mortgage banks had been lending money on a 20-year basis, the tendency, particularly in Madras, was to return the entire loan by about the fourth or fifth year. This tendency had been perceptibly noticeable during the last few years owing to the good prices received by the farmers. These advance repayments tended to prove a source of embarrassment to the land mortgage banks in that they made their working very difficult. The suggestion was therefore put forward that land mortgage banks should be permitted to provide agricultural finance for a short period of, say, five to six years.

Considering the very poor progress made by the land mortgage banks particularly, and the co-operative movement generally, the whole movement has been a costly and miserable failure. As there is little prospect of India turn-

ing socialist within a perceptible future, extension of credit facilities by the State as is being done in the U. S. A. may be strongly advocated for immediate introduction in this country. Some facts about the American Farm Co-operatives, issued by the USOWI, may be cited here. More than 15000 farmer-owned and farmer-controlled co-operative associations and companies are now operating in the U. S. A., of which 10752 co-operatives are engaged in marketing farm products or performing related services to the farmer. 1900 of the associations are mutual fire insurance companies and about 2500 are irrigation companies. Membership exceeds 30 lakhs. Sale of farm products and farm supplies by co-operative groups is now more than Rs. 650 crores. A farm co-operative is a business organisation—just as much so as any other familiar private enterprise. The fundamental characteristic of the farm co-operative is that it is operated for the mutual benefit of its members as *producers*, not as *stockholders*. The basis is the farmer's personal association with the co-operative and not because of any financial investment. The primary purpose is to *return to the producer as much as possible* for the product he sells; to provide him with the kind and quality of farm supplies that he desires, at the lowest possible cost; and to provide farm business services which will render his operations more profitable. During recent years the number of purchasing co-operatives has increased more rapidly than marketing co-operatives.

Co-operative movement in U. S. A. and India is about half a century old, but can the progress be compared?

New Plans for Education

Robert Millikan, Nobel Prize winner and Chairman of the Executive Council of the California Institute of Technology, said in a broadcast discussion on "New Plans for Education":

"During the last half century we have developed, through local and state laws, a practically universal common and secondary school system in the United States. The laws of 41 States now require every youth to remain in school to an age of from 16 to 18 years. This is a glorious achievement for the principles of universal education." He said that the United States must more effectively use secondary schools "for making intelligent voting citizens of a free republic."

A summary of the Butler Scheme of Britain, which envisaged not only an extension of the

primary education but also a free secondary education for all, had been published in these columns. The U. S. A. and Britain are moving ahead in the thick of the war with advanced schemes of education, while retrograde steps are being fostered and encouraged in this country.

Fighting for Empire and Freedom at the Same Time

Dr. Lin Yutang writes in his recent book "Between Tears and Laughter":

How did the idea of 'freedom' arise? How did the Rights of Man arise? How did that word happen to have that fine, revolutionary ring to it? It was created as an answer to oppression and a call to rebellion. When circumstances of political oppression exist, the word 'freedom' always recovers that rousing, revolutionary ring.

When Patrick Henry shouted "Give me liberty or give me death," it reached depths in the hearts of the American people, because the oppression was there. When Jawaharlal Nehru shouts, "Give me liberty or give me death," it leaves the Bertrand Russells and Norman Angells cold because they don't happen to be the oppressed. Even to the Americans, it is something so remote that it is less important than diplomatic etiquette; silence is preferable to breaking the punctilio between the august governments.

To intervene on the principle of a nation's freedom would be almost as bad as putting the wife of the British Ambassador below the wife of the Brazilian Minister at a Washington diplomatic dinner. It would be almost uncivilized.

Dr. Wellington Koo is said to have intervened on behalf of the Chinese Government for India before his departure. But it was such a hideous "faux pas" that Winston Churchill is reported to have told him that if the Chinese Government did not stop intervening in the matter, British Chinese relations would be seriously endangered! That is how far the word "freedom" has fallen in the thinking of man in the twentieth century!

Some of our leaders have misconstrued the nature of the world conflict and the present world revolution. The central issue of empire versus world freedom remains unrecognized and unsolved. Some imagine they can fight for empire and freedom at the same time.

Winston Churchill is proceeding upon the principles of Pericles. Judged by the principles of the empire, England could have no better and stronger premier. He has the firmness of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, the singleness of purpose of William Pitt, the astuteness and sense of timing of Disraeli. At a time of national unpreparedness he galvanized the nation with an iron will; in the hour of danger he stood firm; toward rebellions he showed uncompromising strength: when public convictions were failing, he restored impeccable faith in the good old British Empire.

But while Disraelis and William Pitts may have been good enough for the Great Britain of the nineteenth and eighteenth centuries, they are not good enough for the modern world. For Churchill has misread the signs of the times. Is this the voice of hostile criticism? No, it is the voice of a friend.

If I do not misinterpret Winston Churchill he is fighting a twentieth century war in order to take off his boots after the war and climb back into a nineteenth century bed, comfortably mattresssed in India, Singapore,

and Hong Kong. He has the admirable tenacity of the English bulldog, and also its intelligence. Judged by Empire standards, he is a giant; judged by some future and better world, he is no better and no worse than Cato shouting "Delenda est Carthage!" He may even emerge as Scipio the Younger himself, but I seemed to see the Punic Wars being fought all over again, as Rommel and Montgomery struggled in Tunisia for the ancient site of Carthage.

To me at present this seems like the Fourth Punic War. Some Hannibal may invade Italy via Spain with tanks instead of elephants, but the struggle for supremacy over the Mediterranean is neither modern nor ancient. What makes war is still same.

Asia knows to her cost that the diehard politicians of Britain are fully capable of fighting for empire and freedom at the same time. It is however doubtful whether an awakened East will be prepared to accept freedom in the post-war world as conveying the usual British meaning of freedom for the West and slavery for the rest.

Harold Laski on British Labour Party

Prof. Harold Laski, writing in the *New Statesman and Nation*, has analysed in his imitable way the realities of Tory-Labour coalition. He has pointed out how the Labour Party is functioning in the coalition as a very junior partner, practically through the sufferance of the Tories. The lessons he has drawn from this coalition will provide food for thought not only inside Britain, but also outside it. The article is reproduced below in a condensed form:

The great strength of all Right Wing parties is the fullness with which they realise that an interest is more compelling than an idea. Conservatives may have their reserves about Disraeli and the late Lord Salisbury, about Mr. Chamberlain or Mr. Churchill. They may differ on religion as widely as on international affairs. The great source of their authority is that, when the battle has to be fought, they are all soldiers in the same army. They have learned with magnificent amplitude the meaning of Franklin's great aphorism that they must hang together or else they will be hanged separately.

The Labour Party had no possible alternative to acceptance of office under Mr. Churchill in 1940, had it chosen otherwise the very survival of Britain might have been impossible. But it is grimly obvious that it has not seriously faced the consequences of the Coalition. Just as the Tories used Mr. Lloyd George and victory in 1918 to disunify, and thus destroy, the forces of liberalism, so are they likely, if they can, to use Mr. Churchill and victory a generation later to destroy the progressive forces and thus perpetuate their interests while their opponents are quarrelling over their ideas. Few things ought to be more plain than the fact that British Labour and the Soviet Union have a common interest at stake. Few things, either, ought to be more plain that the fact that both enduring peace in Europe and the main chance of an economics of expansion will turn on the degree to which a defeated Germany looks for the sources of its regeneration to Moscow rather than to the City of London and to Wall Street. The

very fact that, though taxation is heavy, Mr. Churchill's government has made no effective change in the disposition of economic power in this country ought to make the leaders of the Labour Party realise that, *with victory, the Tories will be concerned to safeguard their traditional interests; speculation about the reshaping of Britain is for them an interesting academic exercise without any roots in future realities.*

Coalition Government in which the Labour Party is the very junior partner who puts over, as in the Essential Work Order, the measures no Tory Minister could successfully attempt, leaves the rank and file with a profound sense of malaise. That was why Mr. Attlee had to give the pledge that the Labour Party Conference will be consulted, after Germany's defeat, upon the issue of continuing the association of Labour ministers with Mr. Churchill. But the very fact that this consultation is to take place ought to involve the preparation by the Labour Party of the measures it will require if the Conference votes for independence. That means not merely being certain that the party's leader can stand up, at a general election, against the great hold on the nation Mr. Churchill's prestige will rightly give him, it not only means, also, that the party machinery, not least at Transport House, is ready for its task. It also means that, between now and the general election, in the first place, the voters are made fully aware of what the case for Labour is, not merely in the literature the party publishes, but in the candidates who seek to win a majority for it. And, not less important, it means, in the second place, that the millions among the electorate with no definite party affiliation, but a general sense that the time has come for a great step forward, attain the conviction that it is through the Labour Party alone that such a step can be taken.

It is surely obvious that this conviction is impossible while the Left is a congeries of warring groups which announce their dislike of one another far more loudly than they explain the disaster implied in renewing the power of the Tory Party for five years after the war is over. The way to deal with the Communist Party is not at all costs to assure its continued enmity, but to discover by discussion whether a genuine loyalty to the Labour Party is open to it. There are some very curious elements in Commonwealth, but there is no doubt that it contains also men and women whose progressivism is passionate and profound; the Labour Party's job is to win these men and women to its ranks by offering proof that, if it should win power, it has enough audacity and vigour to maintain it and not, as in 1931, abdicate from office at the first serious sign of Tory displeasure.

The Labour Party, if it wants to avoid in the coming years the fate of social democratic parties on the European Continent must learn two essential lessons. It must not be afraid of a healthy variation of opinion in the party; expulsion does it no more good on minor matters than ex-communication has benefited the Church of Rome. If it can keep Mr. Rhys Davies or Mr. Stokes, it really ought not to cavil at Miss Jennie Lee or Mr. Harry Pollitt. And it ought not to accept from its opponents the criteria by which it judges other parties of the Left. To represent the issue between the Communists and the Labour Party as a choice between the method of dictatorship and the method of democracy is not only to accept an antithesis which is historically devoid of foundation; it is also to forget the histories of Dollfuss and Franco, of Hitler and Mussolini, even, we may remind ourselves, of a British Tory Party which had no scruples, before the war of 1914, in preparing, under the aegis of its most eminent men, all the necessary technique of revolution. The task before the

Labour Party is to make itself the spinal column of the immense, if unorganised, progressive forces of this country. It will not do that until it ceases to be afraid of Mr. Churchill's shadow. *If he is invaluable to the country, let us be quite sure that the Labour Party is indispensable to Mr. Churchill...British democracy have survived not merely because Mr. Churchill gave it a great lead, but, not less, because the ordinary men and women of Britain followed that lead with so unbreakable a resolution.*

The role of Mr. Churchill as Prime Minister has been too closely analogous to the dictatorship of the Nazi or Fascist brand. The reason for the Labour Party's following to this leadership is not far to seek. The Party's weakness is not the principal reason for its acquiescence, a tougher cement unites the Labour with the Tories—the fear of losing the Empire. Radical labourites advocate freedom for India from the opposition benches, but all goodwill melts away as soon as the Party enters office. Ramsay MacDonald, the author of the *Awakening of India*, was quickly followed by Attlee, Greenwood and the great radical Stafford Cripps.

Teachers' Training in India

In the course of his Presidential address at the Teachers' Training Section of the 19th All-India Educational Conference, held at Jaipur, Mr. D. N. Mukerjee said :

"I take this occasion to call upon you all and, through you, upon all Indian teachers to declare in unmistakable terms that the present system of teacher training all over India, fails to give the teacher either respect for his job or confidence in his craft or satisfaction in his performance; that nothing particularly Indian or effectively practical ever finds a place in the scheme of his training; that it is most humiliating for him to find that after nearly a century of teacher-training in India, no Indian trainer has established a tradition of technical pedagogical scholarship, authorship or leadership, that Indian educators have not yet been found fit to supplement or supplant the traditional European educators, that the history and philosophy of Indian education is still an unknown subject of study in Indian training colleges."

The neglect of teachers' training in India is not an isolated affair. Mr. Mukerjee has drawn attention to the fact that in India, the training of teachers has in reality been the monopoly of the State and is bound to remain so because the State controls the employment of teachers in educational institutions. The British Government took up control of the entire educational system of this country as soon as they had succeeded in consolidating their power here. A start had been made at the most vital point, controlling children's education. The Calcutta School Book Society, formed in 1818, mainly for the purpose of providing school books, was dominated by Officials. Important members of

the Governor-General's Council actively participated in it. Even to this day, approving of school text-books, as well as prize-books, remains an important function of the Government.

The next vital point where the growth of Education in this country has been stifled, is the teachers' salary. The ridiculously low salaries paid to the teachers are insufficient for a normal standard of life. They are thus indirectly encouraged to seek other means of earning, through part time work or private tuitions, with an inevitable falling off in efficiency. This consistent policy followed for nearly a century and a half leads one to believe that the progress of education in India was retarded with a planning.

In this connection, one would do well to remember a startling utterance of Dr. W. A. Jenkins, the present Director of Public Instruction, speaking at a meeting in the Asiatic Society of Bengal on "Educational Ideals—Ancient and Modern." He said : "If you control the system of education of a country, you may be sure with ninety per cent precision of what kinds of products you will produce."

Prospects of Research on Indology

Dr. S. K. Belwalkar, President of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares, said in his address :

"If the reports are correct, in some of the belligerent countries science has prostituted itself and contracted an unholy alliance with the forces of destruction. But this cannot go on for ever. Sanity will return, and we will have to sit down and seriously tackle the problem of post-war reconstruction.

War is never known to have made permanent conquests or built enduring empires. The conquests of Alexander, Caesar, Napoleon or Taimur hardly lasted a generation. Those of Christ or Asoka have endured through centuries.

Dr. Belwalkar dwelt at length on the research work carried on in different parts of the country on Indology and complained that what had been achieved so far and was likely to be achieved at the present rate of progress and the present methods of work was very small as compared with what we had still to accomplish in almost every branch of study. In the department of history it is no doubt a sign of the times that Indian scholars are now waking up to their responsibility. But the word of caution to be uttered was that we must always try to understand and interest men and events of the earlier age in the light of their own environment and outlook, and not attempt a reshuffle in the light of the ideas and ideals of today. The danger of such a thing happening was not quite imaginary.

Talking about research work on Indology, Dr. Belwalkar said that not having a sufficiently broad foundation upon which to erect their superstructure of research our students had no proper perspective in their subject.

Indian scholars are no doubt waking up to the need of Indological research, but the progress is still meagre. In this connection we may

remember what the new Viceroy said about India's contribution to world culture in delivering his inaugural speech at the Indian Science Congress. Viscount Wavell said :

"Her (India's) contributions to science have always been on the side of peace and progress. She has everything to gain by combining modern science with her old culture. Her traditional outlook should enable her to make an increasingly fine and characteristic contribution to natural knowledge."

The Viceroy has realised the inner meaning of Indian culture. Will he encourage it with active patronage ?

Responsibility of the Adviser Regime

Addressing an Anti-Prohibition meeting at Madras, Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar said :

"I gave a definite moral undertaking on the floor of the legislature, on behalf of the then Government of this Province that the Sales Tax is imposed to make up the loss of revenue caused as a result of the introduction of prohibition. The Governor is morally bound to what was stated on the floor of the legislature. To suspend it is a breach of trust and breach of promise of a sacred nature."

The Madras Governor's Act has raised a grave constitutional issue. Has the Governor, acting with his Advisers and carrying on a temporary Government under Sec. 93, the right to alter a mandate of the Legislature taking advantage of its temporary suspension? Constitutional 'niceties' are said to have prevented interference by the centre to set the Bengal muddle right. Will Mr. Amery now explain what 'nicety' has prompted the Madras Governor to force toddy down the Province's throat against the people's mandate constitutionally expressed through an Act of the Legislature?

Watson's Plea for British Direction in Indian Industry

Sir Alfred Watson has discussed the reorganisation of Indian commerce after the war in an article contributed to the *Great Britain and the East*. Relevant portions are given below :

"The widespread notion of its big industrialists that they will be able to take over British enterprises in the country is, as a policy, supremely foolish. Apart altogether from the fact that the Indian investor in the past has shown much more confidence in British managed enterprises than in those run by his own countrymen, All-India capital available will be required for setting going new industries that India needs for the employment of its people. Thousand millions sterling of capital may appear an immense sum, but it goes but little way in providing employment in a nation of 400 million people.

"A third of the export trade of India is done with the United Kingdom, and that trade is almost entirely

in the hands of British firms who have built it up to the great benefit of the country.

"The facile Indian mind may believe that it would be an easy matter for Indians to take over all the machinery of this trade, and run it for the benefit of Indian firms. Nothing would more certainly lead to disappointment and failure.

"For another reason, it is important for Indian industry to retain the benefits of British direction and experience. However low may be the standards of Indian labour in wages and housing and living conditions generally, it is beyond all dispute that they are markedly higher where the employer is British rather than Indian. In the interests of the welfare of workers, retention of the British example in industry is all-important."

British direction of Indian Industry through Agency Houses has always proved to be against Indian interests. In jute the British Managing Agency System has controlled more than 90 per cent of the industry, while over 60 per cent of the share capital has been contributed by Indians. British control of this industry has been a systematic exploitation of all the three parties—the grower, the factory labour and the shareholder. In coal, the same story is repeated. Indian industrialists have proved that they are fully capable of taking over all British enterprises in this country which, when done, will improve matters to a great extent. The systematic drain will at least stop.

Dr. Khan Saheb on Unity of India

Dr. Khan Saheb, in an interview to the *United Press* at Lahore, voiced the progressive Muslim view-point when he said :

"The unity of India will follow the freedom of the country and is not a condition precedent to the achievement of independence. The affairs of Ireland and Egypt have proved definitely to the world that the sickening repetition of the same stale tale of communal disunity in India being a barrier to the granting of Self-Government to India can have no effect on the people.

"The advocate of British Imperialism, Mr. Churchill, has clearly stated that he is not prepared to liquidate the British Empire. In other words, Britain is not prepared to part with the wealth and power acquired by depriving millions of their rights."

Asked how and when does he think the present political deadlock will be resolved, Dr. Khan Sahib said, "The present deadlock has been deliberately created by British Imperialism and will continue until power is completely handed over to the people of India. The Britishers will never do this unless they are forced."

It is now common knowledge that the present deadlock is a deliberate creation of British Imperialism. The initiative for resolving this deadlock lies with the people of India not in their compliance with the British demand of "communal harmony" but in their endeavour to achieve freedom for the whole country.

Organisation in the Frontier Province

In the same interview, Dr. Khan Saheb spoke of a new and psychological revolution among the people of the Frontier. He said :

"We in the Frontier have developed a revolutionary mentality which can never be suppressed by any human power unless all the Frontier population was wiped out. The Pathan is a born democrat and a socialist by nature. He loathes imperialism. The Britishers have realised this and they have become very cautious in their methods of dealing with the Pathan and are not prepared to repeat the scenes of 1930 and 1932 on the Frontier. I am absolutely satisfied with the national work going on in the province and I am certain that all the vicious propaganda and underhand means used against the nationalist forces will all the more steel the resolve of the Pathans to fight in the cause of freedom."

Asked what he thought of the present ministry in the Frontier, Dr. Khan Sahib said : "I always feel sorry for them because they are made to do things against their own nation by a power which has put them there to suit its own convenience."

Other provincial organisers may profitably emulate this example of organisation in their own spheres of activities. One may think it too optimistic when Dr. Khan Saheb said, "Whatever obstacle may be put in our way, I am convinced that India is going to be a free country, and it is my conviction that freedom will be ours before the war ends ;" but one fully agrees with him when he says, "The Congress position in the Frontier is steadily becoming sound."

Detenus not to Write Letters in Hindi

LAHORE, Dec. 29.

An order has been passed by the Punjab Government, directing that the Congress detenus and prisoners in the Punjab jails will not be allowed to write any letters to their relatives or friends in Hindi. Though the order is not clear on the point, but it is liable to the interpretation that the detenus of the Congress prisoners cannot receive any letters in Hindi from their relatives or friends.

It may be stated that it is for the first time that such an order has been passed.

This would mean that no detenu or prisoner will now be allowed to write a letter, which he is entitled to in Hindi to his wife or sister or daughter, and this especially when ladies at home generally know Hindi only.

There may be some detenus who know only Hindi and if anyone of them wants to write, for instance, to his wife, he will have to beg of some one else to write a letter in English, Urdu or Gurmukhi, the languages permissible by the new order for the writing of letters. And if the poor wife does not know any other language excepting Hindi she will have to beg of others to read out to her what her husband writes.

Enquiries made in official quarters show that the new order has been passed because of the difficulty in getting the required number of competent censors for censoring letters in Hindi and on account of the privilege alleged to have been misused by the writers.

It has been suggested that, if a detenu or prisoner has misused the privilege, he might be punished individually and, if necessary, the privilege might be denied to him. But surely there was no justification in banning the writing of letters in Hindi by any detenu.

We wonder how the Government can justify the promulgation of such an order. People have been kept in detention only for the reason that the Government feels shy to expose their case before a Court of Law. The Government has unbounded responsibility to such people. Instead of fulfilling their duties to these men detained without trial, the Government in this country does not hesitate to curtail their elementary rights on the plea of misuse by one or two men! And why only Hindi, and not Urdu or Gurumukhi or does the Communal Award extend to the detenu's sphere?

Even Liberals do not Believe the Government

Mr. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry made a significant remark in his address at the meeting of the National Liberal Federation, which explains the attitude of the liberal politicians of India towards the British policy followed. He said :

"We do not believe the Government when they say that unity of the country is not possible because there are disturbances and discords in the country. These disturbances and discords must be effaced. It is the business of the Government to bring the people together. The Government must go ahead, as they have done previously so many times before, in the shaping of the future constitution of India."

But have the British diehards farsighted enough to measure the weight of this remark?

Root of Communal Disunity

Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, formerly of the Indian Educational Service, has struck at the root cause of communal disunity in India while reviewing Lionel Fielden's book *Beggar My Neighbour* in the *Spectator*. Mr. Rawlinson says:

Mr. Fielden's little book is a plea for a more dispassionate effort to understand the Indian problem. His experience as controller of broadcasting has convinced him of the futility of trying to impose British-made charters on Indian minds. "The villager," said Mrs. Naidu, when he puffed the benefits of rural radio, "doesn't want your beastly wireless; he wants food and soap." Mr. Fielden challenges us to look into our hearts and ask ourselves whether, behind our elaborate camouflage of safeguards for the minorities, there does not really lurk a subconscious desire to perpetuate British rule? *The only honourable course is to give India her freedom unconditionally; the Hindu-Mohammedan problem is a purely domestic matter, which will never settle itself as long as we are there to foster dis-*

unity. If the presence of the Allied armies is necessary for military reasons, we must make a treaty with the country similar to our treaty with Egypt.

The elaborate camouflage of minority safeguards backed by communal electorates have become quite transparent in India. It is encouraging to find that in England also it is becoming so.

Asia and Africa in Post-war World

Outlining a plan for a world without wars, Bertrand Russell writes in the *Free World of New York*:

Asia may be expected to demand more complete equality than heretofore. It will require considerable tact and liberality if this demand is not to lead to a general hostility of Asiatics towards Europeans and Americans. They have certain large grievances. India, China, and Japan are over-populated and desperately poor; at the same time, they are severely restricted as to emigration, particularly to Australia and the United States. Neither Australia nor the United States is likely to alter its policy in this respect. But India and China are likely to increase their strength by industrialization, and sooner or later Japan will be allowed to revive. I wish, I could believe that we of the West shall adapt ourselves to this changed situation quickly enough to prevent a very dangerous division of the world into two hostile camps. This is, in my opinion, the greatest danger to world peace in the coming half-century. It is also a grave obstacle to the establishment of any effective supernational authority at the close of the war, since any such authority would probably seem to India and China a mere device for prolonging white supremacy.

The victory this time will not be simply an Anglo-American victory. There will be not only Russia, but behind Russia there will be Asia. To fit Asia into any such international framework as America and England might desire will be difficult. I assume that India will be free, probably with some form of Pakistan. Hindu India will wish to co-operate with the Chinese; Mahomedan India will wish to collaborate with its more western co-religionists. Neither party will wish to have any pact with white men, whether European or American. Further, assuming Japan is defeated in the present war, the victory will not be purely Western; a great part of the credit will go to China, which resisted Japan for years without outside help.

Proper heed may not be paid to exile-philosopher Bertrand Russell's enunciation of the pre-requisites of a world peace. General Smuts has already announced that the doctrine of might is right with the overlordship of the white is still to continue. He has obtained the vocal blessing of Britain and the silent support of the U. S. A. But readers of Lloyd George's war memoirs may remember that General Smuts' estimates at various stages of the first World War were more often wrong than right, although they were always equally positive and absolute.

THE BATTLE OF LAKHERI, 1793, OR CAMPOO VERSUS CAMPOO

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt. C.I.E., D.Litt.

1. ORIGINS OF THE SINDHIA-HOLKAR RIVALRY

THE victory of Patan had enabled Mahadji Sindhia to crush the organised opposition of the Jaipur Kingdom, and the victory of Merta coming only three months later, had similarly neutralised Jodhpur (1790). But Mahadji was robbed of the full fruits of these successes in the field. Within a fortnight of the decisive victory at Merta, we read in a Marathi despatch, the astounding news that "De Boigne and other troops of Mahadji Sindhia are in a state of despair, and the Rajahs and chiefs are holding off the payment of their dues." [Dy. S. 39, 47]. The smouldering jealousy of Holkar now burst into a flame and set up an open opposition to Sindhia which was ended three years later only by the open ordeal of battle, at Lakheri.

For the origins of the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry we have to go sixty years back, to the days of the great Baji Rao, under whom the first Holkar and the first Sindhia made their names in Maratha history. Malhar Rao Holkar started earlier in the race for greatness and he gained a higher rank in the Peshwa's army than Ranoji Sindhia could do before his death.

The family chronicle of the Holkars claims that Malhar's early patronage laid the foundations of the future greatness of the humble Ranoji Sindhia and that, in the second generation the same Malhar's influence saved the life of the young Mahadji Sindhia when the latter's death was ordered by Raghunath Dādā, the Peshwa's regent. Whatever doubt there may be as to these claims, the fact is indisputable that during the first generation the Holkars stood much higher on the ladder of greatness than the Sindhias.

Malhar Holkar outlived Ranoji Sindhia by 21 years, and he was left the sole "Elder statesman" of the Maratha State after the Panipat disaster. But after his death in 1766, the relative position of the two houses came to be reversed. Malhar left no worthy son or nephew behind him, while the Sindhia family gained parity with the house of Holkar by the blood and sweat of Ranoji's sons. Ranoji had died early (in 1745) and left them young; but they were young lions: four of his sons (or five, if we add a grandson) died on active service, while the fifth son was wounded and crippled in combat. And now, in less than six years after

front rank in Maratha politics under a son of Ranoji. This regenerator of the fortunes of the Sindhias was Mahadji, the sole survivor after Panipat among the sons of Ranoji. He combined Malhar Holkar's leadership in war with a shrewdness in diplomacy and a long vision in politics which no Maratha chief before or after him could surpass. At the outset of his career (about 1768) his resources in men, money and lands were poorer than those of the house of Holkar, whose wealth and influence were being immensely increased by the long peaceful and beneficent rule of a saintly widow, Ahalyā Bāi. But by the year 1783, when the Treaty of Salbai was signed, Mahadji had made himself clearly the foremost man in the Maratha State, and when a year later (December 1784) he secured for himself the regency of the Delhi Empire, there could be no doubt of his being the dominating figure of Indian polities. It was a position which excited the jealousy of Nānā Fadnis and the heart-burning of the Holkar party.

The curse of drunkenness lay heavy on the house of Holkar. Khandé Rao (the son of Malhar and the husband of Ahalyā Bāi), Tukoji and Tukoji's sons Malhar and Yaswant Rao were victims of this vice, and the affairs of these besotted masters were saved from ruin only by the prudent management of their Brahman ministers. Ahalyā Bāi was merely the banker of the family, a very successful banker no doubt, but she could not command in the field, nor control distant provinces; hence her virtues counted for nothing in the manly game of war. Here the powerless and mutually quarrelsome ministers of ever-topsy braggarts had to match themselves against a born leader of men like Mahadji Sindhia and his band of able generals. Holkar's ministers knew the essential weakness of their position and avoided an *open* conflict with Sindhia as long as they could. The inevitable clash was further delayed by the fact of Mahadji being under a cloud from the Lalsot campaign (1787) to Ghulām Qādir's flight from Delhi. But when at the end of 1788, he recovered his position in the Delhi imperial Government, the jealousy of Holkar was kindled again.

2. HOW TUKOJI HOLKAR TRIED TO THWART MAHADJI SINDHIA

The quarrel about the relative prestige of the two families might have been put to slumber

or simmered harmlessly, but a source of more active friction was the Peshwā's faulty partition of the Maratha acquisitions in North India among his generals. Here was something very material that had to be fought for. No clear cut territorial division was made among these agents by the Poona Government, but Holkar and Sindhia—with sometimes the Pawār added—were told to collect different portions of the tribute from the *same* prince in Rajputana or Malwa.

Peace and effective collection of tribute from Rajputana could have been enforced only by the presence there of an officer of the Peshwā—such as his brother or uncle—with authority to over-ride Holkar and Sindhia alike. But such a legate plenipotentiary was not then available. On the contrary, Nānā Fadnis, the regent for the boy Peshwā, almost openly set up Tukoji Holkar and Ali Bahadur to thwart Mahadji and humiliate him before the public in Hindustan.

For example, when in August 1790, Mahadji Sindhia, in an attempt to placate the Peshwā, secured from the Emperor of Delhi a *khilat* for the Peshwā and a *farmān* appointing the latter as the Imperial Regent (with Mahadji as his deputy in that office), and according to the practice of the Mughal Government a royal pavilion (technically called *farmān-bāri*) was erected outside Mathura to receive the imperial gifts with due honour and ceremony, and all the Maratha generals at the place were invited to attend, as they were bound in duty to do,—all came except Tukoji Holkar who sent his *diwan* to represent him, as if this officer was Sindhia's equal and Tukoji his superior. Mahadji took this public insult to heart and vowed to oust the Holkar competition from Hindustan by increasing his army. Rana Khan pacified him.

Every enemy of Mahadji Sindhia found shelter and support in Holkar's camp, whose close ally was Ali Bahadur, who had openly defied Mahadji at Mathurā in 1789 and was now thwarting him in Bundelkhand. Every Rajput prince who wanted to evade the payment of his tribute to Sindhia, sent his minister to Holkar to intrigue against Sindhia with Holkar's *diwan*. In 1790 while Mahadji was openly campaigning against Ismail Beg and the Rajahs of Jaipur and Marwar, the envoys of these three enemy Powers were living in the camp of Tukoji though a very small contingent of Holkar's horse had been sent to Mahadji to assist in his campaign! Above all, every anti-Sindhia plot in Rajputana was hatched under Holkar's leadership. The situation at last became intolerable,

as Mahadji again and again complained to Nānā Fadnis, but the Regent of Poona took no action.

The local Rajahs, seeing this incurable division among the Maratha authorities in Northern India, stiffened in their attitude and evaded paying their promised war contributions and their due tribute to the Emperor, knowing full well that adequate force could not be brought to bear on them. The Jaipur minister aptly likened this Holkar-Sindhia rivalry to "a combat between two wild elephants"—which he was enjoying from a safe distance, and he frankly said that he would discharge his Rajah's debts only after one of the two had asserted his superiority beyond question.

In fact, the hoarded wealth of the Rajput Governments had been grossly exaggerated in the imagination of the Marathas. Their annual revenue even had sunk to one-third of the normal amount, through lavish grants to the feudal barons or usurpations by them and poor collection owing to maladministration and anarchy. As a Jaipur minister told Mahadji Sindhia in 1786, "You ask for sixty lakhs of Rupees! We have not even sixty lakhs of broken pot-sherds in our Treasury." Hence a debtor State which Holkar's men had first sucked dry could yield nothing to Sindhia's collectors coming after. This hunt for gold kept alive the quarrel between the two Maratha agents of the Peshwā in Hindustan.

3. ADVOCATES OF PEACE IN THE TWO RIVAL CAMPS

Mahadji sincerely wished to live at peace with Holkar, so long as peace was not rendered impossible by others; he avowed a life-long friendship with the Holkar family; Ahalyā Bāī had been his friend in need with her loans, and he would not risk a rupture with the Peshwā by open war on another general of the Poona Government in Hindustan. His policy, equally wise and just, was to settle the Holkar-Sindhia differences peacefully by the superior award of the Peshwā.

Holkar's ministers, too, wished to avoid an open trial of strength with the victors of Patan and Mertā. They knew the weakness of their own side. They confined themselves to a series of pin-pricks, little mice-like mischiefs, such as plundering small convoys on the way to Sindhia's camp or looting villages within Sindhia's sphere of influence. Such acts of the subordinates could be conveniently disavowed by their Chief afterwards, if found expedient.

Small places like Kāmā and other cities on the eastern and southern frontiers of the Alwar

State, whose limits had not yet been firmly recognised, became bones of contention between the roving generals of these two Maratha Chiefs, as their just rights there had not been clearly defined.

Each of the rival camps had its peace party. Mahadji Sindhia regarded an armed rupture with Holkar as a political blunder fatal to his far-ranging ambitious projects. Tukoji Holkar was too fond of drink to stir himself for anything else in the world; a flask of wine under a shady bough, by the side of a cool brook or lake, was "Paradise enow" to him, provided that the needed money came regularly either from Ahalyā Bāī or from the tributary States. The older ministers of each,—like Jivvā Dādā under Sindhia and Parashar Dādājī under Holkar,—favoured peace like their masters. But a rupture could not be averted when the young and hot-headed Gopāl Bhāū, in the pride of his position as Sindhia's viceroy in the North, over-rode the sober counsels of the patient and diplomatic Jivvā Dādā and adopted a hustling policy towards Holkar's generals in the disputed areas. I reject as an enemy fabrication the story in the Holkar family chronicle that it was Gopāl Bhāū's proud ambition to seize Tukoji Holkar and present him in chains as a captive of war before his master. But it cannot be denied that Gopāl Bhāū had no patience with Holkar's agents and acted in a downright thrustful manner towards them. On Holkar's side the peace party failed only when Gopāl Bhāū's unwise attack on Tukoji at Surauli (8 October, 1792) wrecked their policy and left the field open to the young fire-eater Malhar Holkar II.

4. HOW THE RUPTURE BEGAN IN 1792

In September 1792, Sindhia's generals began to seize Holkar's jagirs in the Ganges-Jamuna Doab and the west Mathura district. The war-cloud between these two houses after first gathering in the north-eastern horizon for sometime, soon burst at Kāmā (32 miles north of Bharatpur) and quickly moved from that district west and south, through Alwar into Rajputana proper. Kāmā was now an imperial crownland and Sindhia as the Delhi Emperor's keeper was entitled to its revenue. But a captain of Holkar's family named Khush-hāl Kumār Pāgyā, thrust himself into the fort with his contingent and would not leave when politely asked by Gopāl Bhāū to do so. Tukoji sent him reinforcements when Gopal Bhau's lieutenant Lakhwā Dādā laid siege to Kāmā. After some weeks of fighting, Khush-hāl was murdered by a Rajput whose sister he had abducted, and the leaderless garri-

son cut their way out with their arms and rejoined Holkar's camp.

The contest next overflowed into the adjoining Alwar territory, where Tukoji Holkar's son Bāpu Rao was out on tribute-collection. Gopāl Bhāū sent him a message to say. "We have to realise ten lakhs from the Mācheri (Alwar) Rajah. Please do not press him for your money till we have collected our dues." Then the Sindhian generals marched to the scene in full force, and Bāpu Holkar retired to Lālsot in Jaipur territory in order to avoid a battle.

Tukoji Holkar himself was then encamped at Bhagwantgarh, on the south side of the Banas river, 13 miles north-west of Sawāī Mādhopur. Here he was visited (on 25 September, 1792) by Daulat-rām Haldiā, the Jaipur diwan, who formed with him a plan for a combined attack on Mahadji Sindhia's forces in Rajputana. It was settled that Tukoji would move from Bhagwantgarh to Surauli, eleven miles west of it, on the same southern bank of the Banas river (four miles south of Isarda), and begin the war on Sindhia as soon as the Jaipur Rajah got his contingent ready and issued from his capital. The Rajah's diwan left for Jaipur, with an agent of Tukoji, in order to hasten the war preparations. At this time, one large detachment of Holkar's army was at Lālsot under Bāpu Holkar, to shield the Jaipur capital from the Sindhian advance, and it was planned that he would join his father as soon as the projected campaign was opened.

5. THE BRUSH AT SURAULI, 8 OCT. 1792

Sindhia's generals, Gopāl Bhāū and Jivvā Dādā with De Boigne's brigade had been advancing from the north-eastern angle of the Jaipur Kingdom, conquering Bālāheri, Manpur, Gizzgarh and Dāosā. On learning of the new plot hatched against their master, they at once turned sharply southwards, by-passed Bāpu Holkar (leaving him on their right), and swiftly moved down towards Tukoji Holkar's camp on the Banas river. That chief had reached Surauli on 3rd October, and his son Bāpu could not join him in time for the coming battle. No battle, however, took place; the screen of light horse and Pindhari foragers in Holkar's service, spread before Tukoji's camp and, always shrinking from any action, merely tried to envelop Sindhia's army and molest its supplies. Parāshar Dādājī, the minister in charge of Tukoji's affairs, very wisely took early precautions as Sindhia's army approached him: he sent away the heavy baggage and camp to the south and

even removed Tukoji himself from the camp, while he himself with a light force stood at Surauli boldly facing the enemy.

Advancing without a check and crossing the Banas river, Gopāl Bhāu fell upon what remained of Tukoji's camp at Surauli (8th October). In the short fighting that ensued a few men on Holkar's side were killed, but the time gained by their resistance enabled Tukoji Holkar to be carried to a safe distance.¹ Soon afterwards Bāpu Holkar came up and joined Parāshar, so that the Sindhan generals thought it best to give up their chase and encamped six miles from the reinforced Holkar army.

This beating up of an almost deserted camp, which does not deserve the name of a battle,—became a turning point in the relations between Holkar and Sindhia. It utterly humiliated Tukoji in the eyes of the public. The family honour of the Holkars was wounded too deeply to be forgiven. A mere servant of their hereditary rival had thrashed and driven out the active head of the house of Holkar ! The insult could be wiped out only with blood. When the news of it reached Ahalyā Bāī, her anger flamed up; in the picturesque language of the Holkar family chronicle, what was merely the scalding of a finger became an inflammation of the head to her. She promised to spare no money in raising a new army for avenging the insult and declared that she would set out on campaign in person if her officers faltered. Men were recruited at various places and sent in batches to her generals in Rajputana month after month. Tukoji had engaged the French mercenary captain Chevalier Dudreuc to raise trained battalions for him in the manner of De Boigne's brigades in Sindhia's service. But owing to Ahalyā Bāī's parsimony² only four battalions could be formed, each consisting of 400 men (against 540 in a battalion of De Boigne), and from the shortness of the time they were imperfectly drilled. Besides, this force had no artillery at all comparable to De Boigne's splendid light brass guns; copious supply of munitions and efficient transport organization.

The Indore Government's one need was a

pushful General. Bāpu Holkar had been an eyewitness of Patan and Mertā, and therefore knew his own military inferiority and dreaded an open conflict with Sindhia's New Model army; moreover, he was now in broken health. Parāshar Dādāji, the man of business in charge of Holkar's army, fully agreed with Bāpu. Tukoji Holkar was quiescent in his cups, and wished for nothing better than to be left alone with his bottles. Their policy was to make a working compromise with Mahadji Sindhia's generals in Hindustan by mutual agreement and concession. Such an agreement was actually made even after the Surauli affair and it lasted for some four months.

6. MALHAR RAO HOLKAR THE YOUNGER : POLICY OF AGGRESSION TRIUMPHS

But then came Malhar Rao II Holkar the younger, on the scene, and "reversed the treaty with Gopāl Bhāu." This young son of Tukoji was a fanatical believer in the light foray tactics (*ghanimi gawā*) which had made Shivaji, Baji Rao I and Malhar Holkar the First famous throughout India many generations earlier and against enemies very differently armed. Recently this hot-headed youth had run away from home, gone to war on his own account, assembled bands of predatory horsemen and led them in looting helpless villages of the Peshwa's dominions in Khandesh. This success had heightened his prestige in the ignorant circle of Ahalyā Bāī's advisers, and his own self-conceit to the point of madness. He now insisted on being sent to Rajputana with power to override his father's generals, and promised to crush Mahadji's much-vaunted New Model army by making one sudden charge with his myriads of light cavalry, à la Malhar Holkar the First !

Ahalyā Bāī yielded to his boastful tongue and sent him to the Holkar camp in Rajputana, where Mahar II brushed aside the sober counsels of Bāpu and Parāshar and ordered an aggressive policy against the Sindhan generals.

Parāshar Dādāji, who clearly foresaw the coming disaster, tried to put it off as long as he could, by confining his tactics to roving and skirmishing round Sindhia's camp, but promptly falling back at the first threat of battle. "Hostilities began afresh : each side again tried to encircle the other." But with the giddy young hero Malhar in command, these fabian tactics could not continue long. Gopāl Bhāu and De Boigne took prompt action, as before Mertā and Surauli, to nip in the bud the new anti-Mahadji coalition which Tukoji was trying to build up with Bikāner, Marwār and some Mewar malcontents. Advancing by forced marches from

1. Tukoji now took up his residence at Babi, on the south side of the Chakan Nadi (a feeder of the Cham-bal) and 12 miles north of Lakerhi.

The Holkar family chronicle asserts that at Surauli their men fought a stiff battle for two hours and "five or fifty men were slain." I think that this battle should be classed with the combat which a famous English Knight "fought for one hour by the Shrewsbury clock."

2. A report from Ahalyā Bāī's Court, 26 July 1793, says that the army cost 3 lakhs a month, and the soldiers were 14 months in arrear of pay.

the north-eastern corner of Jaipur, near Kerauli, they beat Tukoji's army in the race for Mewar and made contact with it in the Sawai Madhopur region. Gopal Bhau, leaving his heavy baggage near Rantambhar, and forming a light mobile force, advanced south, with his cavalry in the centre and his French-trained infantry and guns protecting the two flanks, ready for a pitched battle. The Holkar war policy was to attack the Sindhan generals only if they advanced with their cavalry leaving the battalions behind. As Tukoji's diwan, Yashwant Gangadhara wrote, "We cannot sacrifice our men and horses by attacking them. Therefore, we are roving around them, adopting light foray tactics." [Chandra, ii. 122]

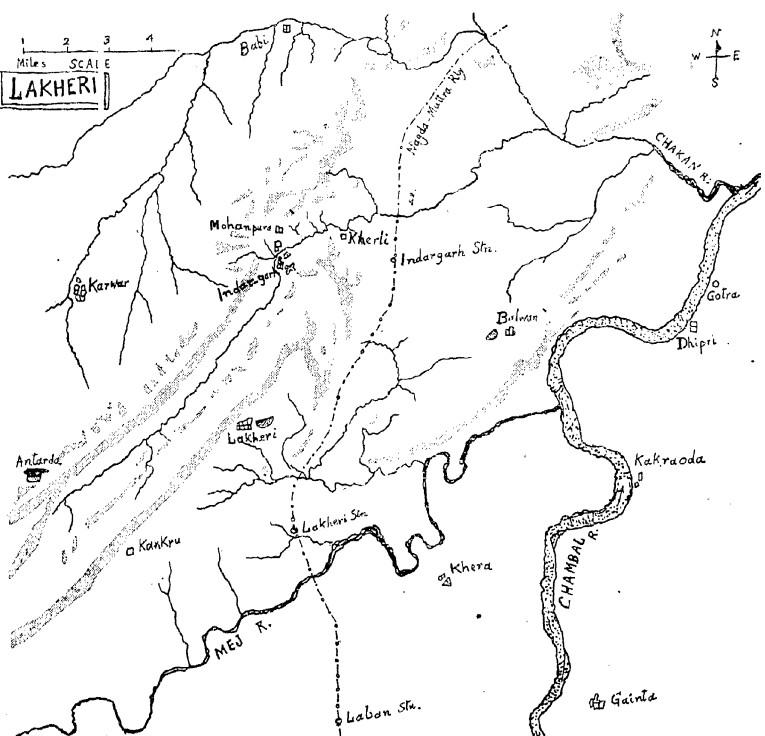
But an open contest could not be long delayed. On 27th May 1793, the first clash of arms took place; beaten by De Boigne's fire the Holkar horse fell back 20 miles to Lakheri, and the Sindhians followed them up, halting 10 miles before them. The decisive battle was fought five days later.

7. BATTLE OF LAKHERI THE RIVAL FORCES, AND STAGES OF THE BATTLE³

It was the first of June, 1793. De Boigne leading the Sindhian vanguard with his infantry brigade, approached the hill pass near the village of Kherli, a mile east of the town of Indargarh and three miles north-west of the modern railway station, named after that town. A dense forest covered his right flank up to the hill crest. Climbing a tree on the heights, he surveyed the

3. The battle was really fought close to Indargarh, where the pass crosses the long double mountain-chain running north-east from Bundi. There is no path over the mountains near the town of Lakheri, which is five miles south of the pass and town of Indargarh; but the whole district is named Lakheri.

enemy's position. There lay before him the army of Holkar spread out on the plain behind a marsh. Its left front was formed by the four battalions of Dudrene with their guns, trained on the approach to the hill pass. Immediately to

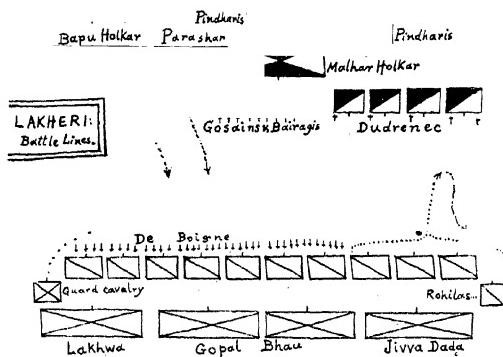


their right stood a crowd of irregular infantry consisting of wild Gosains and Bairagis or monks fighting for hire. The second line was formed by the Deccani horse, in three large divisions—Bapu Holkar's on the right, Tukoji's own contingent under Parashar in the centre, and Malhar Holkar's on the left, with the Pindhari force (eight to ten thousand) on their small ponies in the rear. Dudrene is said to have had only five guns of his own, against 80 under De Boigne, and the disparity in trained infantry was almost as great, 1600 men against 6500. There were some old and very ineffective cannon with Holkar's troops. The Gosains and Bairagis had some antiquated matchlocks, besides swords and spears. But their favourite weapon of offence was rockets, of which they had an ample supply carried in carts to the firing line; these could do no harm at all comparable to artillery fire, but they were chiefly useful in

making unbroken horse stampede, and also in causing fires in the enemy's munitions by a rare lucky hit.

Holkar's army was made up of twenty to twenty-five thousand Deccani horsemen and four battalions of regular infantry (each 400 strong) under Dudrenec, with 38 "guns of position." This number did not include "the crowd of infantry" (as the French account aptly describes them), meaning the irregular troops known as Gosains and Bairagis (some eight to ten thousand), nor the Pindharis (probably the same number).

Gopal Bhau's command included 20,000 cavalry of his own and De Boigne's First Bri-



gade, consisting of ten battalions (544 bayonets each), with 500 Ruhela infantry and a regiment of select cavalry (300 sabres) attached to it. He had 80 excellent light guns of improved French design, which fired smaller balls, but with the same range as his enemy's heavier pieces. But his transport and supply system was a wonder for that age. Each light gun was drawn by 8 oxen and its separate ammunition-waggon by 12 oxen. Each battalion had attached to it five guns,—two of them three-pounders, two six-pounders, and one a caronade (8-pounder or larger). For each three-pounder gun 400 rounds, for each six-pounder 300 rounds, and for the caronade 45 rounds of grape and 12 shells, were carried into the field. To a regiment of cavalry were attached four three-pounder galloper guns, each drawn by two horses, with four camels each carrying 60 rounds for each galloper. Camels also transported water.

At Lakhri, on account of the nature of the ground, there was no regular battle along the whole line at one time, but the fight was conducted piecemeal by section against section in a number of different stages. The action began

after nine in the morning with the advance of a wing of De Boigne's infantry before his artillery had arrived; but the movement was soon broken up by the enemy's unopposed gunfire. After a pause among the trees, followed his full-strength artillery reply, during which an unlucky accident exploded twelve of his munition-tumbrils and dismounted 10 or 12 of his guns. Taking advantage of the confusion thus created, the Holkar horse delivered an attack, but as they came out on the open ground in front, they were mowed down by 6500 musketeers holding a sheltered position on three sides of them. The shaken horsemen were counter-charged by De Boigne's personal guards of three hundred superb cavalry and turned back.

By this time the engagement had lasted four or five hours and the sun had already turned to the west. There was no water-supply to Holkar's weary fighters; their gun-fire slackened and then ceased altogether when all the munitions were used up, while De Boigne's eighty guns continued pitilessly blazing away and coming up closer and closer. Then Holkar's sorely tried army began to break up: first the Gosains and Bairagis fled away from the field, with the Pindharis behind them. This left Holkar's centre vacant. At the same time his retiring cavalry was counter-charged by the full force of Sindhia's horse under Gopal Bhau and Jivva Dada, on the heels of De Boigne's Guard squadrons, and their retreat was turned into a hopeless rout. Thus, Holkar's front centre and the whole of his second line ceased to exist, and there remained only the four battalions of trained infantry on his left wing, under Chevalier Dudrenec. The last stage of the battle now began with a general advance of Sindhia's entire army against this remnant of the enemy force. Seeing his right uncovered, Dudrenec had extended his small force into a long thin line and now held the centre of the original position of his side. He refused to surrender and fought on to the last man, though opposed to four-fold odds in musketry, a devastating artillery fire, and complete encirclement by hostile cavalry while his own guns had been silenced and his cavalry had gone away out of sight. With the annihilation of this force the battle ended, just before the summer sunset dropped the curtain on one of the bloodiest scenes in the blood-red annals of Rajasthan.

8. DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE BATTLE

The country leading up to the Indargarh pass was intersected by ravines and dry brooks

and encumbered with trees and bush. Therefore, Sindhia's army could not advance from its previous night's camp in battle order, but marched in a long snake-like column to reach the enemy. The guns toiled on in single file after each battalion.

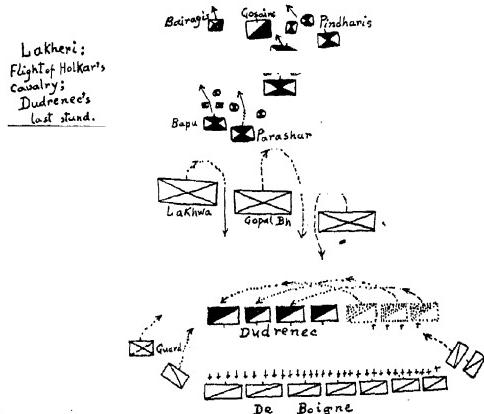
On sighting the enemy, De Boigne reconnoitred Holkar's lines from a tree-top, and sent three regular battalions and a body of Rohilla irregular infantry specially trained for storming, to carry the pass which led to the enemy's position. No artillery preparation or support could be given, and this small advance guard was met by a storm of cannon-balls and rocket-fire, and they fell back with heavy losses. De Boigne wisely led them back to the shelter of the trees on the two sides, where Holkar's artillery could do them little harm. By their prodigal and useless expenditure of their scanty supply of shot and shell at this initial stage, Holkar's army ran quite out of munitions when the real crisis of the battle came later and they could make no reply to De Boigne's fire.

The enforced halt among the woods enabled the rest of De Boigne's infantry and guns to come up. He deployed his column and formed his line of battle gradually as the battalions arrived one after another. His guns were immediately unlimbered and opened fire upon the enemy with a crushing superiority. Their guns were of heavier calibre, but his were double in number and equal in range, and could be fired with greater quickness and accuracy by his European gunlayers.

Thus clearing the pass, he issued from it into the more open ground beyond, which was however too much cut up by ravines and covered with trees and jungle to allow regular manœuvring or free-firing. But just then an unforeseen accident threatened disaster to his force : "A bullet hitting the iron side of an open munition waggon caused a spark to flash, which exploded that waggon and the fire spreading, twelve other tumbrils blew up at the same time, while ten or twelve guns were thrown out of their carriages and rendered unserviceable. The confusion spread to the infantry, and the enemy horse, advanced with rapidity to profit by the disorder. De Boigne, who saw the storm coming, immediately retired his men some yards into the forest," and kept them standing ready to meet the attack. As the Holkarian cavalry came out of their back line into the open plain before them, they were subjected to a withering fire of 6,500 muskets firing by platoons and 80 guns ranged close ahead in a semi-circle, and fell into

disorder after losing many men and horses for nothing.

Just as they stopped and hesitated, De Boigne launched his select cavalry on them. This body of only three hundred troopers, mounted on superb horses and accoutred in the sumptuous style of the famous Bengal Cavalry of the British, charged with the compactness and force of a bullet. Their green coats and red turbans were at first lost to view in the wavy ocean of ten thousand parti-coloured jackets and tight twisted orange *pugrees* of the Deccani horse. The blow was struck at the psychological moment. At the impact of disciplined valour, Holkar's rabble on horseback began to scatter like chaff before the wind. Emboldened



by this sight, the entire Sindhian cavalry, under Jivvā Dādā and Gopāl Bhāu, fell upon the shaken Holkarians and turned their retreat into a hopeless rout, chasing them out of sight from the battle-field.

By this time it was well past noon. Holkar's troops who had been up and in arms since day-break and working for eight hours under the burning sun of June in Rajputana, were at last overcome by thirst. Worn out with toil, raked by De Boigne's guns to which they were no longer able to reply, and dying of thirst with no hope of water supply, the Holkarian army now broke up rapidly. As their Rajah's family chronicler admits, "Our troops began to cry for water. In Sindhia's campoo camels continued to bring skins full of water, but on our side there was no water. Therefore, the Gosains and Bairagis ran away. Munitions ran short in our five [four] battalions... Even the Maratha horse took to flight."

Where was Malhar Holkar II at this time? As his father's cavalry left the lost field and issued out of the pass, they found Malhar lying in the water of a tank by the roadside quite unconscious. The pot-valiant hero was cooling his wine-flushed head after ruining his family prestige and the lives of hundreds of brave men. As the *Holkar Kaifiyat* comments on it : "He in reliance on whom they had made the reversal of the treaty, was in such a condition!"

With the flight of the Gosains and Bairagis and of the Pindharis and Maratha horse behind them,⁴ the entire Centre and Right wing of Holkar's army disappeared. The Deccanis vanished like smoke, leaving the fight to be continued by the Hindustanis on both sides. Holkar's left wing still stood firmly. It was now a contest between two trained infantry forces, each under European leadership.

De Boigne called upon Chevalier Dudrenee to surrender, but the call was gallantly refused and a fight to the death ensued. Dudrenee, by a prompt tactical move pivoting on his right and marching *en echelon*, had extended his line from the left, into the gap created by the vanishing of Holkar's centre, and though absolutely denuded of cavalry support, he tried to guard his flanks with fire. But his numbers were hopelessly weak, 1600 bayonets against 6500, and his guns had been rendered useless by the exhaustion of powder, and there was no reserve or support within sight. Left utterly alone in the field, and hemmed in front by De Boigne's ten battalions and on the two flanks and rear by Gopāl Bhāu's returned cavalry, with sixty light brass guns firing on them at point-blank range, Holkar's northern sepoys fought on till they were almost all annihilated. There was no escape possible, and none was sought. All their European officers were either killed or wounded; Dudrenee himself escaped death by falling into a heap of the slain.

Holkar's defeat was complete and the battle decided the Sindhia-Holkar rivalry for domination over Hindustan. But Holkar's tiny New Model and its European officers had not disgraced

themselves. True, they served Tukoji for their bread. But call them not mercenaries; they fought for their paymaster and made the supreme sacrifice as devotedly as they would have done in the defence of their own fatherland.

9. THE FRUITS OF THE VICTORY

The loss on Holkar's side was very heavy. Dudrenee, in an interview with Ahalyā Bāī on 27th August, reported that 800 to 900 men had fallen on his side; this evidently refers to his four battalions, which would mean more than 50 per cent fatal casualties. The deaths among the Maratha horse have not been given anywhere, and we are only told, in the accounts that reached Puna, of "great destruction" having been wrought among them. But they took to flight so quickly that more of them died of thirst and fatigue on the way than those that fell on the field, chiefly as victims of De Boigne's fire. Sindhia's loss was even much slighter than at Merta.

From the hard-won field, Gopāl Bhāu marched and occupied Holkar's abandoned camp near Lakheri city. The spoils of victory included 38 pieces of cannon, ten cart-loads of rockets, 200 horses, 50 camels, three *palkis*, four camels laden with treasure, besides all the tents and baggage.

The fugitives suffered unspeakable hardship from lack of water on the route for some days after leaving Lakheri. They crossed the Kali Sindh and moved south-east into the Khichi country, *en route* to Indore.

But this battle seriously compromised Mahadji Sindhia in the eyes of the Poona Government and ruined his policy of making an amicable settlement with Tukoji Holkar for the peaceful government of Hindustan. And their hereditary quarrel lingered on to the generation of their great-grandsons : "Maharajah Sir Jayaji Rao Sindhia had never met Maharajah Sir Tukoji Rao Holkar of Indore, or entered his territories; proposals for a meeting between the two chiefs had been frequently made, but had always broken down upon some point of ceremony....But nothing could prevent Sir Jayaji Rao from proceeding to Indore to pay Sir Henry D. Daly the visit of sympathy and condolence [on the death of Daly's wife in October 1874].At the first stage, on the banks of the Narmada, he and Sir Tukoji Rao met for the first time in their lives." [*Memoirs of Genl. Daly*, 330.]

4. One MS. of *Holkaranchi Kaifiyat* gives the reading that Bapu Holkar signalled with his scarf to Dudrenee to retire, and then the army broke up. The other MSS. omit this version; but it is quite credible; Bapu as a cool-headed and experienced General must have found that the day was lost and rightly tried to save his army for fighting another day.

LATE BABU RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

BY BHAI PARAMANAND, M.A. M.L.A.

THE death of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee has with a great mission before it and all those who removed a great personality from the national studied the journal would appreciate the fact life of Bengal. He was working as the principal of a college at Allahabad and an idea struck his mind to take up the line of journalism as his chief occupation. When he thought of this plan the profession of journalism had not gained either reputation or respect. In those days to start a respectable monthly in English was really a task which a man of Babu Ramananda Chatterjee's ability and talent only could accomplish.

He started his *Modern Review*. It has occupied the most honourable and leading position in India for generations. In ancient India when there was neither any important literature nor any newspapers even in name, when the modern printing press could not even be thought of, there were experienced and learned Brahmins or Sannyasis who by their advice guided the society in all its social and political matters and whose advice was sought even by the ruling princes and their assemblies on all occasions of difficulty. It was these persons, very few in number, who enjoyed the status of real leaders of society in those days. Times have changed. The invention of the printing press and along with this the rapid development of various kinds of literature has created a sort of social revolution which has influenced social and political relations almost everywhere. India too had its share in that revolution. Particularly our contact with the Western ways of thought has put an end to our own system of education and along with this the ancient class of our teachers and leaders has also disappeared. Naturally in their places has grown up a new class of persons who on account of devoting their lives in the pursuit of public professions have assumed the position of leaders in the country. And among these public professions it is only those men who have got the use of press or platform that have come into prominence and thus they have not only influenced the public life in the country but in fact serve as the leaders of thought. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee started his *Modern Review* which in a very short time became a renowned magazine within the country and even beyond it. Its articles were contributed by learned men from its very start. And the views that were expressed in the editorial notes by himself contained important principles on almost all the questions current in the country and these views amounted to the sayings of a great savant. *The Modern Review* was started

A nation's worth is judged only by a number of great persons who are born in it. Such men are very rare and undoubtedly Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was one of them. Bengal was one of the provinces that very early received the benefits of modern education. As a result of this education Bengal produced religious reformers as well as a good many political leaders. Babu Ramananda Chatterjee did not belong to this class. He belonged to the class to which belonged Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the first graduate of the Calcutta University, and which, in a way, can claim Swami Vivekananda as its chief exponent. They differed from the ordinary run of leaders as it was they who created an awakening in the national life of Bengal and also of Hindu India. They both placed the glory of the ancient Hindus as their ideal and devoted their learning and energy for its revival. They both may be said to be the forerunners of the Hindu-unification movement in the country.

In recent times Babu Ramananda had a similar mission for himself and he can be named as the third important person in that list. The life of Bengal during those days was filled with new political ideas. The political theory of the time was in favour of creating a new nation in the country by amalgamating the various communities and it ignored altogether the opposition between the views and interests of those communities. With a strong and earnest belief in this theory the leaders of political thought in India discarded the idea of Hindu culture and greatness and looked upon these sentiments with contempt as savouring of communalism. Communalism became a term of contempt and anything partaking of communalism was not to be tolerated. It was in such an atmosphere in Bengal, permeated with such ideas that Babu Ramananda Chatterjee was prepared to join the Hindu Mahasabha movement and was elected the president of the All-India session which was held at Surat (Gujrat). If we look deeply into the matter we will find that in those days in Bengal it required great courage and self-confidence for a man to come in the field with a flag of Hindu Sangathan in his hands. Ever since then he was taking interest in the movement to the best of his ability.

EARLY HISTORY OF SUGAR IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

SUGAR, like textiles, has been manufactured in Bengal from time immemorial. The earliest mention of crystal sugar is found when Dioscorides in 35 B.C., speaking of the different kinds of honey, says that "there is a kind of it in a concrete state, called Saccharon, which is found in reeds in India and Arabia Felix." Pliny, in 77 A.D., knew sugar, which he also calls Saccharon, and says that it was brought to the West from Arabia and India, but the best from the latter country.¹ In 145 A.D., Arrian mentions sugar—honey from the reeds—as an article of trade between Hither India and Red Sea Ports. In the same year, Aelian, in his Natural History locates the seat of the sugar industry when he says that a kind of honey was pressed from reeds that grew among the Prasii, a people who lived near the Ganges. In 212 A.D., Alexander Aphrodisœus said, "What the Indians called sugar, was a concrete honey in reeds, resembling grains of salt of a white colour, and brittle." During his travels about 1250 A.D., Marco Polo found sugar in abundance in Bengal.² A detailed description of the methods of cultivation, manufacture of all forms of sugar and the distillation of spirits from it in the Ain-i-Akbari proves that the sugar industry was in a flourishing state in India in the 16th century.

It is difficult to ascertain when sugar was first introduced into England, but it has so far been traced that the art of refining sugar was known in that country about 1300 A.D. It appears in the account of Chamberlain of Scotland in 1329 A.D., that loaves of sugar were sold in Scotland "at above an ounce of standard silver by the pound." So Britain was behind India at least by 14 centuries in the art of sugar manufacture.

Systematic cultivation of sugar cane and manufacture of sugar outside India dates only from the sixteenth century. The Dutch first established sugar works in Brazil in 1580; but on being expelled from there by the Portuguese shifted their plantation and industry to the West Indies. In 1643, the English made sugar at Barbadoes, but it was of "so inferior a kind, as to be hardly worth sending to England."³ By 1650, "it had improved considerably, but was not equal to that manufactured in Brazil.

The French made sugar at Guadaloupe in 1648. The Jamaica sugar plantations were started by the English after 1664. Since then it has spread over most of the West India Islands. The English plantations were ultimately greatly successful. The British sugar was soon able to oust the Portuguese from the British market by underselling them. Sir Josiah Child says in 1670 :

"We have already beat their Muscovado and Panecal sugars quite out of England, and their whites we have brought down in all these parts of Europe, in prices of £7 and £8 per cwt, to £2 10s. and £3, and we have also much lessened their quantities; for whereas formerly thin Brazil fleets brought 100 to 120,000 chests of sugar, they are now reduced to about 30,000 chests since the great increase of Barbadoes."

Sugar trade in England was then open. But it was soon found that although the Portuguese had been beaten, it was not so easy to beat other competitors. After the restoration of Charles II, Parliament proceeded to protect the British industry by several measures of restriction including Acts of Navigation. In consequence of these restrictions, England commanded a large export trade in sugar until the French had greatly improved their industry and began to undersell England in most parts of Europe. In less than 20 years starting from about 1726, the French had made almost incredible improvements in sugar plantations in their West India Islands, particularly in St. Domingo leaving England far behind in this industry. About the time of the Revolution however there was a sudden turn in the tide of French fortune and Britain was able to regain her lost position. After the passing of the Commutation Act, price of tea was reduced and demand for sugar in England rose very high. The supply was restricted due to the virtual prohibition of the Eastern product. In 1792, Indian sugar had to pay an import duty of £37-16-3d. per cent. while the West Indian sugar paid only £0-15-5 per cwt. There was great rise in the price of sugar. The East India Company, by a resolution dated March 15, 1792, requested the Lords of Treasury to reduce the prohibitive duty on East India sugar, and to charge Bengal sugar at the same rated duty as that fixed for sugar from the British plantations. The request was not granted. The profit on Bengal sugar going into the British market was very high.⁴ During the nine years, from 1791 to 1799, 29807 tons of Bengal

1. Milburn : *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 263.

2. Travels of Marco Polo, edited by W. Marsden, F.R.S., 1818, Bk. II, Ch. XLV.

3. Milburn : *Ibid*, p. 264.

4. Milburn : *Ibid*, p. 272.

sugar, purchased at £713,200 were exported to London where this quantity was sold for £16,70,832. The net profit, exclusive of shipping and other charges, was £254,986 or more than 33 per cent.

The amount of profit will be better understood from the following statement, quoted by Milburn, of the Company's imports in 1798 :

5,242 tons cost in India, including all charges on board—£99,682 or £0-19-0 per cwt.

The freight thereon, at £20 per ton—£104,838.

Duties paid by the Company—£6,946.

Charges at 1s. per ton on the quantity sold—£4,930.

Total cost and charges £216,396.

Gross amount from Company's sales £331,381 or £3-3-2 per cwt.

Company's profit £114,985.

The profit of the Company as importers therefore was more than 50 per cent.

The expansion of the sugar trade is illustrated by the following account of the export of sugar from Bengal, excluding Company's export :

Years	Total Exports Sa. Rs.	To England Sa. Rs.	To America Sa. Rs.
1795-6	8,20,186	3,05,051	1,26,171
1796-7	11,57,715	4,77,000	3,34,248
1797-8	8,46,752	1,82,650	5,19,533
1798-9	14,01,646	3,75,999	1,70,560
1799-1800	23,89,691	6,98,667	6,59,340
1800-1	10,00,099	1,19,406	5,50,513
1801-2	12,01,798	2,17,899	3,10,379
1802-3	10,81,544	2,30,727	5,04,544
1803-4	10,71,366	672	8,53,313
1804-5	18,20,446	116	6,53,332
1805-6	33,24,168	54,478	11,69,261

The remainder of the exports, besides England and America, went to the coasts of Malabar and Coromandal, Ceylon, Prince of Wales Island, Cape of Good Hope and Persian and Arabic Gulfs.

The following is an account of the quantity imported into England by the East India Company :

	£
1803	56,789
1804	208,060
1805	295,814
1806	150,250
1807	199,873

The direction of trade in 1805 was :

Country	Sugar Exports Sa. Rs.	Total Exports Sa. Rs.
U. S. A.	11,69,261	62,78,055
Sumatra	16,620	4,93,401
Persian and Arabic Gulfs	5,37,255	21,85,287
Malabar Coast	13,50,493	53,60,781
Coromandal Coast	1,43,926	24,10,253

The exports from India had begun to tell powerfully, and an increased production in the West Indies had also been brought about. Accordingly, in 1807, a committee of the House

of Commons had actually to be appointed to consider the depressed state of the West Indian trade. It was shown that an alarming fall in the price of sugar had taken place since 1799. The imposition of a heavy duty on Indian sugar had evidently failed to produce the desired effect. Among the suggestions offered by this committee it was proposed to increase the consumption of sugar by introducing its use into distilleries.⁵ The committee also examined and reported on the enormous expenses attendant on the prevailing system of cultivation in the West Indies. Various measures were considered but none apparently put into force.

Even after 1807, export trade in unrefined sugar continued in full force as will appear from the following figures :⁶

Year	By E. I. Co. Cwts.	By Private Trade Cwts.	Total Cwts.
1814	40,241	3,548	43,789
1815	8,322	115,970	124,292
1820	19,298	257,906	277,204
1825	20,866	223,196	244,062
1826	80,845	262,002	342,847
1827	103,222	276,959	380,181
1828	75,190	441,641	516,831

INCREASED CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

The high sugar prices since 1789 tempted the East India Company to make vigorous efforts for increasing the production of sugar in India, and specially in Bengal. It was pointed out⁷ that

"The Company's territories in Bengal are capable of supplying sugar for the consumption of all Europe, if a regard for the interest of the West India planters did not render a very great extension of the East India sugar trade improper, and if the duty upon it were not so high as to render the importation of it a losing business, except when the price happens to be very high in this country. In April 1789, the Company sent orders to Bengal for shipping a quantity of sugar, which arriving at the time when the price, was enormously high, was sold with some profit. The Company, thinking that Bengal ought to be considered as a British territory, and seeing that British West India Sugar could not stand in need of a protecting duty, when the quantity of it was so very inadequate to the demand for home consumption and exportation to the Continent, applied to the Lords of the Treasury for a reduction of the duty, but without success. If the duty upon East India and West India sugar were equalised, the difference of the freight upon so heavy an article would still operate as a protection to the latter, and effectually prevent any larger importation of the former than what may be brought as ballast along with finer and lighter goods. From what is now stated, it is evident, that a very large

5. Watt : *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 36.

6. Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords, presented to the House on February 9, 1818, p. 1418.

7. MacPherson : *History of European Commerce with India*, 1812, pp. 388-389.

importation of East India sugars would be ruinous to the West India planters, whose property is too large and important to be sacrificed, and also to the importers. With regard to the balance of trade, for which many of our political economists are so anxious, it is proper to remember that the whole first cost of East India sugars are mostly paid in bullion, whereas West India sugars are mostly paid for with British merchandise, and a great part of the balance, paid to the proprietors of sugar estates, is spent by them in this country.

The demand for the equalisation of duties on East India and West India sugars voiced in 1792 gave rise to a controversy which dragged on till 1836, when the duties were equalised. Even as late as 1825, opposition to the East India Company's demand was acute. A champion of the West India planters, signing A. B., wrote in the course of a letter to the *Asiatic Journal* :

"Zealous political economists were apparently strenuous for the admission of India sugar into England upon the same duty as that from the West Indies... By favouring the sugar of India, total ruin would have ensued to the West India colonies, for the protection of which the faiths of Parliament and the country is pledged."

The editor of the Journal commented :

"We have not scrupled to insert the concluding para of our correspondent's letter, although we are directly at issue with him on the question respecting the policy of furthering E. I. sugar with an unequal duty for the protection of W. I. planters."

The sugar industry of Bengal had been in a flourishing and well developed condition at the close of eighteenth century. The following letter from the merchants of Calcutta to the Government written in 1776, will speak for itself :

"Formerly sugar was one of the staple articles of Bengal, and a considerable trade was carried on in it to Madras, the Malabar Coast, Bombay, Surat, Scindy, Muscat, the Persian Gulf, Mocha and Judda. Even so late as the period preceding the capture of Calcutta, in 1756, the annual exportation was about 50,000 mds. which yielded a profit of about 50 per cent. and the returns for which were generally in specie; so that in the 20 years immediately preceding the capture, it may be estimated that there flowed into Bengal for this article no less than 60,000,000 rupees, which was all clear gain to the country, and of the most eligible kind, the production of the ground manufactured by the natives. And this flow was regular, always feeding, but never overcharging the circulation. During the last 20 years the price of sugar has been gradually increasing, and the exportation and growth diminishing in the same proportion, so that the price is now 50 per cent. more than it was before that period. The charge of transportation is also greater; and the price in the foreign markets not having risen in the same proportion, the export is so trifling and casual, that the sugar trade of Bengal is in fact annihilated."

The merchants, in the same letter, suggested the following remedy :

8. *Asiatic Journal*, January, 1825.

"Supposing the recovery of this trade to be an object deserving attention, we submit to your consideration whether it be attainable by any other means than by encouraging Europeans, distinguished by their property, situation and credit from ordinary adventurers, to undertake the cultivation and manufacture of sugar after the method practised in the West Indies, by grants of unoccupied lands and other reasonable privileges. We admit that much will depend on the conduct of the first undertakers; but with proper management on their part, and a reasonable support from Government, we think that success would be infallible, and that in a few years the natives would follow the new method, which would thence soon become general throughout the country."⁹

The desired privileges were conferred by the Governor-General. A grant of land was made and a sugar plantation on the West Indian model was started. After repeated experiments, by a society formed for the purpose, the efforts to establish large plantations were abandoned on the plea that the "soil was found so universally infested with white ants that the Society were obliged to drop their scheme." The society then broke up and some of the merchants began to manufacture sugar and rum from cane purchased from the cultivators. After some time, this process had also to be dropped. The main reason of their failure seems to have been the competitive cost. Sugar was so cheaply produced and frugally manufactured by the people of Bengal that big plantation, with costly establishment was unable to stand their competition. The experiments performed by the first Indian Sugar Company, however, had demonstrated what has been confirmed over and over again since, that certain soils or certain cultivated races of the sugar cane, grown in India, were quite as rich in crystallisable sugar as the West India forms.¹⁰

A letter of Mr. Bebb, then a Member of the Bengal Board of Trade, lately a Director of the East India Company, addressed to the Governor-General on July 9, 1790, proves that Bengal sugar was showing every sign of expansion :

The material articles of export from Bengal are rice, sugar, raw silk and silk piecegoods. Some of these articles are peculiar to Bengal; others are carried from other countries to Madras and Bombay, and rival those of Bengal. Among the articles thus rivalled, sugar is the most valuable; it is of so much importance, that the extending export of it is of sufficient weight in itself to merit consideration. The Bombay market was supplied with sugar from China, Manilla and Batavia, as well as from Bengal; all that can be purchased at Batavia by the Bombay merchants is eagerly bought; the vending or procuring a cargo of sugar is even considered a sort of favour conferred by the officers of the

9. East India Sugar, Papers on the Culture and Manufacture of Sugar in India, 1822, pp. 12-16.

10. Watt : *Dictionary of Economic Products of India*, Vol. VI, Pt. II, p. 37.

Dutch Government on the Bombay merchant. The Mahrattas, the great consumers of sugar imported into Bombay, are said, however, to give a preference to Bengal sugar, if it be of the same or nearly the same price.

Anthony Lambert, a merchant in Calcutta and who was ever considered as one of the ornaments of the polished circle of friends whom that great Orientalist Sir William Jones drew round him, was aware of the great possibilities of sugar industry in Bengal. He wrote to the Governor-General in September 1790 :

"The crude juggery, as furnished by the Ryots in almost every part of Bengal, is capable of producing sugar and sugar candy fully equal in quality to what is made in Europe, China or Batavia."

Bebb suggested abolition of duties on the import of sugar into other parts of British settlements in India as a concrete measure to encourage export of the Bengal product. Bebb's suggestion was accepted and the duties were taken off. The consequent reduction in price gave the Bengal product an advantage over her rivals in the Indian market and exports increased. Reduction in price did not injure the quality of the product. Milburn asserts in 1810,¹¹ i.e., within 20 years of the event, that

"The duties on the importation of Bengal sugar into the other British possessions in India being done away, together with the anxious desire of many resident merchants to raise its quality, and reduce its price to such a standard as to make it an object of profitable export, gave great encouragement to the cultivators; and the quality of it so much improved that in 1791 it had become a staple with foreigners, and an export trade to Flanders and America was rising very fast."

The indigenous manufacturers were not in the least unmindful about the maintenance of the quality of their product. It is difficult to justify Moreland¹² when he makes the following adverse comment about the quality of Indian sugar :

"Since much of the Indian product was inferior in quality and relatively costly to export, it did not at first secure any large share of the European market."

The real cause of the absence of Bengal sugar into the English or continental market, as we have already seen, had been the political manipulations of the British, French and Portuguese merchants to secure that market for their own product. The East India Company, who had interest in Bengal sugar, tried their best to capture these markets. Britain kept the Bengal sugar at bay only by the imposition of a veiled prohibitive duty when that commodity had threatened to compete the West India product in the British market. The same attitude to

Bengal sugar pervaded the minds of the British Government throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Contemporary accounts in the early nineteenth century show that *there was scarcely a district in Bengal where the cane did not flourish*; but it thrived best in Rungpore, Burdwan, Beerbhumi and Midnapore, and in Bihar and Benares which were then included within the boundary of Bengal. It was successfully cultivated in all these places and Milburn observed in 1810 that "there seem to be no other bounds to the possible production of sugar in Bengal than the limits of the demand and consequent vent for it." The potentialities of the Indian market were very large, and "it only needed encouragement to equal the demand of Europe also."

Milburn was fully corroborated by W. Hamilton in 1820. Hamilton says,¹³

"The sugar cane, the name of which was scarcely known to the ancient inhabitants of Europe, grew luxuriantly throughout Bengal in the remotest times. From India it was introduced into Arabia, and from thence into Europe and Africa. From Benares to Rungpore, and from the borders of Assam to Cuttack, there is scarcely a district in Bengal, or its dependent provinces, wherein the sugar does not flourish. It thrives most especially in the districts of Benares, Bahar, Rungpore, Birboom, Burdwan and Midnapore—is successfully cultivated in all."

The cost of manufacture of Bengal sugar was extremely low. According to Milburn's calculations, it did not cost more than 5s per cwt., or in terms of modern currency, not more than Rs. 2-8-0 per md., while the British sugar at the West Indies could not be manufactured at a cost below 20s per cwt.

Capt. W. H. Sleeman published an account of the productivity, cost of production and profits of the Bengal sugar in the *Calcutta Oriental Magazine*. This article was reproduced in an abridged form in the *Asiatic Journal*, October, 1828, and is given below :

The best lands in Jamaica are said to have yielded at 5,000 pounds, the acre from first year's cuttings. Dr. Roxburgh estimates the returns from the irrigated lands of Rajamundry at 5,000 pounds of coarse sugar the acre; and I have estimated, on a large scale, the average returns from lands watered and well manured in Bengal, at 2,500 pounds the acre. The finest crop of cane I ever saw in Bengal, yielded at 5,000 pounds the acre; but this was from the straw coloured cane, while I have reason to believe that the cane described by Dr. Roxburgh was a large purple cane, which yields sugar in greater abundance, but of inferior quality.

The rent of lands in Bengal, the rate of annual returns, may be estimated at about the same as in the

11. Milburn : *Ibid.* p. 271.

12. Moreland : *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 138.

13. W. Hamilton : *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan*, Vol. I, 1820, pp. 28-29.

Isle of France; but I should rate the cost of tillage in Bengal at about one-third of that of the Mauritius, even with the advantage of artificial irrigation from wells and wheels. The costs of cultivation, including rent, are not more than one half the costs of producing sugar, even before it leaves the mill; and the whole of the costs incurred upon it before it leaves the mill are less than four-fifths of the costs incurred before it reaches the hands of the merchant exporter, according to the above calculations. The same saving must, in India, be made in the manufacture of the sugar and its subsequent distribution as in the cultivation, provided the people avail themselves of the same agency in machinery, works, etc., etc., as it is to be hoped they soon will. If we rate the rent at 20s. and the other costs at one-third of those of the Mauritius, or at 27s., we have a collective cost of 47s. for a return of 2,000 to 2,500 pounds of sugar.

As cuttings are not taken a second year in Bengal, every acre contributes its produce to the supply, and from every acre on which costs are incurred returns are received; say 500 acres, at 22-7s. the acre—£1,175-7s.; 500 returns, at 2,000 lbs.—1,000,000 lbs. Say planter one-half, 500,000 at 8s.—£2,000. Profits of planter £824-13.

The price of good exportable brown sugar in Calcutta, even with all the disadvantages of a protecting duty of ten shillings the hundred, of a bad species of cane, of the want of machinery and skill in the manufactory, by which the quality of sugar is injured, and the cost of preparing it is augmented, is seldom below six rupees, or twelve shillings the hundred; and on the lands that produce it the price is about 10s. (At this time, the sugar of Bhurwan, Kanchunagur, and Beerboom, is Rs. 6 the md. in Calcutta, and about Rs. 5 in these districts; that of Benares, Mirzapore and Ghazzeepore at five rupees the md. in Calcutta, and four in these districts. The ordinary price in Calcutta is, for the former, five, and for the latter four rupees the md.). In rating the price of sugar to the planter at 8s. I give him an ample return, while my rate is good deal below the ordinary price.

The introduction of a better species of cane would give a more ample produce, and of a better quality; and the introduction of machinery and skill would reduce the expenses of manufactory, and of the actual produce leave a greater share to the cultivator. But the introduction of a better cane, and of machinery and skill in the manufactory would improve the quality of the sugar and increase its price in the Europe market.

It should be remembered here that the West India plantations were manned by slaves, while in Bengal everything was done by free labour. One body of opinion in England, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, recommended the encouragement of sugar cultivation in India as the natural and certain means of effecting the total abolition of slave trade.¹⁴

The Bengal farmer was fully alive to the use of manure in his plantations. Hamilton says :

The Bengal farmer restricts the use of manure to sugarcane, mulberry, tobacco, poppy and some other articles. Of the manure little is worthy of notice, except to mention that oilcake is sometimes used as a manure for cane sugar.

14. J. Cropper : Letters to Wilberforce, 1822.

Ain-i-Akbari has recorded that sugar plantations were not only manured but artificially irrigated wherever necessary. The juice was extracted by wooden mills driven by bullocks. Col. Gastrell's Revenue Survey Report¹⁵ gives a vivid description of the process of manufacture in vogue in the Faridpur district. Women and boys were usually employed to feed these cottage mills with canes and drive the bullocks. Westland's detailed account of the sugar manufactures and sugar trade of Jessore is also available to show how flourishing this important industry of the district had been during the early part of the past century.

The first modern sugar mill in India, the Dhoba Sugar Works, was established in the Burdwan district by C. H. Blake, in 1829, in which steam power was used.¹⁶ The mill however was unsuccessful. It failed after running for only two years. Blake had followed the system of entering into contracts with local growers of sugar cane for the supply of the cane. A second enterpriser, T. H. Henley, established a mill at Baruipur, in 24-Parganas, about 1830-32, although on a smaller scale. He cultivated the native canes and manufactured sugar from them on the West India principle. This enterprise was also a failure. The endeavours did not stop here. Watt¹⁷ says :

Attention appears to have been next directed to Eastern Bengal and Tirhoot . . . Highly manured and carefully watched, these experimental plots yielded highly encouraging results. . . Capital was largely embarked and mills and machinery imported. . . But the evil genius which had presided over all former attempts of the same nature seemed still to prevail, and sadly disappointing, to all concerned, have been the results of these sanguine speculations. Four years had not elapsed since the promulgation of the flattering estimates of profit, when all engaged in carrying out the new enterprise confessed their disappointment and failure.

In 1840 came the death-blow when the beet sugar industry of Europe, specially that of Germany, grew rapidly and steadily and within a very short time controlled the sugar market of the world. The American protective duty made India the chief dumping ground for beet sugar. Scientific plantations had also been introduced in Java. In less than half a century, the exports and imports were equalised and in the next quarter, the chief export of India was converted into her chief article of import¹⁸:

15. Pp. 8-9.

16. S. H. Robinson : *The Bengal Sugar Planter*, quoted by Watt, *Ibid.*, p. 100.

17. Watt : *Ibid.*, p. 101.

18. Watt : *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Annual Av. from Years	Import (Cwt.)	Exports (Cwt.)
1874-75 to 1879-80	550,284	576,817
1880-81 to 1885-86	988,429	1,106,557
1886-87 to 1890-91	1,842,217	1,058,311
1892	2,743,491	824,741

Quoting Parliamentary Papers relating to correspondence on East India (sugar) Counterveiling Duties Act, 1901, Gadgil says that sugar industry, after the cotton and silk textiles, "within five years, 1895-1900, over 180 small factories in the U. P. alone had to close down.

There were also many more closures in the Bengal districts, e.g., Jessore." A counterveiling duty was imposed; but as there was no planned attempt to protect the Indian industry this imposition was of no avail. The indigenous sugar industry was destroyed depriving millions of human beings in this country of their additional source of income. The destruction of sugar industry, after the cotton and silk textiles, forced Bengal and India to lean upon land as the only means of subsistence.

A PORTENTIOUS OUTLOOK

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE trend of events in 1944 does not infuse much hope and courage in the hearts of the survivors of the famine conditions that prevailed in 1943 all over Bengal. There is every chance of repetition of the occurrences of the past year with still greater intensity and spreading over a larger area—parts that had escaped with a comparatively lesser injury than those more seriously affected. We are constrained to say this even with the bumper crop of 1943-44 autumn before us that has partly been harvested and a part of which is still lying on the fields for want of labourers depleted by death, disease and incapacity.

The signs are ominous and unless the situation is controlled with tact and firmness it will soon go out of hand. Certain provinces are assuming roles not much different from that of the last year. In 1943 the provinces, especially those under Sec. 93 showed "the greatest obstinacy" in the language of Mr. P. J. Griffiths of the European Group in the Central Assembly. They were reluctant to help the Central Government "to reach the target figures" in creating a stock for the deficit provinces. The neighbouring province under Moslem League domination, viz., Assam, was indignant over the removal of restriction of grain trade in the Eastern Zone (on the 18th May) and its Premier was "compelled to lodge a dignified and vigorous protest with the Central Government" and "appealed to our traders and also to our growers not to export rice and paddy for temporary gain." On the same day the Premier of Orissa hastened to Delhi

"to personally impress on the Government of India the difficulties created in Orissa by the recent order removing the Provincial Government control over the movement and prices of rice and other food-grains."

As regards Bihar, the statement of the Secretary, Bihar Land-holders' Association of the 9th June is significant :

"I fully appreciate the difficulties of the Local Government created by the removal of the inter-provincial restriction and the introduction of what is called the free trade policy.... There is one thing which the Provincial Government can do. And that is to state that they will grant no facilities to other Provinces in their attempt to starve Bihar...."

One who does not enjoy the confidence of the Government cannot say with any amount of exactitude about what is going behind the scene and the relation that is taking shape between the Centre and the Provinces.

A message dated December 22, from Sind stated

"that the Governor under his special responsibility and without the concurrence of his Ministers issued an anti-hoarding order for wheat making it an offence for anybody to keep more than a certain amount of wheat after January 15, 1944."

On this

"the Ministers informed His Excellency that they would not be a party to any policy of rationing, procurement and requisitioning as their powers had been taken away by the Direction of the Government of India under Section 26-A."

and

"the Ministers made it plain that they could not shoulder any responsibility without power."

Mr. H. H. Gazder, Minister for Information, further informed

"that the interference by the Government of India will lead to the same conditions as the Bengal famine being repeated in Sind."

At the Moslem League Session at Karachi, on December 25, the Sind Premier "put forward a spirited defence of the Sind Ministry's Food Policy" and the result of the tussle with the Centre is awaited with eager interest and considerable solicitude by the people of Bengal.

In Bengal matters are moving very slow and a real concern is felt over the disagreement with the Centre in certain of the details regarding food supply and rationing in Calcutta and suburbs.

On December 1, the Bengal Government announced their Food Plan for 1944. The main objects of the Government were stated to be "the restoration of confidence, sufficient control over movement and distribution of supplies to ensure their equitable distribution throughout the province"

as advocated in *The Modern Review* for November, issued on the 1st of November, and

"the continuance of price control for the purpose of reducing prices to lower and more economic levels."

And to achieve these objects

"it has been decided to prohibit all exports of rice and paddy from Bengal on any account whatsoever."

The Government's procurement plan was

"all purchases of rice and paddy on behalf of Government will be entrusted to a Purchasing Board consisting of not more than five firms of very high standard with experience of the rice trade in Bengal...."

To the last measure the people of Bengal expressed their strong disapproval. But they appreciated the Press Note issued on December 14,

"prohibiting an employer or an association of employers jointly employing 1,000 or more workers for making purchases of rice or paddy for their employees in the open market."

In the alternative they were ordered to "obtain their requirements only through the Government chief purchasing agents."

"The intention of the order" says the Press Note,

"is to prevent big employers of labour from dislocating supplies and upsetting prices by directly entering the market to make large-scale purchases of the above commodities."

People say that it is the dawn of belated wisdom. But it is better late than never.

It is not clear whether the statement of the Food Member, Government of India, in an interview to the Associated Press in Calcutta that "he had gone into the plans of the procurement of the 'aman' crop, the underlying idea of which should be not to disturb public confidence by procuring large quantities" is going counter to the plan of the Government of Bengal. The suspicion is confirmed by the speech of the Premier of Bengal at the Karachi Moslem League Conference on December 26. He said :

"It was essential to get hold of the *Aman* crop in order to meet the situation better. But the Central Government was advocating a policy which may frustrate the object of getting hold of the *Aman* crop in Bengal this year. The Bengal Ministry had gone on with their scheme in this connection but objections were raised by a member of the Government of India only a few days ago. If those objections were not quickly withdrawn there might be great difficulty in the procurement of the *Aman* crop."

Do the Government of India differ from the view of "a member" of their own who has got the honour of being specifically mentioned by Sir Nazimuddin ? Or the Member in question has expressed the view of the Government in his capacity as the Food Member not yet dismissed ?

None-the-less, the situation is intriguing. The idea of the Government of Bengal was to distribute rations through shops established by them. Serious objections were taken to this procedure both by the people and the trade of the Province, but to no effect. On December 23, the Government of India issued 'a directive' under Sec. 126-A to the Government of Bengal "calling upon them to bring food rationing into force in Calcutta by January 31 and arrange distribution of foodstuffs through 1,000 retail shops for which 55 per cent. shall be private retailers and the remaining 45 per cent. Government controlled stores."

To the great relief of everybody concerned the Bengal Government submitted to this arrangement with the remark from the Civil Supplies Minister,

"it was not a very serious matter necessitating intervention by the Government of India"

but that

"the Government of India is dabbling in details."

One can say with confidence that had not the Government of India intervened the rationing scheme announced to take effect from January 31 would have to wait for another crop season.

The latest reports regarding rationing in Calcutta are rather disquieting. In thorough disregard of the direction of the Government of

India the Government of Bengal is going, according to the Indian Chamber and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, to set up 450 Government-controlled and only 400 private shops for distribution of rations.

In an interview on January 4, Mr. Suhrawardy said :

" That the Government of Bengal have started making small purchases where prices are low, but they have been so cautious that in no instance their purchases have put up prices."

To our great misfortune, Mr. Suhrawardy has no touch with the real market; otherwise he would have known by this time that prices have been already looking up where they were going down. An instance of his colossal ignorance of facts can be cited when he said on September 1, 1943, that he

" was not aware of its (black market's) existence either officially or non-officially."

The actual facts are that people have not been able to muster sufficient courage to place their destiny in the hands of those who signally failed them in their hour of need. There is a false idea in the minds of the authorities that pictures of large quantities of grains in the process of transport will restore confidence in the minds of the people about the future. Advertisements, measuring 14"X4½", showing "staggering loads" of rice being carried in boats and lorries are now appearing in the newspapers. Under the boat one finds : "The tide has turned"

"Down the waterways of our province glide country boats laden with golden crop of an exceptionally generous *Aman* crop."

And under the lorry : "To the markets"

"The generous *Aman* crop is now being harvested in the rich fields of Bengal and poured into the markets all over the province, bringing down prices once again to economic levels."

There are more heartening sentences in four different other paragraphs and the advertisements end with a note of good cheer for all :

"Be confident—and there will be enough for all." This is a repetition of events of the last

year when, in addition to such picture-advertisements, cinema shows and broadcasts were arranged without the people being least profited by them. Picture showing a Calcutta housewife seen receiving her share with caption "Journey's End" and an explanatory note—

"Through arrangements made by Government large quantities of rice have been arriving in Calcutta from other parts of India. On arrival it is immediately distributed through Government grain shops at controlled prices,"

appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the 1st of May. On the 3rd appeared

"On Calcutta's Kitchen Front" with a picture showing a housewife "preparing *chapatties* for her family."

The explanation was :

"As a result of arrangements made by Government, large stocks of wheat have been arriving from Empire countries and plenty of *atta* is now available in the bazar at controlled prices."

There were other pictures too many to mention. With regard to wheat coming from Empire countries the actual fact is that the first foodship from foreign lands reached the shores of India on October 16, five and half months later than the date on which the advertisement appeared.

The cause of the failure of the Government lies in the inherent weakness of their statements being almost always different from the actual events. It would be a far better and effective advertisement if the Government can make foodgrains available to the poor at controlled prices with the money spent on advertisements at the current high rates demanded by the newspaper-owners.

When the confidence of the people has been completely shaken in the Bengal Government, it is wise for them to fall in line with the methods and directions of the Central Government which have to a certain extent, lately, been successful in putting heart in the drooping spirits of the suffering people of Bengal.

[Since the above was sent to the press, the Food Member, Government of India has announced a makeshift arrangement with the Government of Bengal for procurement of *aman* crop.]

AMERICAN FARMER : THE SOLDIER OF THE SOIL

SMALL FARMERS IN THE U. S. DO A BIG JOB
FROM miles around the farmers came, thirty of them to gather at a crossroads schoolhouse in Marion County, Missouri. It was such a gathering as one might have found almost anywhere in rural America in January of 1942. As they crowded around the pot-bellied stove, the men talked about Pearl Harbour and about the new food production goals. Their words were serious and measured. American farmers had a big job to do and these men knew it.



M. D. Lautrip, of Calhoun County, Mississippi, U. S. A. His record crops have been produced on a 190-acre farm, which when he bought it sixteen-years ago, was considered one of the most run-down acreages in the County.

After a time Henry Bates took the floor. Never before had Henry Bates made a speech, but he "felt called upon to say something." He talked about war, and he knew something about war. He had spent twenty-two months in a hospital after the last one. He talked about food : "Let each one make it his goal to raise enough to care for his own family and at least three of our boys in the armed services." And he ended by saying :

"Remember back four or five years ago. All of us were down and almost out. The government gave us help to get started again and encouragement to carry on. Today we are called on to give that same great government a lift by increasing production. I think I speak

the sentiment of everyone in this room when I say that we will more than do what is asked of us."

The others agreed. They pledged themselves to double and triple production of eggs, milk, vegetables and oil crops.

Throughout the country, 4,63,941 other small farmers pledged similar increases. Studying the total amounts pledged, agricultural experts said it couldn't be done. And it couldn't — quite. But year-end records showed that these farmers had lifted their own production of critical foods from 20 to 106 per cent, had supplied far more than their proportionate share of the nation's total production increases. Although they represent only 7·6 per cent of the country's farmers, they accounted for more than a third of the total increased milk production last year; more than a fourth of the increase in dry beans; 10 per cent of the increase in eggs, chickens, peanuts.

Who are these 4,63,941 American farmers who patriotically pledged more than they could possibly produce, yet produced so much more proportionately than other farmers in the U. S. A. ?

They are tenants, sharecroppers, small farm-owners. Among them are names like George Smith, John Fost and Andrew Murphy, names like Ole Swensen and Joseph Schoenberger and like George Washington Jones. There's a Ramos Gonzales in New Mexico, a Sebastian DeGratzia in the state of New York. They are men of every nationality, race and religion.

A few years ago none of them were raising enough food even for themselves; many were without a cow or even chickens, and most of them were unskilled in modern ways of farming. Some were trying to dig a living from land that had been stripped of fertility and abandoned, others were tilling twenty-five or thirty acres, not enough to yield a livelihood. Their efforts were crippled by debt and mortgages, poor diet, poor health. Many were on relief. Few had credit. All, like Henry Bates and his neighbours, "were down and almost out," when the Farm Security Administration took a hand.

Confronted with the job of doing away with the need for rural relief, the Farm Security Administration struck at the causes of failure. Small loans for stock and equipment were combined with on-the-farm training in practical, modern farm and home management methods. Neighbouring farmers were brought together so they could divide the use and the cost of machinery and purebred live-stock. With the help of

local doctors and dentists, group medical care other war-needed crops. They worked together plans were set up in many counties, enabling in groups to market their crops, and set up pro-families to get medical attention by paying cessing plants to buy supplies co-operatively so annual fees and pooling them to pay the group's as to stretch their dollars for more production equipment.



The farm in the red clay hills of Calhoun County, Mississippi, as it appeared when Mr. Lantrip purchased it sixteen years ago

bills. Many tenants were helped to find bigger or better farms to rent, and thousands of FSA-developed leases were signed by tenants and landlords to bring about security of tenure, better living conditions and improved soil-building practices. To a limited number of renters and share-croppers in high tenancy areas, forty-year loans were made for the purchase of family-type farms.

By the end of 1941, when this country got into war, families getting this help already were producing twice as much food for themselves as they produced before. To shift into war food production, many got additional loans to buy an extra cow or two, or more baby chicks. With the help of the county FSA supervisors they made plans for repairing fences and barns, for putting up a new henhouse, for changing from cotton or wheat to the production of peanuts, soybeans and



Here, with two Government soil specialists, Mr. Lantrip examines the winter-cover crop that holds down the cotton land on his farm

They produced 770 bushels of corn, 43 tons of hay, 35 tons of silage and 286 bushels of soybeans. When the produce was sold, they used the money

With increased incomes from increased marketings, the families caught up on back debts, made payments on their FSA loans. Including payments on instalments not yet due, nearly 10 lakhs of families receiving loans since 1935 had paid 92 per cent of the \$690,133,091 they had borrowed up to December 1, 1942. In addition, they had paid \$42,527,738 in interest.

After taking care of their obligations, FSA families in 1942 bought war bonds and put the rest of their money to work to produce more food. Like the Ferrells. When Maurice Ferrell, Jr., twenty-one, got malaria and was sent home from the Philippines, he went to his father's farm. In 1942 the Ferrells added seven cows to their herd, and raised 700 more baby chicks.

to rent an additional 50 acres which the owner had abandoned for work in a defense plant, and another 130 acres that were lying idle for lack of a tenant.

Their success is written in terms of increased production. They added 3,91,40,00,000 pounds of milk to the nation's supply last year—36 per cent of the total increase from all farms. This was 20 per cent more milk than they produced in 1941, compared with an increase of 3 per cent for the nation. They produced 3,01,00,000 pounds of dry beans, 27 per cent of the nation's total increases. They supplied 10 per cent of the increase in eggs, or 4,98,00,000 dozen; 10

now have 50 per cent more pasture on the same acreage. In Oklahoma, in the area where drought and wind erosion had made a "dust bowl" of the formerly rich farming land, a farmer plowed his wheat fields on the contour and increased his yield by 30 per cent, with improved quality wheat. In another mid-western U. S. area, a farmer is growing a third more kafir maize for livestock feed through contour tillage. Similar reports come from dairy farmers in Wisconsin and Illinois where the new practice has increased their grain and grass yield. In the north-eastern part of the United States measures against soil erosion are increasing the per acre production of potatoes and a variety of vegetable crops. In New York State the yield of four crops of potatoes planted on the contour averaged 166 bushels per acre or 14 per cent more than those planted in straight rows.

Thus, in the midst of war and despite record-breaking crops in the past two years, the U. S. has continued to face its soil-erosion problems and has under way a great nation-wide soil conservation programme.

A conservation service was established by the U. S. Congress in 1933. Since then, 42 states have passed acts enabling farmers to organize conservation districts. Although this district work is new, experiments with many crops throughout the nation have proved conclusively that conservation farming methods do increase crop yields. Many conservation districts have been formed in the last year. These districts are established by co-operating farmers.

Many practices are employed in combating soil erosion caused through action of water: contour tillage, grassing of water-ways, broad-base terracing, strip cropping, sub-surface tillage etc. One of the most widely used practices, contour tillage is making rapid headway in the United States.

By comparing crop yields on contour-tilled fields, with fields listed in the usual straight up and downhill furrows, the value of the new method can be measured.

Contour cultivation and level terraces on farms in the semi-arid south-west increased yields



Years of hard labor and scientific methods have made the Lantrip farm, with its contour planting, one of the show places of Calhoun County, Mississippi.

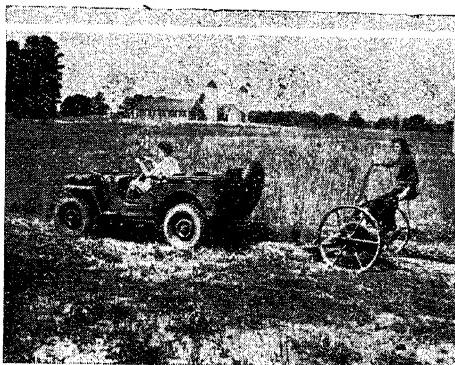
per cent of the chickens, or 3,71,00,000, pounds; 10 per cent of the peanuts, or 10,17,00,000 pounds. They harvested 33,60,000 bushels of soybeans; 1,13,000 tons of sugar beets.

And they're not through, yet—"not by a long shot," as one man said in a letter to his county FSA supervisor. "This year we're going to double everything we did last year."

AMERICA'S FIGHT AGAINST SOIL EROSION

A farmer in the south-western United States, whose fields had been damaged by soil erosion characteristic of this part of America for many years, plowed not only his fields on the contour, but terraced and listed his cattle range in the same manner. At the end of two years, the old furrows were recarpeted, and the cattle

of beans from 165 pounds per acre to 243 pounds. In one locality contour tillage alone resulted in 27 per cent greater yield of grain sorghum while



A "jeep"—all-purpose Army car—is used as the motive power for a mower in cutting rye on a Government farm-laboratory

terracing in addition to contour cultivation increased yields to 723 pounds per acre, or 57 per cent more than was obtained when neither of these methods was used.

REFORESTATION FOR WIND EROSION

Because grasslands were plowed under, wind erosion has done much damage in the Great Plains area of the United States. During drought, dust storms blew away much valuable top soil. To combat this, the U. S. Department of Agriculture's Soil Conservation Service has taken exhausted farm land out of circulation and through reforestation and the return of land to grass, has improved more than 2½ crores of acres of farm land. Land-use-capability maps are being made by the Service for the entire country. More than 9 crores of acres have been mapped and the work goes on. These maps guide farmers in making the best use of their land.

The U. S. Forest Service is aiding rejuvenation of land in the badly eroded Dust Bowl area by planting shelter belts of trees all through this

region. These windbreaks or shelter belts retard wind velocity, conserve soil moisture, and thus prevent erosion. Many states supply free seedling to encourage reforestation on privately owned land. Crores of trees have been planted already. These shelter belts in conjunction with the utilization of grass cover, better water-resources control, and improved farming methods have returned countless acres to usefulness.

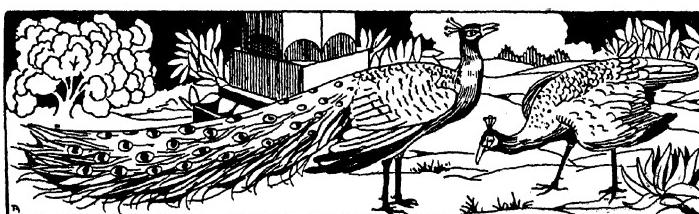
Sub-surface tillage points the way to a further solution of the problem of wind erosion. This method of tillage leaves the stubble and straw on the surface undisturbed and stirs the soil from beneath. Experiments conducted by the Soil Conservation Service in the state of Nebraska confirm the belief that such tillage not only protects the land from blowing, but increases the soil absorption of rainfall and retards evaporation as well.



Mr. Lantrip breaks land with his team of prize-winning mules, David and Jonathan, pulling the plow. Though his farm is largely mechanised, he raises two or three mule colts a year

Data collected from all sections of the United States, show that farmers and ranchers are using these simple conservation methods to step up their production to meet the wartime goals for agriculture.

Courtesy : USOWI



THE WALLS OF BENARES

By SAILOZ MOOKHERJEA

BENARES, the land of Siva, whither throng men from the four corners of the Earth, with travel-worn feet, to bend their knees in mute appeal, to silently pray for the fulfilment of unsatisfied longings or to unburden the soul at the feet of the shrine. In Sivapuri, or the palace of Siva, is the phallus, the symbol of the harmony of the two-fold stream of life, matter and spirit. Siva is the source of all life and is manifest in the completion and perfection of life. Siva is the synthesis of Creation; so in Him are the two

the one desire of their hearts. An old woman leaning on her staff, offers herself up in utter renunciation. Through all pervades the spirit of the religion of the Hindus, the seed of which has been implanted in the praying crowd through ages of devoted belief. Out of the shrine, I stepped into the quadrangle where reigns Nandi or Siva's Bull, couchant in majestic nonchalance, the massed vermilion of his form radiating the spirit of creative impulse and quickening the sombre precincts to life. A deep sigh escaped from my throat and mingling with the hot breaths of the supplicants, rose up to the vaporous blue sky overhead.

Out into the city on a treasure-hunt, I chanced upon a band of artists busy painting on the walls. They belonged to the oldest families of Benares and their artistic imagination and skill were schooled in the deep-sprung religious fervour of Indian Art. In their traditional unsophisticated way, they were decorating the walls with the legends of the Ramayana. This simple devout occupation of the natural artists of the soil so fired my imagination that I devoted the whole of my stay in the city in discovering more of their work to be better able to enjoy, appreciate and assess their true merit. I found that apart from unfolding the legendary lore of India, they had also taken a hand in portraying scenes from daily life. In the domain of decorative art, too, they plied their brush with untutored skill and were also deftly shaping ingenious toys and masks.

Constant association with the works of these artists brought to my mind the thought that unlike Western Art, emphasising the visual aspects of an object in order to unfold a sensuous experience, Art in the East is based on a tradition of spirit, born of lofty meditation and refined into perfection through centuries of culture and development. Unconcerned with the realistic presentiment of an objective world, Art in the East seeks to express the contemplative sentiment and soul of the artist by direct, pure and poignant methods. It follows a way that has neither limit nor end. Through the medium of an organic subject it aims to express its innate spirituality.

Though seemingly crude to unsympathetic eyes, the workmanship of this school of artists is truly described as modern. The primeval



Ganesha

sexes in one. In the awed darkness, flickers a lamp before the phallus, the half-gloom of religious shadow! The mellowed warmth of the lamp heartens the men and women who hold their palm over its flicker and lay them over their hearts—the spirit of centuries reviving a broken spirit! Mayhap many a journeyman has heaved an uneasy sigh and passed away on the way, leaving the footprints of his yearnings pointing towards the Holy City. A pair of newly-weds shyly voice in trembling whispers

strand of its fabric, steeped in the Hindu tradition of spirit and perfected through ages of devout practice, remains undefiled even to this day. This pure art free from all stamp of foreign influence, often leads the unimaginative to view it as rudimental and inferior. The truth is very much the otherwise. The flat two-dimensional grammar speaks of a highly cultivated level. Primary colours are used throughout; lemon-yellow, brown, vermillion, pink, blue, mauve and green of all shades. An harmonious composition and the perspective accentuated with an outline in bold black shows masterly treatment in the truly modern trend.

and Mahabira, in a rhythmic composition of colourful harmony, with the tree in the background maintaining the balance of the perspective, is an example of meritorious craftsmanship. The treatment of primary colours, Rama in blue and Mahabira in vermillion and the costumes in lemon-yellow, in a relaxed manner of the brush, is an artistry of rare brilliance and an index of the painter's mastery of line and colour. Ganesha in the traditional Hindu style is another specimen which directly appeals to one's artistic sense. In the story of Radha-Krishna runs a tenor of religious sentiment and the artist has striven with success to penetrate beyond what strikes his sense of vision and grasp the spiritual element latent in every object. Krishna, dallying with his mate and putting a bunch of flowers in her hair with the traditional Kadamba tree in the background, is drawn in a delightful riot of harmonious colours. The style adopted suggests to us the work of Matisse, but alas ! they are no Matisses but poor creators of a forgotten land.

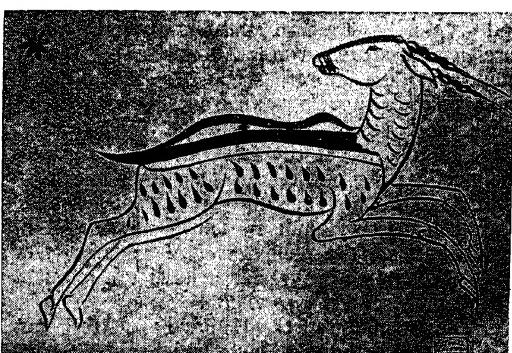
Decorative art in this style finds expression in the many delightful patterns drawn from animal forms, such as the deer, the fish, the horse, the elephant, the peacock. Though patternised, the characteristic trait of the subject is ably captured and lives on the wall as a testimony



Hanuman greeting Sri Ramachandra

The vicinity in Benares where this art of Pata and the applied art of making toys of wood and clay and masks thrives is known as Harha Mohalla. This art belongs to an hierarchy of old traditional families of Benares and each member plays his part. While one is drawing pigment from stone and vegetables, another busies himself in treating lumps of clay and yet another prepares the paper-pulp for the masks. Thus the irksome necessities of the painter's craft are cared for by willing hands and he is left to devote his whole energy and skill to the creation of masterpieces in colour.

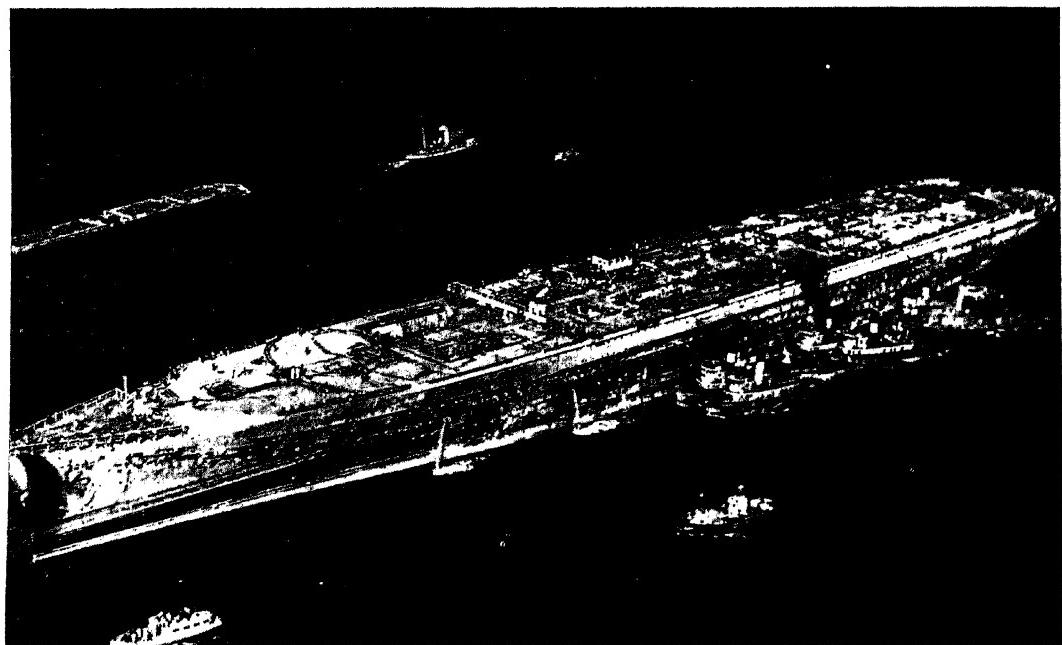
The tales from the Ramayana depicted with a synthetic economy of line and colour, are remarkable for their sense of composition. Rama's leaving for his exile forms a favourite theme. The choice and grouping of the three essential relevant characters, Rama, Lakshmana



The Golden Deer
of the sincerity of the artist's skill and imagination.



Allied planes blast Japanese shipping in South Pacific



The former French liner Normandie, now the U.S.S. Lafayette, which burned and capsized at her pier in New York Harbor, Feb. 10, 1942, is towed to a drydock by a small fleet of tugs. The ship will be outfitted and sent back to sea for war service

Courtesy : USOWI



The Writer

quality of the Indian mind so that these concepts were developed in the most natural way.

The works in monochrome have also a distinctive character. They are a type of art which

is presented by the use of a single colour. But through one colour only, a wide range of thought and sentiment is directly expressed and effectively presented. We have an expression, "the reading of painting" which means not the appreciation of the visual form but the understanding of the spirit of the artist through what is pictorially presented, the depicted object itself being a suggestion to the imagination of the beholder. A single-colour medium is employed to suggest the presence of colourful bloom, green foliage or the brown limbs of trees. Thoughts are provoked and ideas in the mind are awakened. This is done not by exposition but by enlightenment through contemplation. Want of proper cultural attainments may sometimes hinder one from finding in these works of art nothing more than the obvious picturisation of an object or a theme.

The spirit of patriotism and loyalty to ancient cultural traditions are fully expressed. It is the true spirit that has permeated and has been woven into the fabric of our national life since its earliest days. In the sphere of art, only works alive with this spirit are valued. All the masterpieces that have been handed down through the centuries are those which were inspired by this everlasting spirit.*

Illustrations : By Sailoz Mookherjea

* A preview of the artist's private exhibition of paintings of Hindu Folk Art discussed above was recently opened by Mr. Yea Chien U, the famous artist and journalist, of the Chinese Ministry of Diplomatic Information.

THE KING'S DAUGHTERS

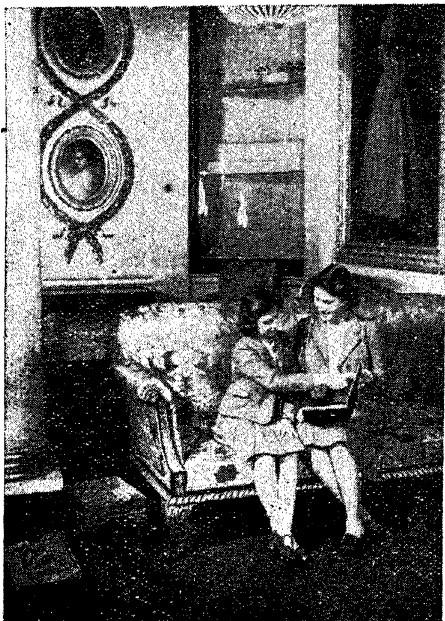
BY MRS. ROBERT NOBLE

ANY famous artist who wanted to paint a perfect canvas depicting all that is best and most characteristic of English girlhood today would long to have Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret for his models.

Both are fair and slim and unaffectedly graceful, with that warm, clear complexion admirably described as "typically English" all over the world. Princess Elizabeth, who is 17, resembles the King in feature and has the same air of steadfastness and the same frank blue eyes. Princess Margaret, who is 13, is generally conceded to take after the Queen in expression,

with her mother's lovely oval face and particularly charming smile.

Since the outbreak of war, the two Princesses have spent most of their time in the country, leading a quiet family life, and continuing their education with their governess and with visiting tutors for special subjects, such as music and elocution. The King and Queen join them just as often as public duties allow them to leave Buckingham Palace for a time, and they always try to spend Sunday with their daughters if they possibly can. Sometimes, the Princesses go away themselves to stay with



This charming study was taken in one of the reception rooms at Buckingham Palace

relatives for a while. Their summer holiday, eagerly anticipated and enormously enjoyed is usually passed at ancient Glamis Castle in Scotland, the Queen's ancestral home, set among the moors and wooded glens.



The Princesses spend as much time as possible out of doors

Nothing could be simpler or less ostentatious than the Princesses' daily life at home. Their lessons are just like those given to other English girls of good family. They study history, geography, drama, literature and art—Princess Elizabeth is especially talented with brush and pencil, and has done many clever little sketches of animals and landscapes some of which she has given away as Christmas presents to her friends.

Both Princesses are exceedingly fond of music, greatly to the delight of the Queen, who likes to help them with their studies and often organises impromptu little "musical hours" in the family circle. The Royal sisters will often play a piano duet or sing together. Their choice ranges from some classic aria or traditional Scottish folk-ballad taught them by the Queen, to the latest modern tunes which they hear on the radio, for they listen regularly to the set which stands in their sitting room.

Both the Princesses learn French, and have been practising it regularly for some years past. They extend their knowledge of the language by doing cross-word



Here Princess Margaret is seen with King George, at the large desk which His Majesty uses for the discharge of his formal business

THE KING'S DAUGHTERS

puzzles and "missing word" games in French, cast were the Princesses' young friends, children as well as by reading the best examples of French of members of the Royal Household, and boys literature. The Queen, herself an accomplished and girls from London evacuated to the country linguist, sometimes announces that only French district in which the King's daughters live.



By becoming President of the Royal College of Music, Princess Elizabeth, herself a keen music-lover, has delighted every musician in Great Britain

is to be spoken when she is having tea with the Princesses, and thus assists them to widen their conversational scope.

Drama and elocution are favourite subjects in the cream-walled schoolroom used by the Princesses, for they love to dress up and act the parts of some Shakespearean characters, or give a little scene from some favourite children's play like "Peter Pan." Not long ago, Princess Elizabeth organised the performance of a Christmas pantomime, and herself played Prince Charming, in powdered wig and brocaded coat and elegant tights. Princess Margaret had a leading role as well, and displayed a marked histrionic flair. On another occasion, the Princesses staged a little concert, at which they sang together and gave a spirited often obligingly become a "casualty" so that tap-dance. All the proceeds were devoted to her sister can demonstrate on her how to set a charity, of course, and the other members of the splint or bind up a broken limb. When Princess

The Queen wisely sees that the Princesses have a diverse variety of friends, to broaden their social instincts and make them better able to understand how other people outside the Court circle spend their lives. Much of their democracy of outlook the Princesses have achieved through their services with the Girl Guides. Like other girls all over the country, they have been busy with national service ever since war broke out, helping in innumerable ways, from taking part in salvage efforts to knitting garments for Britain's soldiers and sailors.

Princess Elizabeth holds the official certificates for Home Nursing and First Aid. When the troop of Guides to which the two Princesses belong goes out for an exercise in Windsor Great Park, Princess Margaret will



The King recently appointed Princess Elizabeth Honorary Colonel of the Grenadier Guards

Elizabeth was 16, she decided to specialise in Sea Ranger training, which seems particularly appropriate, since members of Britain's Royal Family have often followed seafaring careers in the past.

Fond of anything concerned with the open air Princess Elizabeth and Princess Margaret thoroughly enjoy their riding lessons.

They love to go swimming in summer. This is one of the King's favourite recreations, and some years ago he had an open-air pool specially constructed in the garden of his country home. Princess Elizabeth has a particularly fine stroke, and she was the first candidate to gain the Royal Life Saving Award for junior artificial respiration under war-time conditions.

Living so simply and spending as much time as possible out-of-doors, the Princesses naturally dress in appropriately plain but still attractive country clothes. They have tweed skirts with soft knitted pullovers and sensible brown leather shoes in which they can go out in the garden or walk through the country lanes. They are often seen in pretty tailored suits, neat skirts and short jackets, with fresh little blouses. Usually they dress alike, for the same colours suit them both. They look charming in blue or warm rose-pink, while they recently won considerable admiration when they attended a public function dressed in rust-red suits and hats to match.

Their formal dresses are graceful and restrained in style. At the little dances which they sometimes attend with the King and Queen, they wear charming short-sleeved angle-length

satin frocks, trimmed with diamante bows on yoke and skirt. The Queen always takes her daughters with her to as many social gatherings as are suitable for them. The Princesses are present at receptions for the Allies, at parties for Service men and women, and stirring military parades.

Princess Elizabeth, too, is gradually learning to take up the duties of that exalted position which will one day be hers, as Heiress-Presumptive to the Throne. The King recently appointed her Honorary Colonel of the Grenadier Guards, the first time in history that Britain's senior regiment of footguards has had a woman as its colonel. Now Princess Elizabeth wears the regimental badge in a diamond brooch, subscribed for and given to her by the officers and men of all ranks.

Princess Elizabeth has also given her name to a flag day in aid of children's charities, and she has become the President of the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. She will not be nervous if it should be necessary for her to speak in public; she has already broadcast to all corners of the country and the Empire. Her voice is clear and sweet, and possesses an excellent microphone quality.

When peace returns to Britain, Princess Elizabeth, and Princess Margaret, too, will be well prepared to meet the tasks which it will bring to youth. Unspoiled and unfettered, they are being wisely trained in the quiet of their country home, growing up towards lovely womanhood with natural confidence and charm.

RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT., F.A.S.B. An Appreciation

By O. C. GANGOLY

INDIAN scholarship has furnished to the Archaeological Survey of India some very brilliant and talented officers who have to their credit valuable scientific works of research and interpretation, relating to the History of Indian Culture. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahani, Pandit Hirananda Sastri, the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee, and the late Mr. N. G. Mazumdar, the late Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda are names to conjure with in the World of Antiquities, and they have left meritorious records of their work in the cause

of Indian Antiquities. The discoverer of the mounds of Mahenjo-Daro attained world-wide celebrity at the later end of his brilliant career, and the tragic termination of an equally brilliant career brought the merits of Mr. Mazumdar to the notice of the outside world. Otherwise, it is the lot of Indian Archaeologists, however brilliant their works may be, to hide their lights under the blue covers of Annual Reports,—which never reach a larger public than the handful of scholars who specialize in the

study of Indian History. For this reason, all interested in the History of Indian Culture owe a deep debt of acknowledgment of the many valuable services of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the retiring Director-General of Archaeology in India,—an office which he will lay down in the course of a few weeks. Very few people outside the Department have any accurate idea what heavy responsibilities attach to the Head of this Department—and what strenuous duties he has to go through—in the various phases of his official work—conservation, research, excavation, publication of materials, organizing and developing Museums, preparation of Reports, general supervision, continuous inspection work, besides attending to incessant and irritating routine work and correspondence. An un-assuming officer of versatile talent and equipment, Rao Bahadur Dikshit has fulfilled his duties with admirable energy and unwavering devotion. He has been one of the few Directors who could claim expert knowledge of more than one of the classical languages of India,—a knowledge which should be an essential condition for appointment to such responsible office. Rao Bahadur took over charge of the office of the Director-General of Archaeology from 21st March 1937, and has therefore adorned the post for over six years—a period of a very embarrassing shadow of legislative neglect and indifference to the claims of Archaeology. In spite of the ruthless retrenchment of expenses during his term of office, the Rao Bahadur has, with persistent efforts, carried out the excavations of the famous site of Ahi-Chatra (Rannagar)—a site of characteristic Hindu culture, in one of its earliest phases, the claims for which have been continuously ignored by his predecessors, busy with Hellenistic and Parthian sites. All lovers of Hindu culture should be particularly grateful for this valuable service to the cause of Hindu antiquities. It is not at all suggested that the Mahomedan monuments have at all been neglected. In fact, very important restoration and repair works have been carried out to the Taj at Agra, and to the famous Gol Gombaj at Bijapur during his regime. And two very important Memoirs, one on *Bijapur Inscriptions* (no. 49) written by Dr. M. Nizami, and another on *Kotla Firoz Shah*, Delhi (no. 52) written by Mr. Page and Kuraishi, have been published under his direction and help.

Exigencies of space forbid a detailed enumeration of all the contributions made by him to the cause of Indian Archaeology.

A brilliant Sanskrit and Prakrita scholar,

he has to his credit the reading and interpretations of numerous important inscriptions—of which special mention should be made of his studies of the Ahom stone pillar inscription, Damodar copper plates, Deopani inscription, Harsala copper plates, and of the Ganj and Nachna inscriptions. Of his brilliant achievements in the sphere of excavations—Mahasthan is writ in golden letters. But Bengal should recall with special gratitude his brilliant work on the mounds of Paharpur, to which he devoted several seasons' work, sometimes, assisted by



Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit

Mr. G. C. Chandra. And his monograph on Paharpur (Memoirs no. 55, 1938) is a piece of classic in the realm of Indian Antiquities, embodying valuable survey of a phase of culture hitherto unknown. If he had done nothing else—his discovery and study of Paharpur finds would ever remain the brightest feather in his cap. But his researches and field works have never stood in the way of his multifarious duties which call for incessant and alert attention to all phases of Indian Archaeology—historic and pre-historic, and to inspire his colleagues and subordinates as also scholars outside the Department to further the cause of research. One of the most interesting examples was his choice of the late lamented Dr. C. Minakshi to write a very

interesting Memoir on an important series of recognition of his achievements is evidenced by Pallava monuments at Kanchi. His appointment to deliver the Meyers Lectures

But in appraising his work as an archaeologist, one should not forget his accomplishment as an aesthetician of no mean talent. Indeed, his powers of aesthetic appreciation were proved at the very beginning of his career—by the interesting little study of *Six Sculptures from Mahoba* (*Memoirs No. 8*), one of the earliest Memoirs, published, as far back as 1921. The excavations at Rajghat (Benares) yielding a remarkable series of early Terra Cottas close activity.

The Rao Bahadur has well earned his rest from active antiquarian work. We bid farewell to him but not to his works which deserve to be better known and remembered. He has set an example which his followers would do well to imitate and follow. It is earnestly to be hoped that the termination of his official career shall not see the end of his active interest in the cause of Indian History and Culture. He has given much but he has yet to make richer gifts to Indian History. Released of trying official

He has taken a very sympathetic interest in routine work, he should find greater leisure to the growth and development of private museums pursue his researches to throw over new light and many such museums are grateful to him on the still obscurer phases of Indian Culture—for his sympathy and active interest in their history. We wish him long and pleasant days in development. He has been a popular figure in his well-earned rest,—after a busy and brilliant all the sittings of the History Congress and of career in the active pursuit to widen the All-India Oriental Conferences where he has boundaries of Indian Archaeology. frequently delivered illustrated lectures. A

THE PRICE OF HUNGER

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

SHELTERED by the throne far away
The kingdom proudly flaunts

The difference meted out to rulers and the ruled, All roads to recovery blocked up—
Despite its noble underpinning. There in that realm

.....Disaster it keeps hidden under its awning. There, in that realm,

Hapless the reign whose wide-spread tattered The innumerable dying are of no help to the humanity kingdom,

Exposes the symbol of power to shame.
Intolerable suffering of multitudes
Even if touches not the rulers—
Draws at last the curse of Providence.

Where, under the shadow of great wealth,
Starvation semi-starvation burn with hunger's —The day of reckoning comes.

Starvation, semi-starvation, burn with hunger's fire—When sky-piercing possessions topple over, Where drinking water is impure and is drying In the fragments of its skeletal ruins

Where drinking water is impure and is drying up— In the fragments of its skeletal ruins The abject penury which was of the destitute Builds its state.

Where in winter the body has no covering
And the door of death gapes open.

And the door of death gapes open—
Where even worse than death, the living-death
of-lives worn to the skin

January, 1941

Translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty
—The Visva-Bharati Quarterly

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE Russian struggle has suddenly changed its venue. From the struggle around and over the southern fringes of the Pripet Marshes attention is suddenly diverted to the North where the battle has flared up with dramatic suddenness. Leningrad is now reported to have been freed from investment and the besieging German forces are retreating south. In the extreme south the Russian assault on Crimea seems to be progressively—but slowly—increasing in volume mainly around Kerch peninsula. Nothing much has been heard about the fighting inside the (1939) Polish border for some little while now. The picture that emerges from the blizzard-torn far-flung battle-line in Russia is one of continuous harrying of the Axis forces all along the front, to deny them rest or a hiatus for recoupment, with a surprise flare-up in some key area, where the battle mounts to a crescendo while masses of Russian armour and artillery smash through the Germanic defences, allowing the Russian infantry to infiltrate deep behind the main Nazi defences. This has been the usual winter tactics of the Soviet forces during the past two winters and the continuance of the same is a clear indication that the Soviet High-Command is determined not to allow a break in the continuity of the German retreat in spite of the frightful handicaps imposed by the Russian winter on the attacker. On the other side the Germanic forces are in a state of continuous *qui vive* all along the line, counter-attacking here and making re-adjustments in the defence line there in order to present an uniformly resistant front to the harrying and probing forces of the Russian. In places where the action develops into a major battle, there is a painful and costly retreat under cover of fierce rear-guard actions, until such time as a balance is obtained against the assaulting forces through re-inforcements brought up from the reserves in the rear. It is to be noted that of late these reinforcements have not attempted to retake lost terrain on any considerable scale or to develop action in any volume beyond that which suffices to bring the advancing Soviets forces to a swaying halt. Counter-attacks in force have been launched by the Germans in all instances either to allow re-integration of the

line at places where it is under threat of disruption by Russian forces that have penetrated to the rear or to hold back the encircling arm of the Soviets forces, where a considerable German force is menaced by a pincer movement, until such time, in either case, as when the re-grouping of the defenders is possible on a fresh line further back.

The Russian, in short, seems now to be able to stage venture after venture at all risks and to be willing to pay the cost, which must be heavy under the circumstances, in the role of the attacker. The German, on the other hand, seems to have grown very wary, unwilling to expose any considerable forces to a process of show down and only desirous of keeping the proportion of losses in his favour. The main result of a struggle of this nature is the rolling back of the invading forces, rapidly in limited areas where a major battle develops and slowly on the other parts of the line where re-adjustments are made by the defender to compensate for the loss of vantage points. The main point to note here is that German resistance does not seem to have weakened in any sector so far, to that extent as would permit a major breakthrough by the Russians in such strength, to such a depth and with such speed as would result in the envelopment and liquidation of large blocks of the defending forces, cut off from their main reserves and forced into a "cauldron." The battle in the Leningrad—Lake Ilmen sector that is now proceeding has not yet reached its culminating point and would serve as a fresh test as to whether the Russians have been able to produce a sufficient disparity in the strength of the opposing forces, through the exercise of their hold on the initiative by such a sudden assault in force over a distant and unexpected sector, to obtain the results as indicated above. If it fails, it would strengthen the Soviets' contention that the hour of German collapse would not draw perceptibly nearer until the Nazi High Command is forced to withdraw some fifty or sixty divisions to prevent a major disaster on the Second Front. If it succeeds it would indicate that in the spring there is every possibility that the German defence line in the East would be jeopardized to the breaking point if the

Allies can prevent it from being reinforced by reserves drawn from the West.

In Italy there is at last a new departure from the tedious and trying ding-dong battle that has been going on there for months. The Allied bid for Rome now is direct and from all quarters the indications are that both sides are feverishly preparing for the first major battle on Italian soil. That the fall of Rome would put a period to all Axis hopes for a resuscitation of the Italian fighting forces is fully realized by the Nazi High Command and as such a bitter struggle should be expected. The terrain too is in favour of the defenders though possibly not to the extent of discounting the disparity in strengths. The aerial supremacy of the Allies is undisputed and this should lessen the difficulties of communications progressively as the bridgehead south of Rome is widened and strengthened.

Allied air supremacy is as yet unchallenged in Europe and in Asia. This as yet is the clearest pointer towards the fulfilment of the hopes of the United Nations. The repeated saturation bombing of industrial objectives in Germany and in occupied Europe has undoubtedly had some considerable effect on the morale of the peoples under the Axis. What effect it has had on actual war-production and the upkeep of the Axis fighting forces is a more indeterminate quantity. Bombing of Germany on a large scale has been going on for over twenty months since the first great raid. The hopes for a German collapse through Allied air-action alone now seems to have been given up. The establishment of a Second Front through a direct assault on the Western Sectors of the "Fortress of Europe" is definitely on the programme of the Allied Supreme War Council and as such all aerial assaults are now probably being carried out as a part of the main plan. As yet these attacks and sweeps do not indicate the sector chosen for amphibian assault but undoubtedly the tempo will rise and the scope of the sweeps widened when the actual softening process starts. Until such time this process of attrition will probably continue as the Allies possess vast reserves of machines and trained men. Germany has not as yet found an answer to this aerial challenge of the Allies and unless she does succeed in finding it prior to the opening of the Second Front the chances of success in that major venture would remain in favour of the Allies.

On the Indo-Burmese front and on the Sino-Burmese front there is some activity now after a long period of stagnation. No major action has developed in those areas at the time of writing (29. 1. 44), what is going on now is more in the nature of a cautious probing of enemy positions. There are three months more of campaigning season left and much could be accomplished if that be on the plans of the United Nations. On the China front there has been a minor flare-up which has subsequently died down, the results being not in favour of the Japanese to any measurable extent.

In the Pacific the usual hop-skip and jump method of attack is proceeding, progress being slow as inevitable under the circumstances. The only thing that is really good about it is that the counter-offensive is continuous and the balance of the struggle is in favour of the forces under General MacArthur.

Taken as a whole, the position at the beginning of 1944 does not hold any clear indication of an early end of this calamitous struggle. There is no doubt that the strength of Germany is being sapped, but there still remains a very formidable portion left. Japan on the contrary is most certainly getting stronger every day and the time is not very far off when she may develop into a far more tougher proposition than she was at the middle of 1942. Since that period Japan has had set-backs and she has suffered considerable losses in her mercantile marine and her air-forces. But it is yet to be proved that her production capacity has been exceeded by the scale of these losses, and indeed all logical deduction points the other way. Her navy is substantially intact as is the main body of her land forces. There has been a total mobilization of the Japanese nationals far exceeding that of Germany according to newspaper reports. All these added to the immense resources of raw material and labour now at her disposal tend to give one an idea that Japan is slowly but surely and with gradually increasing speed gathering strength. The question therefore is whether the war in Europe can be finished before Japan develops into a power comparable in magnitude with Germany or can Germany hold out till Japan has accumulated sufficient reserves of men, material and weapons to reopen her campaign of aggression in Asia. It is evident that the Allied Supreme Command believes the latter contingency to be improbable.



Civilian residents of Naples welcome U. S. troops

Courtesy : USOWI



Soviet soldiers in defence of Stalingrad



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek (centre), Madame Chiang (beside him) and High Chinese Military and Government officials are pictured after ceremonies during which the Generalissimo was inaugurated as President of China, at Chungking



Chinese workers are employed in the construction of a new Allied airport in China
Courtesy : USO WI

ART MOVEMENTS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By N. SRINIVASARAO

IMPRESSIONISM

TWENTIETH century is the product of an age of scientific discovery, it for the first time put the vision of the artist upon a scientific basis. The retina picture was recognised for what it is, as colour sensations on a plane surface. For the first time the field of vision was considered as a field of colour sensations. Looked at in this way, putting aside every other association but the one overpowering idea of light and colour, a new visual world was opened up. Aspects of nature that had been hopelessly unpaintable on the old formulas, were found to lend themselves to expression in colour. Everything was colour. A wonderful freshening up of the palette followed, and a light and gaiety was introduced that has been a great gain to painting. The impressionist's way of seeing the visual picture, in which objects and back-ground, colour and light and shade, are all considered as one thing, as one symphonic texture of varying colour sensations, does offer a field of selection to the pictorial designer. This movement is perfectly sound in its core.

We know that white light is composed of all the colours of the rainbow, the rainbow being of course sun-light split up into its component parts. And that when white light strikes what we call a red object, the red pigment has all the power of absorbing all the rays of colour except the red, which it rejects and then allows it to come to the eye. And, moreover, these rejected rays in passing through the atmosphere, may and generally do, undergo modifications, so that by the time they reach the retina they may be very different from what they were when reflected from the surface of the object.

This dissociation of colour from objects, and the concentration of attention upon the retina picture, has placed us in possession of an entirely new vision. It seemed no longer necessary to build a picture by laborious study of outlines of the solid forms, filled in with light and shade, local colour, aerial perspective, etc., the visual picture could be studied directly for what it is—variegated rays of the solar spectrum passing through a point behind the lens of the eye and caught by the retina. If pigment can be so manipulated upon a painted surface as to

reflect back light to the eye of similar quantities, the illusion of appearance is produced. And this is very much what the extreme impressionists, of whom Claude Monet is the type, in reality did. Instead of carefully drawn outline filled in with colours, the whole subject before the artist was considered as colour alone; drawing having only to do with the shape of colour masses. The colours of the rainbow, as being the colours that produce nature's effects, were chosen as their palette.

POST-IMPRESSIONISM

It was in winter 1910-1911 that the well-known English art critic and painter, Roger Fry, coined the word post-Impressionist, when he organised an exhibition in London of works of Cezanne, Gauguin, Von Gogh and other French painters of this epoch who were profoundly influenced by impressionistic methods of painting and differed from it to certain extent. Cezanne, while accepting the colour theories of Impressionists, never adopted their prismatic palette; he was concerned with eternal varieties. His aim is explained in his own words, "I wish to make of Impressionism something solid and durable, like the art of old masters."

A fellow painter who knew Cezanne has put it on record that "He would work slowly and deliberately, gazing intently and with extreme concentration—determined to put no touch down until he was absolutely sure of its meaning." What sound advice this would be to give to all the students of painting: to be sure of the meaning before putting a brush stroke to canvas or pencil mark on paper.

This brings us to the term invented by Clive Bell that has been used too much in recent years by all writers on art, namely, significant form. Each stroke must be significant in a pictorial sense: that is, it must help to create the form of the things seen, against their background. It is the antithesis of 'slick' painting. One must be looking for the meaning behind the objects looked at and only put down that which helps to give expression to that meaning.

Cezanne's work was unlike the Impressionist's for he was constantly searching out the

relationship of planes and contours, whilst endeavouring to keep the fulness of colour value. He took much longer time over his pictures than most artists do.

After he was 57 his canvases were liked. He was a great natural colourist whose colour was intensely personal. It is not exactly local colour nor is it atmospheric colour. His pictures seem to be painted at no definite time of day such as one senses in a Monet canvas, for instance. There is a certain timeless element pervading all his work that gives it a unique quality.

Two of the individual painters who stand out, apart from Cezanne, and both of whom were influenced by Impressionism, are Von Gogh and Gauguin. Both were strange characters, both were consumed by an intense passion about their work, and both lived tragic lives which ended in tragedy. Von Gogh worshipped the Sun and in his vibrant, intense canvases tried to give the intensity of glowing sunlight. In this he could be said to belong to Impressionists. But instead of breaking up colour and dividing tones, he gave a solidity to his pictures by outlining objects in strong colours, getting them down firmly with sweeping, passionate strokes. The primitive in Cezanne had affected him, and his work has often been likened to that of perfectly primitive painters. Von Gogh was no copyist of precious methods, he was essentially original and immersed himself in all he did.

Paul Gauguin gave up a lucrative career to devote himself to painting and had the same hardships and poverty to endure. Gauguin, like Von Gogh, was interested in the work of Cezanne and also was affected by the discovery of African carvings and Japanese colour prints. He was essentially decorative in his work, which was always less powerful but more lyrical than that of either Cezanne or Von Gogh. He was a pioneer in bringing linear, decorative pattern into prominence as an essential to stabilize the chaotic compositions of some of the more Impressionistic painters.

Seurat was another painter who had a certain influence upon the development of painting at this time, and whom one can claim as an Impressionist or as a post-Impressionist almost equally well. Seurat used the Pontillist method of out and out Impressionism, that is, the use of separate dots of more or less pure primary colours which were merged by the focus of the eye at a certain distance. He built up his pictures dot by dot from innumerable studies and sketches.

The passion for simplicity and the desire to secure a maximum of expression with the minimum of means, is found in the highest degree in the work of Henri Matisse. Though he retained the high keyed Impressionistic palette of bright clean colours, Matisse abandoned the mosaic method of painting, using a sweeping brush and large planes of colours to fill in the masses of what are essentially linear designs. Many of his drawings are wonderful in their summary expression of form and movement, but we are often bewildered by his wilful distortion of natural forms. Decorative interest is patent in all the works of Matisse and we frequently find that distortions of form are used to help and emphasize the rhythm and equilibrium of the linear pattern. Accordingly, it seems more reasonable to conclude that these distortions are wilful, not accidental, and that the painter subordinates natural representation to formal design, and desires us to admire his pictures, not because they are 'true' but because he created a pattern of line and colour which should appeal to pure aesthetic sensibilities. Matisse is historically important, therefore, as a pioneer of the doctrine that mere actuality is unimportant to pictorial art.

Another movement that subverted the old theories of painting is Cubism. This was based on the strange theory that the crystal was the primitive form of all things. Therefore to restore natural objects and human beings to the primitive forms, it was necessary to eliminate all curved lines and reconstruct forms and faces in their primary form in most suitable geometrical shapes. As a theory Cubism was based on two dogmatic assertions and a fallacious conclusion : (1) Strength is beauty, (2) A straight line is stronger than a curved line. Pablo Picasso, a Spaniard, is the father of this movement.

The selectional representation of diverse aspects of different objects was developed, with an added emphasis in the expression of movement by the group of Italian painters known as the *Futurists*. These painters accepted divisionism and complementarism of the neo-Impressionists in the matter of colour; but in rendering the form they sought to introduce new principles. "Universal dynamism must be rendered in painting as a dynamic sensation; movement and light destroy the materiality of bodies." This is a synthesis of rapid motion photography. In concentrating their endeavours on the expression of movement, the *Futurists*

attempted at converting painting from an art of space to an art of time.

The widespread desire to break with all restraints and an outburst for free expression manifests itself in *Surrealism*. This was not only confined to the graphic or painting arts, it is essentially literary and psychological in its implications and has brought into its ranks as adherents poets and writers of genuine power and ability. The work of Dr. Sigmund Freud and his associates in the discovery and development of psycho-analysis and analysis of dream states was instrumental in the evolution of Surrealism.

In art concerned with the subject-matter of pictures and the general outlook on life of the artist. It is the explorers of the sub-conscious mind who opened the door-way to recording the visions received in day dream conditions. Coupled to these scientific researches in psycho-analysis goes investigation into a certain literature of the last century written by Baudelaire, Rimbaud, William Blake and Swinburne. These men had what is now termed the "spirit of fantasy" and this has been definitely influenced in Surrealist art of all kinds.

One of the first beginnings of Surrealism was in the short-lived Dada movement which was started in 1916. There were simultaneous expressions of this weird Dada art in New York, Zurich, Berlin, Cologne and Paris.

The theme of the Surrealist manifests in the conception that Man's imagination should be freed from the chains of pre-conception; belief in the omnipotence of the dream and disinterested play of thought. In Surrealism one re-lives the best of childhood.

In 1935 it spread to other countries and became an international movement and in 1936 there was organised, the first and last, big Surrealist exhibition in London. Certain British artists have experimented to a limited degree with certain phases of Surrealism and Anglicised it in their own peculiar ways. Among the most interesting of these artists is John Armstrong. He had an extraordinary precision in drawing in detail which is so typical of the Surrealist movement, and his colouring has also been restrained and only indirectly related to nature. Edward Wadsworth, Henry Moore, Paul Nash, Graham Sutherland and others have experimented with various types of Surrealist work, but have used it to help them gain their

own individual expression rather than becoming definite "slaves of the movement."

Herbert Read, the critic, defines Surrealism as being "a form of art that seeks the unknown, the uncreated, in the dark labyrinth of the subconscious mind." It has certainly opened up new avenues of subject-matter for artists to explore, but it is essentially a literary movement and its effects on painting are not fundamental. Already the first rush of enthusiasm of its adherents has died away and there is a tendency to get once more back to nature.

Another queer and fantastic development of abstract art is the *Constructivist School* of which Piet Mondrian, Naun Gabo and Ben Nicholson are the principal exponents of distinction. The Dutch painter, Mondrian, is the real leader of the group. In many of his paintings straight lines are drawn heavily and evenly across the whole surface of the work, so as to make rigid rectangular patterns. Naun Gabo, a Russian who worked in Germany during the twenties, holds that what he calls the 'unseen subjects,' the reality that lies deeper than surface appearances, are the real matter of the art of the future, of which Constructivism is a fore-taste. In a broadcast discussion he stated that the constructivist's aim is to invent a new harmony and a new scale of emotion, and that to do this there is no need to borrow subjects from the external world.

Ben Nicholson arrived at Constructivism after many experiments. Ten years and more ago he was producing attractive landscapes in charming colour drawn somewhat in the downright way in which a child draws, with blobs of trees sticking up and great emphasis on contours; and at the same time he was making amusing still lives, again in high sweet colour and often on big empty canvases, with a mug or a cup and a plate or two isolated in the centre. Then he arranged and composed and mainly in chalk white rectangles and circles in low relief. No one can deny the decorativeness of these austere compositions.

The present time is one of consolidation. All the experimental movements have reached their climax, and having been pushed to the extremes of what they can accomplish, have passed. Naturalism, which was entirely obliterated in some phases of experimentation, is gradually reasserting itself. The artist cannot remain without nature as a guide for long.

ANATOLE FRANCE

A Study

BY P. SAMA RAO, B.A., B.L.

'There are splendid souls in whom the love of splendid things is natural and inborn.'—SYLVESTRE BON-NARD.

To be noble, to be compassionate, to be responsive to the joys and sorrows of the co-created, to distil pleasure out of pain, and suffer patiently with a good grace; to be open and unreserved to one and all, and to find oneself in the many and the many in one's self, are the traits of greatness. It is the great men who enrich life and act as beacon-fires to the stumbling humanity on their march from darkness to light. Anatole France is one such great man, the French Tagore.

Anatole France, the octogenarian, poet, philosopher, thinker, and novelist of France, shed his mortality in 1924, fully crowned with laurels of fame. He belonged to no one school of art or philosophy. He did not fit into any definite creed of thought. Like Nature whom he recognised as his mother, he had many a facet to present to the world. Some regarded him as the 19th century Voltaire, cynical, satirical, and morose. Some put him down as a sensuous egoist, a carping critic, delighting in his own melancholia of disappointment. Some called him a Cossack, of easy morals, ever on the spree. The serious-minded dubbed him a pessimist. The religious viewed him as irreligious, and the orthodox as a heterodox. Monotheists condemned him as a Pantheist. But none of these classifications does any justice to the man who is unique in his own beliefs and formed a creed unto himself.

France was certainly irreligious in the sense he did not possess or subscribe to any religion or any ethical creed. He was still religious in the sense he belonged to that holy fraternity whose constant endeavour was to determine themselves and their relation to the Supreme. His conception of the Godhead as a compassionate Being who disregarded sin and unqualifiedly forgave it, might be defective from the standpoint of practical ethics; but the conception is however consistent with His Nirgunatva. God created the world not with the motive to figure as judge over its erring elements but only with the procreative impulse, to multiply

Himself into various forms just for pleasure. It is motiveless as child's play. So France agrees with Sri Sankara in the motive of creation (*Vide Verse 66 of Sivanandalahari*) and the qualitylessness of God; so, how could he be labelled at all as though he is a chemical capable of formulisation? As an admirer of Pantheism, and as a believer of the existence of God in every earthly form, animate and inanimate and having said, "Whatever the artist conceives of Heaven is borrowed from earth, God, the Virgin, the Angels, Men and Women, Saints, the light, the clouds," how could he be a Monotheist?

This is of course the reverse of the Hindu Ideal preached in *Kathopanishad*—"Urdhvamūla mathassākha etc"—which refers to the foundations of everything in Brahma that is above. In the common language, the Hindu thinks out his existence from the inner to the outer world in a language that does not pertain to the latter; that is to say, the start for any metaphysical thought is the self inside of him and not the world outside of him. In other words, the earth forms but a microcosm in the universe of many such, and the same does not on any account amount to any basis for metaphysical speculation. On the other hand, the Hindu sages have striven to perfect the earth in the pattern of the heavens, and whatever is found beautiful and enduring in this world, has been put down to be the result of the copying of its perfect prototype existing in the heavens. So France's thought "that whatever the artist conceives of Heaven is borrowed from earth" to that extent has to be accepted with a modification that is justified by Platonism and early Vedic thought. He, however, subscribes to the import of the Gita lines,

"Yo ma pasyati sarvatra sarvancha mayi pasyati
Tasyaham na pranasyami sa cha me na pranasyati."

which is the keynote of the Pantheistic Hinduism. Though born and bred a Christian, he is not a Christian in his profession or attitude.

The ennoblement of suffering in that religion is the only feature that attracted him to it. His faith in God's mercifulness cannot be deemed to turn him into a Christian. He goes to the extremity of declaring that religion was born of fear, because it is in the nature of mortals to ward off danger by propitiating the supernatural powers. This is the religion of Vedic utterances. But it is not the true interpretation of the Vedic message: still, it is to the point here, so far as France's theory of religion is concerned. There is, I fear, nothing explicit about France's knowledge of this message anywhere in his works, though he may have been influenced by it. He is such a free spirit, and a lover of liberty that he has no qualms to respect Satan, the embodiment of freedom in revolt, and exclaim from his housetop the Miltonic line, "It is better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven." The beauty in Nature's creation, according to him, is the handiwork of freedom, akin to Satan's revolt. Here he is one with Wordsworth when he ascribes the beauty of a flower to its freedom down to its very roots. This is the burden of France's song in his "Revolt of the Angels," where Satan as Purusha—the active or dynamic Principle—evolves beauty out of the chaos of dead or inanimate matter or Prakriti.

France ascribes the birth of sin to man's misunderstanding of himself, his co-created, and the surroundings into which they are all projected by the Divine Spirit. Selfishness of Man to carve for himself a heaven is a material element to weigh in the formation of sin. If Man is selfless, passionless, and desireless, he and God meet on a common plane and in the recognition of each as but a form of the other, melt into each other's embrace to form the One and the Universal Self. That is the upshot of France's as well as any great spiritualist's message! So France, however right he may be in his condemnation of Science as still another parade of ignorance and as a force contributory to mere material civilization, he is not justified; for he does not take stock of the spiritual height to which it has attained and established beyond doubt that the phenomena, Heat, Light, Electricity, Magnetism, and Sound are but manifestations of the One Primal Energy, the Purusha or the Spirit in creation. This mistake on his part may be due to the fact that Science in his time had not become so very certain about its discoveries. Otherwise, his spiritual sensitiveness would not have missed to throb to this truth as well.

France has been referred to as a Pantheist striving to find the One among the Many He has created. Nothing is therefore essentially good or bad in itself. The Angels, the Devils, etc., are but his own conjuring, and have their home nowhere except in Man's fantastic imagination and fear. The nature or quality is therefore a figment of the human mind. But he still touches at the Absolute Truth when he says, "Nothing exists except that which is imagined"; for, Nature of which Man is but a dynamic particle,

"has no principle. . . . Nature in her indifference makes no distinction between good and evil."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

". . . . Nature in itself is neither beautiful nor ugly. Nature is, that is all. It is only the senses of Man which ascribe to it ugliness or beauty. According to our disposition, our state of mind, we see poor deluded creatures that we are—shadow or light upon the neutral and indifferent picture of the Universe."—CONVERSATIONS.

France is a grateful son of Nature. His heart-strings have always throbbed to her touch. Like a good son he has understood her, and feels he can never exist without her. He describes "the caressing melancholy of the evening and the beauty of that natal earth, which feeds us, not only with bread and wine, but also with ideas, sentiments, beliefs, and which will at last take us all back to her maternal breast again, like so many tired children at the close of a long day."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

What lovelier expression than this could be given of the Shakta's soul yearning for the grace of Kali, the Mother! So, as a corollary it follows, that there is absolutely no difference in the degree of intelligence among men, for we are all children babbling merely of things we do not know. Further, because of the divine spark of intelligence in every bit of creation, all are on one level and so equal to one another. He is expressing nothing but truth when he asserts:

"At any rate the most stupid are not those who commonly pass for such."—CONVERSATIONS.

He reasons out thus:

(a) "No man has ever been understood by another. But those whom we understand the least are usually those whom we praise the most. Such is the melancholy irony of fame."—CONVERSATIONS.

(b) "But who among us shall boast of his wisdom? The foresight of Man is short, and his prudence is for ever baffled."—CONVERSATIONS.

(c) ". . . but we judge human actions by the pleasure or pain they cause us."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

because the standard by which we measure is selfish and is set up by Man for his own ends.

II

Anatole France has no illusions whatsoever about the presence of an outside Agency—call it

the Universal Principle, or freak of Nature, or Superman, or Destiny or Fate, as you will—who wills everything in this world, regulating Man's conduct, as though he were a toy in His hands. For, he says :

(a) "The blows of fate are ineludable; no man shall evade his doom. There is no Counsel, no caution that avails against destiny. Hapless as we are, the same blind force which regulates the course of atom, and of star, fashions the Universal Order from our vicissitudes. Our ill-fortune is necessary for the harmony of the Universe."—*THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS*.

(b) "In this world we call a Cosmos, though it is but a microcosm no thinking being can imagine that he is able to destroy even one atom. At the most, all we can hope for is, that we can succeed in modifying here and there the rhythm of some group of atoms and the arrangements of certain cells. That when one thinks of it must be the limit of our enterprise."—*THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS*.

(c) "Everything passes away . . . , but life is immortal; it is that life we must love in its forms eternally renewed. All the rest is child's play; and I myself with all my books am only like a little child playing with marbles."—*SYLVESTRE BONNARD*.

(d) "Nature makes and unmakes all these divine treasures (means mother, wife, friends and children) with gloomy indifference and at last we find that we have not loved. We have only been embracing shadows. But how sweet some shadows are!"—*SYLVESTRE BONNARD*.

The first two extracts, namely (a) and (b), while proclaiming the ultimate powerlessness of Man against the will of God, cry a halt to the riotous Ego of the scientist who may assert he could make and unmake creation. His knowledge or wisdom like any other thing has its own limitations; and his 'infinity' is still narrowed down and circumscribed by Destiny. Thus France is a fatalist in a sense. The other two are an optimistic say of the continuity of creation, with Maya veiling the truth of it from our purblind vision, and enticing us to still hug with ardour the mere shadows.

There is as much truth in this as untruth. The ultimate is in the hands of the Supreme; but the proximate may not be. It does not stand to reason—unless that faculty of reasoning is itself an illusion—that if one has the capacity and the desire to do a thing, he cannot do it, irrespective of the result. If the above are accepted without any reservation, they mean nothing but this; that Man a willing power, is nothing but a lifeless clod, passive and inane. If 'willing' and 'desiring' are not at one's instance alone, but are dependent upon the willing and the desiring of an outside Agency, the statements are an entire truth. This is a metaphysical problem that cannot be discussed any further in this short space.

Then the question crops up, What is Life, and What is Man's place in His scheme? Man

becomes a crude material to fashion anything out of it, for His own ends. In the Hindu conception of creation it is so. When France says "There is nothing in life worth having except sensations" it might mean that life is a force which by impact causes sensations. This implies Dynamic energy. These sensations cannot but be ephemeral; they take the form of ordinary joy and pain. If only people knew what would be the ultimate result of their actions, they would never act at all; that is to say, there would be no pulsation of life with the result that one does not live. That is to say, there would be no life at all. But for purposes of His play, mortals are not only invested with capacities to will and desire with their emotions but cry wild at disappointments. The only happiness, the genuine happiness, that is vouchsafed to man comes about when he loses the 'consciousness of his own existence'

Life is no bed of roses or a continuous song of melody for France; to his contemporary N. Segur he says :

"No, my friend, the secret of all the Universe is not desire, not love; it is pain. Love in reality, is but a by-product. Pain is the lamentable pearl of this earth of ours. We spin unceasingly the web of sorrow. It is our hell, our tribulation, but it is also our greatness. If Man builds at all it is at the price of endless efforts and tears. If he were happy he would be as though he existed not. If he were prosperous he would not progress. Every one finds a pedestal on which to raise himself, a little higher and the name of that pedestal is suffering. As for love, the love of woman, it is but the greatest source of sorrow that there is, and that is saying a great deal."—*CONVERSATIONS*.

There is no pessimism in this. It is a grand truth if understood rightly. The pain is not merely physical. It is (that which precedes the birth or the dawning of life) the quickening force that determines the birth, the being, and the eclipse of existence on the physical, the mental, and the spiritual planes.

With this delimitation of life as a mosaic of light and shadow is there anything like the best and the enduring there, despite the mortal tragedy? Yes! answers France. It is the spiritual attainment to One-ness with God after one's self is cleansed by suffering. He advocates the avoidance of certain sensations that are a menace or danger to one's self and others. He considers the nature of sensations and says :

"Those which a noble memory or a grand spectacle creates within us certainly represent what is best in human life."—*SYLVESTRE BONNARD*.

He is such a firm believer in the permanence of beauty and its nature that he considers it as a chastener of human morals and says that "it is indestructible as Life itself."

"Beauty is so great and so august a quality that centuries of Barbarians cannot efface it so completely that adorable vestiges of it will always remain."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

So France's conception of Beauty is no more flicker of light that could be extinguished by circumstance. It is a concomitant of divine pleasure, that is, *Ananda* of the Hindu philosophy. But the sorrow, its antithesis, comes about only when there is its abuse; then

"it corrupts the intelligence and impairs the understanding. The devil takes possession of the sinner's senses, penetrating even to his soul."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

It is only when beauty is abused and also misused that a pretty face becomes a 'curse from Heaven.' But beauty in its right activity "is but one of the innumerable snares which Nature employs to lure us to the fulfilment of her hidden designs. Beauty is the supreme artifice of that wondrous and essential mirage we call love."—CONVERSATIONS. and helps us to attain beatitude; for

"In beauty we shall find salvation, for in it we find oblivion."—CONVERSATIONS.

Beauty is therefore God, and in its narrowest sense, cannot but be His own complexion. The burdens which life has cast on one's shoulders become considerably lighter, aye, even become non-existent when self forgets itself in its contemplation. France has no doubts about it. He is emphatic :

"In the contemplation of Beauty, we cast off the burdens of Life. It is as though we were eating of some enchanting lotus, as if we were being wafted into another sphere where all pain, all sorrow are forgotten. The Crowning Opiate, the source of art and letters, of every worthy thing that Man has created, of everything in which he may take a legitimate pride—Beauty is the ransom of the Universe."—CONVERSATIONS.

Then Life becomes tolerable "with the deluding hope of discovering the Infinite in one's self."

Thus France sees Infinity in the complexion of youth, and understands the "bliss of being beautiful";

"Her complexion was slightly pink and her half open lips smiled with that smile which makes one think of the infinite—perhaps because it betrays no particular thought and expresses only the joy of living and the bliss of being beautiful."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard contains many a reference to the superiority of the Grecian aesthetic sense to that of any other Western nation. To France as well as to Tagore, the physical body in which the divine spirit is housed, is sacred. One makes the other visible, and as such, one cannot but be an expression of the other. It is so in the Platonic sense as well. It is therefore a folly to judge beauty by

the garments one is clothed in. "The dress often proclaims the man" is quite deceptive so far as aesthetic judgment is concerned;

"For the tissues of Lyons and Genoa are worthless compared with the beautiful living tissues, rosy and pure with blood; the most beautiful draperies are despicable with the lines of a beautiful body."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

Herein lies the secret which actuated the Grecian sculptor to adore the naked in preference to the dressed form of beauty. This seems to be the basis for the Nudist Cult of the present day.

Faith and Love are the two Magic Keys to the 'House of Life,' with the help of which Man finds permanent solace to his being. For he is

"born to enjoy what is beautiful and what is good and to do what one pleases, when the things one wants to do are noble, intelligent, and generous."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

III

According to France, education must be fruitful of this benefit. Otherwise, it would be leading one into the quagmires of depravity and misery, from which there is no riddance. Like Sankara, he holds that "it is the teacher's duty to teach the pupil how to will the good." He sets forth the ideals of such an education in pages 198-199 of his *Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard*:

"It is only by amusing oneself that one can learn. The whole art of teaching is only the art of awakening the natural curiosity of young minds for the purpose of satisfying it afterwards: and curiosity itself can be vivid and wholesome only in proportion as the mind is contented and happy. Those acquirements crammed by force into the minds of children simply clog and stifle intelligence. In order that knowledge be properly digested, it must have been swallowed with a good appetite."

Further on he adverts to the education of girls :

"If that child is entrusted to my care, I should make her—not a learned woman, for I would look to her future happiness only—but a child full of bright intelligence and full of life, in whom everything beautiful in art or nature would awaken some gentle responsive thrill. I would teach her to live in sympathy with all that is beautiful—comely landscapes, the ideal scenes of poetry and history, the emotional charm of noble music. I would make loveable to her everything I would wish her to love. Even her needle-work I would make loveable to her, by a proper choice of the fabrics, the style of embroideries, the designs of lace. I would give her a beautiful dog and a pony to teach her how to manage animals; I would give her birds to take care of, so that she could learn the value of even a drop of water and a crumb of bread. And in order that she should have a still higher pleasure, I would train her to find delight in charity. And inasmuch as none of us may escape pain, I should teach her that Christian wisdom which elevates us above all suffering, and gives

a beauty even to grief itself. This is my idea of the right way to educate a young girl."

These ideals are the same for both boys and girls, if for the embroideries we substitute games like the Football and Cricket. They are at once practical and philosophical. They are meant not only to make a person fit to earn a living but also to enable him to confront the inevitable sorrows of life, and participate in the emotional life of other creation in this world.

France is a great believer in Darwin's theory of Evolution, and in consequence, a sponsor of the theory of the transmigration of souls. According to him, "the future is shaped out of the past." So that one could have peace and joy in future, one must lead a contented life in patience without fretting oneself, having learnt to be meek and gentle. "When one suffers patiently one suffers less," is the maxim he preaches to the suffering humanity.

Life is a change without cessation. There is nothing like happiness in a change, for 'the most longed for' one has its own melancholy. The process in the changing is an aching, a pain. Only the most sensitive could feel how after aching the tender fronds come out. Since life is a succession of changes it is immortal.

To France as well as to Vivekananda everything is unreal excepting Thought. In an excellent interpretation of his he says :

"Think well about great things; we know that thought is the only reality in this world. Lift up Nature to thine own stature; and let the whole universe be for thee no more than the reflection of thine own heroic soul."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

To concretise this conception, he has parallels in Don Quixote and Sancho :

"Within everyone of us there lives both a Don Quixote and a Sancho to whom we hearken by turns; and though Sancho most persuades us, it is Don Quixote that we find ourselves obliged to admire."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

This may sound pessimistic; but it is an expression of Truth that cannot be rebutted. So Anatole is not a pessimist.

Passions and desires as have already been said, were created in Man so that he could live out his tenure of life on earth. Without these he becomes deadened and creation would cease. Although, according to him, the "passions are enemies of peace and quiet," they are all the same necessary not only for procreation but also for arts and industries. He says that without them he could not feel and experience the joy of Beauty :

"I have known that mysterious charm which Nature has lent to animate force; and the clay which lives has given to me that shudder of delight which makes the lover and the poet."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

France is a perfect artist with these passions and desires so well regulated that every beautiful sight in Nature renews his being, and like a veritable Anteus, he feels young at every touch of the earth :

"I have touched the earth and am now a new man; and, now at 70 years of age, new feelings of curiosity take birth in my mind, even as young shoots sometimes spring up from the hollow trunk of an aged oak."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

A life of passionlessness and inanity which synonymously amount to death has never been an attraction to him. The 'wisdom of indifference,' or rather the static state does not appeal to him. Age did not wrinkle up his heart. It continued eternally young, for he derived youth at every touch of his mother, the divine Earth :

"In spite of my tranquil mien, I have always preferred the folly of the passions to the wisdom of indifference. But just because my own passions are not just of that sort which burst out with violence to devastate and kill, the common mind is not aware of their existence."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

In Whitman's vein he explains the why and the wherefore of his passionate attachment to Paris :

"... all the old and venerable part of Paris, with its towers and spires—all that's my life, it is myself; and I should be nothing but for all these things which are thus reflected in me through my thousand varying shades of thought, inspiring me and animating me. That's why I love Paris with an intense love."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

He flies into ecstasy when he sees the young couple, Jean and her betrothed, receding from him after his blessings, and describes their state in a most poetical mood :

"They smile at the earth which sustains them; they smile at the air which bathes them; they smile at the light which each one sees in the eyes of the other. From my window I wave my handkerchief at them—and they smile at my old age."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

What could be a more enduring touch of nature than this sight of the beautiful satisfaction of old age at the happiness of youth, which he has achieved? Could this be the mood of a pessimist?

But, France is still aware of the "evil in all passionate desires, even the noblest," as they enslave a Man and make him depend on others; in a sense, according to him, the poor man is the richest man :

"The poor man who has no desires possesses the greatest of riches; he possesses himself. The rich man who desires something is only a wretched slave."—SYLVESTRE BONNARD.

This is nothing but a paraphrase of the Sanskrit saying "Kaupinavantah, khālubhagya-vantah."

IV

Anatole France like Bacon is capable of expressing universal truths in a laconic manner:

- (a) "The daughters of Eve adore adornment."
- (b) "Time deals gently only with those who take it gently."
- (c) "Those who have given themselves the most concern about the happiness of people have made their neighbours very miserable."
- (d) "But one cannot always remain in Heaven."
- (e) "There was so much expression in her beauty that she could not breathe without seeming to sigh."
- (f) "To know is nothing at all; to imagine is everything. Nothing exists except that which is imagined."
- (g) "A pretty face is a curse from heaven."
- (h) "Lovers who love truly do not write down their happiness."
- (i) "Since it is woman who dispenses love, man is wholly in her power."
- (j) "All progress is the result of will. Well, the more we understand, the less we exercise our will. If we succeed in understanding everything, we would will no more."
- (k) "In independence of thought is the proudest of all aristocracies."
- (l) "We judge human actions by the pleasure or pain they cause us."

These are some but not all the precious sayings contained in his works.

Anatole France is not enamoured of civilization and progress as understood by the moderns, to which science has contributed not a few accessories that pander only to one's physical cravings. If one boldly asserts, they have dwarfed and deteriorated the spiritual sense :

"Our science is only another form of ignorance, the very one indeed, which most clearly brings home to us that we know nothing. All it has done for us is to give us spectacles that do not increase the vastness and terror of the infinite Unknown, which surrounds us. Science, alas ! can change nothing since it can only illumine the world to perceive ourselves, the only world to which we have access. As for the Unknown Universe round about us its riddles will remain eternally unsolved. Science is but part of the illusion great, that's all."—CONVERSATIONS.

Anatole as well as Whitman have infinite compassion for the fallen woman—the prostitute and the courtesan. They are as sacred to them as any other piece of creation, for suffering, as Christ said, endows them with divine grace :

"Courtesans do not offer themselves for pleasure, but, because they must, for money, in order to support life and so as not to die, so to speak, by their own hand,

which would be a still greater sin. No; a courtesan is rather a woman who practises humility."—CONVERSATIONS.

Genius to Anatole is not Carlyle's "capacity for infinite work." It is a "product of culture and polish, the fine flower of epochs of strength and refinement." He expands this conception :

"It is a kind of mysterious ray which compels those who possess it ever to see the skeleton where others see the flesh in all its beauty; compels them to contemplate the hideous grin of the naked muscles where others see only smiles. Or, better, it is a still more powerful ray that passes alike through grinning muscles and gaunt skeleton and reveals the loneliness, the belt of utter solitude in which each man dwells, which sundered him from all communication with his kind and condemns him for ever to live in lonely sadness."—CONVERSATIONS.

This is the import of Ethel Mannin's *Pilgrims* and *Ragged Banner*. What the French litterateur has shortly expressed she has developed into novels of size, fully informing and artistic.

France like the Vedic seer believes in the existence of the superhuman agency of angels, to guide the conduct of man and bless him whenever he deserves their blessings. As in the Gita, the relationship is fruitful of good or bad just as the mortal chooses. To make this understandable to the ordinary mentality, France gives a business equation :

"God has appointed tutelary spirits to be near us. They come to us laden with His gifts. They return laden with our prayers. Such is their task. Not an hour, not a moment passes but they are at our side, ready to help us, ever fervent and unwearied guardians, watchmen that never slumber."—THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS.

There cannot be a better summing up of Anatole France and his genius than in the following from N. Segur :

"His whole work may be summed up as one long meditation on the vanity of human endeavour, on the futility of the problems, even the mightiest that exercise the mind of man. To juggle with the puppets which from time immemorial men have regarded with fear or veneration—such was his favourite occupation."

"But, . . . like a winged songster which sings more pathetically and charms the more by its voice when sundered from its mate, weaving its sorrows into song—so, too, he with spirit yearning yet for ever unappeased, gazing from his lonely tower, at the tragic-comedy of life, has soothed us with the most profound, the most intense and the most subtle of intellectual music."



RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE AS I SAW HIM

BY BIJOY LAL CHATTOPADHYAYA

It was a bright morning. Ramananda Babu was conducting the Divine Service in the Brahma Samaj Hall at Santipur. Tears were rolling down his cheeks. He was crying like a child. At once the inner man became transparent to me. Behind the Editor of *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* I saw the real man whose one ideal in life was the realisation of God. The idea of God he steadily held before his mind, it really filled his mind. All his outward activities were inspired by the single idea of realising God through disinterested Karma. To seek Him in the lonely dark corner of a temp'e apart from the world did not appeal to him. Like Rabin-drana-th he found his God among the poorest, the lowliest, and the lost.

He hated Imperialism, because he loved humanity; he protested against tyranny and injustice because he identified himself with the hungry millions of his country. He was a Nationalist to the core of his being because he realised that only freedom could make the people of India happy and prosperous. He was a seer, an intellectual giant. So it was clear to him from the very beginning that no amount of charity could give fulness of life to the unfortunate people of his country. The huge problem of freeing hundreds of human beings from the cruel jaws of abject poverty could never be solved by multiplying charitable institutions. The problem could be solved only by political and economic democracy, by making victorious the principle of national liberty. It was not a question of individual charity but of collective mass action. And so Ramananda Chatterjee, in his effort to meet God "among the poorest, the lowliest and the lost," made his ideal the Service of Man and this ideal inspired him to dedicate his life at the altar of Liberty. Faith is a battle, as Romain Rolland so aptly puts it in his famous book *Mahatma Gandhi*. Ramananda Babu had absolute faith in the ideals of liberty and equality. He could not tolerate the idea that millions of his countrymen wou'd continue to live the unlivable lives of slaves. The word "domination" was hateful to him. He knew that the way to peace was not through weakness. He was not only a good man but a strong and brave man too and a strong man in his passion for justice never hesitates to antagonise the mighty. Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee did not hesitate to antagonise those who would uphold Imperialism in India. Ruthlessly he exposed the evils of foreign domination; fearlessly he fought the battle for freedom with all his might. What he wrote

he wrote with his blood and his writings cheered up the spirit of all lovers of freedom and terrified the Imperialists. What he wrote was no sentimental effusion but hard logic. His proofs were convincing and arguments unassailable. Naturally those in power looked upon *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* with consternation. They found in Ramananda Chatterjee a relentless enemy of Imperialism who was incorruptible and whose heroic soul nothing could coerce into submission. Month after month and year after year, Ramananda Babu carried on his campaign against injustice in every form.

It was true that in the fight for freedom that is being carried on by the Congress he did not actually participate in action but still he was an immense force on the side of Revolution and he would be remembered by posterity as a great revolutionary who gave his life-blood to make the dream of a new world a reality. Truly has Rolland written in *I Will Not Rest*:

"The Revolution is not the property of a party. The Revolution is a mission of all those who wish for a better and happier humanity."

Elsewhere he writes in the same book :

"It is quite true that mind is a force of Nature. But the force must find its place among other forces which, with due regard to their free functioning, the Revolution must organise for the construction of a new world."

Woe to those who scorn the forces of the mind and pay all their homage to heroes of action. Men of action are no doubt necessary for making ideas victorious; for an idea simply by its rational value cannot become the force that creates a new world. The loftiest and most sublime idea remains ineffective until the day when a man of action appears on the horizon and by transfusing his heroic blood into it makes the idea a living force. The ideas that had lain dead in books like items in a museum suddenly come to live at the touch of the dynamic personality of a hero. But when all have been said it still remains a fact that the world is finally ruled by ideas and men who have been the transmitters of fervid and tremendous ideas would always be respected by posterity and creators of history.

Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee's role in history has been the role of the builder of a nation. His creative genius was utilised by Destiny for building a new India. His style was vigorous, he had limpid clearness of mind, his reasonings constantly reminded one of Socrates and he had that sincerity which is as rare as intelligence or beauty. It was meant by Destiny that this

great intellectual giant should appear on the horizon of India with the pen of a Thomas Paine so that thousands of his countrymen might get a new inspiration and light from his writings, men and women beyond the frontiers of Hindusthan should know the real character of British Administration in India and understand the great ideal for which the Congress is still fighting on. Emerson in his famous essay, "The Young American," says :

"Good nature is plentiful, but we want justice, with heart of steel, to fight down the proud."

Sreejut Ramananda Chatterjee was no weak pacifist. His ideal was justice and he sternly criticised whatever insulted the dignity of human life. He made ruthless war on the sin of untouchability, vigorously used his prolific pen to vindicate the rights of women, gave his whole-hearted support to every movement that stood for freeing man from his degrading conditions. He was a fighter from beginning to end and fearlessly fought down the proud that would lord it over his fellowmen and use them as means for their own glorification. Like Rolland's "Christopher" he said, "It is not peace that I seek but life." And life is where the sufferings of men and their combat are, in the sun and rain-storm. He belonged to the tribe of those strong men whom Emerson calls "formidable

individuals," who never submit to the will of the evil-doer and never hesitate to raise their voices against the will of the tyrant. He would not tolerate the slightest domination. He would not brook the slightest assault on justice and truth. He was never an agitator but he hated that murderous silence that has its root in cowardice. That emasculated goodness which always fights shy of danger and ever seeks peace and security aloof from the battle of life had no fascination for his heroic soul.

But the man who was brave as a lion in his uninterrupted fight against injustice had nothing of the self-assertive superman. Clive Bell in characterising a civilized man writes : "Tolerant and unwilling to interfere, a civilized man will have 'manners'." Ramananda Chatterjee was a man with graceful exterior and irreproachable manners. His chief characteristics were his silence and modesty. He was never over-bearing. He never imposed himself, never interfered. He did not share the common error of judging another by himself. He had respect for faiths that differed from his own. His contact with the world, therefore, was never one-sided. Conversation with him was always a keen delight. The youthful generation who came in close touch with him have lost in his death their friend, philosopher and guide.

BENGAL : A GANGETIC DELTA ?

By BISWESWAR CHAKRAVARTY, B.T.

BENGAL is popularly known as a gift of the Ganges. The river is still building and un-building a vast portion of the province. So the pet theory may find a wide currency. But Geology has a different story to tell.

The upper soil of Bengal consists chiefly of bluish clay and white sand. Those have been deposited by the Ganges river system, no doubt. Had this alluvium alone been found over a rocky bottom or a marined bed that would have supported the popular belief. But only sixty feet below the surface lies the stratum of yellow sand, extending from the foot of the Himalayas down to the lower courses of the Hoogly. Moreover a high belt of laterite formation extends from the Rajmahal district of Bihar to the Madhupur Jungle in Mymensingh. The belt has been broken only by the changing channels of the Ganges and the Bramhaputra. This laterite formation is an outcrop of the old alluvium. The districts of Tipperah and Chittagong in the east and Burdwan in the west are formed

of the same. Thus we see that underneath the present surface lies another stratum formed of yellow sand and red clay traversed by a high bridge extending right across from the west to the east. This alluvium was not deposited by the rivers of the west.

"The red clay of Rangpur, Burdwan, Murshidabad and Madhupur Jungle is very different from the clay brought down by any of the Himalayan rivers, while the underlying sand bears no resemblance to the micaeous white sand these deposit."¹

It may be pointed out that the Gangetic silt is only sixty feet deep but a rocky bottom can not be found within 481 ft. This shows the magnitude of the deposit made by the older rivers.

An explanation is, perhaps, due regarding the existence of a high belt in the middle and not at the southern extremity of the old stratum. It is generally found that the tidal bore pushes

1. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee : *Changing Face of Bengal*, p. 123.

back a river and the hugest quantity of mud and sand is deposited not at the mouth but at a distance up the current. The same happened to the rivers flowing through the then North Bengal and the present high belt was the outcome.

To the extreme south is the Sundarban area.

"Its soil, as ascertained by boring, shows how ancient is the soil on which the forest grows; it tells of wonderful changes in the face of the once deep valley now filled up by the deltaic alluvium, hundreds and hundreds of feet in depth, when the ocean sweeping round the base of the Himalaya mountains covered what is now the valley of the Ganges and joined the sea at the mouths of the Indus."²

Later on this high region deflected the currents of the North Bengal rivers to the west and the old laterite region of Burdwan extending upto Chotonagpur Hills was the product of the silt thus deposited.

"Another boring in the Middle Ganges plain at Lucknow was carried down to nearly 1,000 ft. below sea-level with no further sign of an approach to the bottom than was shown by the appearance of coarse sand near the end of the hole."³

This clearly proves that the Ganges deposited much more silt in its middle course than in its eastern course. This is possible only when a river finds it blocked by a higher level region. The same was the fate of the Ganges. After many days the middle course was silted and the river began to push its way to the east. In doing so it broke through the old alluvium.

It is an admitted fact that the Bengal rivers are shifting eastward. Most of the rivers of Northern Bengal now flowing south-east then flowed south-west. With the appearance of the Ganges they found themselves faced by a strong river trying to push eastward. New char lands began to be formed at these junctions and they gradually turned to the east. The whole of northern Bengal soon became a tract of dried up rivers and marshes.

At first the Ganges found the old high laterite formation too strong and bent southward. That gave rise to the western and now dying up branches of the Ganges. Further to the south the river met the ocean tide and the huge delta at the Hoogly estuary was formed. Again being faced by a high level region the river pushed further east in the channel of what is now called the Padma. That the western branches are older than the Padma is admitted by all. This would never have been possible if the land sloped towards the east. The land eastward was higher and so the river found a way to the south and only when the southern

channels were blocked, it began to push eastward. Thus we find that the greater part of Bengal was formed long before the Ganges appeared on the scene and when the mid-Ganges valley was semi-aquatic.⁴

The Aryan migration of Bengal in later period has often been cited to prove the comparatively recent formation of the delta. But anthropologists have shown that Bengalees are more pre-Aryan than Aryan. In our craze for Aryan civilization we have carefully overlooked our more ancient heritage. The Aryans certainly came later but that does not show that there was no habitable land before that. Traces of earlier habitations are found in this high laterite region.

We are now to see which are the rivers that originally formed this land of ours. James Ferguson in a valuable paper read before the Geological Society of London in 1863 hinted at the possibility of the Brahmaputra flowing through North Bengal. Mr. S. C. Majumder, Chief Engineer, Bengal, writes : "The Brahmaputra must have contributed to the building up of North Bengal even in old days."⁵ The face of the land has changed remarkably. The Karatoyā whose upper course may still be found near Siliguri has become a river in the Bogra district. The Arialkhān that once carried the waters of the Ganges is now a dying river in Faridpur. The Jhinai that up till very recently was the main spill course of the Brahmaputra can hardly be traced off Gopalganj and Hemnagar in Mymensingh. The Ichamati that once flowed through North Bengal and South Bengal has now lost itself in the Arial Bil. All these are most recent changes. But many more drastic ones might have taken place in days now lost in oblivion.

A discerning eye will still be astonished to find the traces of the western beds of most of these rivers now marked by bils and jhils. The geologist tells us that the Gangetic silt lies not to any great depth. The lower and more ancient stratum of red and yellow sand was deposited by the rivers of the East. Should we still cling to our belief that 'Bengal is a Gangetic delta'? The more correct statement would be that Bengal is a gift of the Brahmaputra and the Ganges has only carried harrowing destruction into the land and made a complete change. "Bhabatbhiranumanyatām."

2. Major Sherwell : "The Gangetic Delta," *Calcutta Review*, January, 1859, and Mukerjee, p. 119.

3. *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 100.

4. Dr. N. K. Bhattachari in his article "Antiquity of the Lower Ganges and its Courses" in *Science and Culture*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 232-239 has shown that the eastern branch originated before 300 B.C.

5. Majumder : *Rivers of the Bengal Delta*, pp. 53-54.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR.

ENGLISH

OUR ECONOMIC PROBLEM : By P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant. Published by New Book Company, Bombay. 1943 (October). Pp. 536. Price Rs. 6-8.

This is a new book on Indian Economics. The authors deal here primarily with the problems of our production, distribution and consumption. The problems of our trade, transport, currency, banking and finance are to be expected in a companion volume later.

The authors do not confine themselves in this volume to a mere description of India's economic conditions and problems. But they indicate as well the ways and means by which the economic ailments from which our country suffers can be removed by a socially controlled *planned economy*. Their purpose in writing this book is two-fold : "an analytical and historical survey of our economic life and problems as they face us today, and what a free India of the future can immediately achieve by a considered programme of economic reconstruction." When India will be "free," if ever, we do not know. But it need not deter us from welcoming the authors' suggestions for our economic improvement. India needs such suggestions from her thinkers, economic and non-economic. She must devise an effective plan to lift her millions from that depth of poverty that is degrading them to the level of beasts.

The most valuable feature of the volume is its fine collection of useful statistical materials. The book will amply repay its reading to readers of all classes.

P. C. Ghosh

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA : By Sir B. P. Singh Roy. Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta. 1943. Pp. 411+ix and an Index. Price Rs. 9.

The author of this erudite volume is at present President of the Bengal Legislative Council. His claim to be heard on the problems of Indian constitutional affairs arises from the fact that he had been a member of the provincial legislature from the beginning of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and a Minister in Bengal for over a decade. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who contributes a commendatory foreword, rightly observes that "there are few among our public men who are better qualified" to write on the subject. It is a pity, therefore, that Sir Bijoy has rest contented with a mere "analysis and account of the working of the parliamentary system," and has "carefully avoided" the "expression of personal opinion on the existing political problems or suggestions regarding their solution." While congratulating the author on the production of a balanced, up-to-date and informative book of reference on Indian politics—albeit marred by the oddities of expression through the medium of a foreign language—academic readers cannot but feel disappointed at the author's detached standpoint : they sadly miss the bold

strokes of imagination and controversial kite-flying which are usually associated with the politician's excursions in similar fields. It is thus an unexpectedly good compendium of the development of constitutional reforms in India and an acute analysis of the working constitution in British India; an admirable text-book for advanced students and a safe guide for the foreign reader.

The seven chapters are well-planned. The first one traces the growth of the constitutional structure since the Mutiny and is interesting reading for even the initiated. The intellectual and religious revival, the early years of the Indian press and the National Congress, the summary of the working of the instalments of reform and particularly of Diarchy are all judiciously discussed in the first hundred pages. The next chapter on "India and the British Commonwealth" is a fair but critical analysis of the concept of Dominionhood, ending with the war-time "offers" to India including the Cripps Mission : implicit in the chapter is, of course, the link with Great Britain, but why describe the distracted empire by the obvious misnomer—the *British Commonwealth*? Next comes a short chapter on the federation of India, which serves as the connecting link to his next three chapters on "Responsible Government in the Provinces," "Provincial Autonomy" and "The Party System"—which constitute the special features of the book. Bengal gets a special corner in each of these chapters, both for illustrating the author's arguments and for bringing to relief some of the peculiar aspects of Bengal's parties *vis-a-vis* the bureaucratic elements in Government. There will obviously be cause for disagreement with regard to some of the conclusions on constitutional controversies, which the author seeks, unobtrusively and with the help of suitable citations of authorities, to buttress. But the narration of facts leaves little to be desired in the matter of impartiality and even emphasis. But why does Sir Bijoy fight shy of giving references to texts which he quotes within inverted commas, and why should he take to the text-book method of discussing issues *seriatim* by giving numbers to his points? Are not these attempts at precision carried to the extreme? With his experience and in his capacity as an elder liberal politician, he should have been less hesitant and, let me repeat, more bold in his exposition.

While the chapter on "Provincial Autonomy" includes topics which are not usually expected there, (e.g., judgments of the Federal Court admirably summarised, the recent amendments to the Act of 1935, short accounts of the civil service and the judicial system), the chapter on "The Party System" (which even mentions the Azad Moslem Board) is singularly unappreciative of, and free from references to, the newer forces in Indian politics due to the emergence of leftist

groups and organisations of industrial labourers and peasants, especially as a result of the war.

It is interesting to note that while Sir Bijoy would like to combat the "fanaticism" of the political parties in India, Sir Tej Sapru's grievance is that the party-machine in India "has been far too successful; and it would have been much better if the rigidity with which the party machine is worked in India leading at times to the concentration of power in a few hands had been less in evidence." This democratic liberal note is, however, of little practical significance inasmuch as it does not take account of either the socio-economic forces in Indian society which make for such authoritarian high-and-mighty tone of the political High Commands imitating the temper of fascist prototypes, or the pitfalls of parliamentary democracy in India unless every instalment of it is accompanied by transference of power to such elements whose interest it would be to secure a further democratisation of the social structure and not to buttress the feudal, quasi-capitalistic forces that be. But such a discussion would lead us beyond the reviewer's limits.

The last chapter entitled "The Background of Moslem Awakening" is a sympathetic study of the Moslem point of view, and emphasises the point that the Pakistan idea is logically related to the reluctance of Moslems to live under a non-Moslem government, which is said to be a part of the Moslem's religious faith. Sir Bijoy hardly discusses Pakistan and seeks to dismiss the controversy by suggesting that "political India has no clear notion of its implications." The whole chapter thus closes abruptly and does not justify its inclusion in the volume; though it is otherwise informative and suggestive.

The volume is nicely printed and got-up; and the few misprints, especially of some names, may be easily recognised and corrected. Apart from the weight lent by the author's position, the volume by the intrinsic merit of its contents deserves a wide circulation.

BENOYENDRANATH BANERJEE

POONA RESIDENCY CORRESPONDENCE :
Vol. 8, Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs, 1794-1799. Ed. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Pp. 364-280.
Price Rs. 10.

Vol. 9, Daulat Rao Sindhia, 1800-1803. Ed. by Maharaj-Kumar Raghuvir Singh, DLitt., Pp. 544-456.
Price Rs. 15.

Vol. 11, Daulat Rao Sindhia, 1804-1809. Ed. by Prof. Nirod Bhushan Roy. Pp. 404-456. Price Rs. 15.
(Govt. Book Depot, Bombay, 1943).

With the publication of these three volumes, this indispensable series of "English Records of Maratha History" reaches the year 1810, and there remain only three volumes—two of them for Elphinstone's long and eventful Residency with Baji Rao II, and one for Daulat Rao Sindhia,—to complete the story down to the extinction of Maratha independence. The Bombay Government deserve our cordial thanks for its enlightened policy of making these records available to the public in such a handsome form and under the most authoritative historical editorship available anywhere. The introductions to the volumes are learned, critical, and truly helpful, while the topographical and personal notes, the chronological table, alphabetical list of writers and addresses, and long index added to each volume indicate that the editors have spared no pains to smooth the path of those who will utilise these precious original sources. They may stand as a model to others publishing Indian historical records in the English language. The band of editors—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Rao Bahadur

G. S. Sardesai, Maharaj-Kumar Dr. Raghuvir Singh, the late Mr. Y. M. Kale, Dr. V. G. Dighe and Prof. Nirod Bhushan Roy—are all honorary, and the Bombay Government must be congratulated on its good fortune in securing a team of such workers gratis.

That the war and the economic crisis created by it have not stopped this cultural work though slightly delaying it, is a matter of rejoicing to students of modern Indian history and they must thank the Bombay Government and the Government Press for this enlightened regard for "letters," so seldom met with elsewhere.

The long annals of the Peshwas' government and their Court intrigues, war and diplomacy have been taken in the capable hands of Sardesai, and we are glad to learn that he has lodged the remaining two of the five volumes covering this subject, with the Government Press, in MS.

The Sindha volume (No. 11) covers a subject made partly familiar by Capt. T. D. Broughton's charming *Letters Written in Maratha Camp*, and supplies the much needed elucidation to the latter book. Prof. Ray has taken here, as in his volume (No. 3) on Cornwallis's War with Tipu Sultan, infinite pains in identifying place-names and also discussed the connected problems in a dispassionate critical manner, with the result of throwing much new light on the policy of Wellesley. Similarly, in Vol. 8, Sir Jadunath Sarkar has put forth a fully documented and, as it seems to us, unanswerable defence of Shore's much-scorned Non-intervention policy. The tragic figure of Krishna-Kumari, the Indian Iphigenia, flits through Prof. Ray's volume, and the sombre personality of Wazir Ali (the author of the Benares massacre of 1799) dominates the last section of Sarkar's volume (No. 8).

What a contrast do these contemporary reports and confidential discussions of policy present between the two races then contending for mastery in India! On the side of the English Residents and Governors we have shrewd patient diplomacy, far-sighted planning, and an efficient spy system which brought to them prompt news of every plot and every private conversation in their enemy's camp and court. They knew the price of every Indian minister to the pice and also the roots of their internal quarrels. On our side we see our great men torn by jealousy, dissensions and ignorant pride, which neutralised the valour and sacrifice of their men. It is a tragic tale illustrated in life-like detail.

Now that the end is almost in sight, we pray to the Bombay Government and Press to put in three more strokes and publish the last three volumes (covering the years 1810-1818) soon, in order to put the crown on a great undertaking, carried out with incredible cheapness.

B. N. B.

JEAN JAURES : By J. Hampden Jackson. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pp. 204. Price 12s. 6d.

This book was written at a time when it was commonplace to talk of the decadence of Republican France and of the decadence of International Socialism. In a way, of course, the talk was true enough; anything that has been defeated may be called decadent. But Republican France and International Socialism were defeated not so much because they were decayed as because they were divided; divided between the ideals of individual liberty and organized, communal planning. There was once a Frenchman and a Socialist who perceived the consequence of that division and devoted his life to bringing about synthesis between the two ideals. He was a great Frenchman in a sense in which no French-

man has been great since Gambetta; a great Socialist in a sense in which no Socialist has been great except Lenin; and he was a great European in a sense in which no twentieth century statesman has been great except Masaryk.

Jean Jaurès was born in 1859—and was thus 18 years younger than Clemenceau and three years younger than Petain. He died, assassinated, in 1914, on the eve of the first World War. It was as if Lenin had died at Zimmerwald or Masaryk in London. He was never in power, never even a minister in a capitalist cabinet. The party which he had spent twenty years in building up went to pieces after his death. The war which he had spent a decade in trying to prevent broke out with the consequences which he had foreseen. The victor was not the France that he had stood for but another France, that lived only to die in another war, which he had also foreseen. Yet the ideal for which he lived stands today as the only ideal capable of giving France and Europe peace with justice. The aims which he laid down for the divided nations in 1910 became the aim of the United Nations in 1942 : "It is only by the free federation of autonomous nations which have given up the exercise of military force and have submitted themselves to the rules of law that human unity can be realized. But it will not be by the suppression of national life but by its ennoblement. Nations will rise to be part of humanity without losing any of their independence, their integrity, their liberty or their genius."

The problems which Jaurès devoted his short life to solving are still the major problems of western civilization. The relationship between science and religion are yet to be established. The synthesis between liberty and order has yet to be made. The old question has yet to be answered about Socialism which divided the men of the Left in Jaurès' time and continued to divide them in 1920's and 1930's: is it to be parliamentary and democratic or violent and authoritarian? Gradually a conclusion on all these debates is being reached among western peoples now, and in each case it is in the direction indicated by Jaurès. Science without a philosophy of life which leaves room for the spirit is diabolical. Political democracy without economic democracy is impotent. If international socialism is ever to be created, it will not be after the manner of the Third International, whose architect was Lenin, but after that of the Second, whose inspiration Jaurès was. If France is ever to rise again, it will not be in the image of Petain but of Jaurès. He died a generation ago, but he lived among conflicts which are those of our own generation.

Yet Jaurès, who was the greatest statesman of the Third Republic, if not of contemporary Europe, has not become as much a world figure as Gambetta or Lenin or Masaryk. Even France has not yet acknowledged his true greatness, although I found his ashes interred in the Pantheon of Paris and French postage stamps bearing his effigy during the late thirties. This is probably because the legends that live longest in France are always those of fighters,—Jeanne d'Arc, Napoleon, never those of peacemakers. The author has rendered unique service to the English-speaking world by writing this warm little volume on the life and thought of this remarkable man.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL: By Com. M. N. Roy. Renaissance Publishers. P. B. 580. Calcutta. Pp. 78. Price Re. 1.

Dissolution of the Communist International is one of the most important events in contemporary history and it has been interpreted in different ways by

different parties. The International Association of Workers or the First International was founded by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in 1866. The establishment of Paris Commune in 1870 as a result of an insurrection and its ultimate failure was the cause of the disruption of the First International. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, there was steady improvement in the conditions of the working classes and the Second International was born in that atmosphere of optimism. But when the World War I broke out in 1914, National Parliaments and Working Class Parties not only failed to check it but supported the War and as a result the Second International failed as a World organisation of Workers. The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought into being the Third or the Red International.

Between the first and second World Wars, two new factors had appeared on the scene, viz., the Soviet Socialist State and Fascism. According to Com. Roy, Fascism is the last phase of Capitalism. Imperialism fighting against Fascism is Capitalism destroying itself. According to Com. Roy, the Third International already ceased to function so far as Russians were concerned as far back as 1926, or more correctly its existence after 1924 was superfluous. The Communist International failed to bring successful revolution in any other country, it underestimated the dangers of Fascism and finally it was disrupted by its internal contradiction. When the war broke out, its confusion was complete. Its very existence even in name became an absurdity. So its dissolution was only formal. "Marxism has already been the philosophy of the progressive mankind. Communism has come to its own." To conclude in the words of Com. Roy, "an unnecessary organisation is no longer necessary and being unnecessary, it has ceased to exist."

Com. Roy is certainly an authority to speak on a subject like the Communist International and as such the book is not only interesting but thought-provoking also and we have no doubt that students of International Politics will find it useful.

A. B. DUTTA

PURVA-MIMANSA (IN ITS SOURCES): By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., LL.D., etc. With a critical Bibliography by Dr. Umesh Misra, M.A., D.Litt. Published by the Benares Hindu University, Benares. Pp. 386+xviii+81. Price Rs. 10 or 15s. net.

This book is the first volume in the Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion inaugurated by the Benares Hindu University of which Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan is the General Editor. The present volume is the first volume of the series and has been specially edited by Prof. R. D. Ranade.

The intellectual eminence of the author of the book, of its editor and also of the general editor of the series to which the book belongs, is a guarantee of its value and usefulness. The author gives a succinct summary of the general philosophical notions underlying the Mimansa and also its fundamental principles. And in each case, he refers to, and, also quotes when necessary, from the works of the chief writers of the school. The presentation of the theme is thus lucid and at the same time complete. The critical bibliography at the end gives a comprehensive view of the literature on the subject. The book will thus be found useful and helpful both by the beginner as well as a research worker.

Barring a few errors here and there, the printing and get-up of the book also leave little to be desired. But the use of "sh" for the palatal "s" is against the usually accepted convention of transliteration. With and without diacritical marks, the letter "s" is enough

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to express all the three allied sounds in Sanskrit. There is no reason why the Benares Hindu University should not follow this convention.

The Introductory Note by Prof. Amaranatha Jha was perhaps not much necessary. It has undoubtedly added one more distinguished name to the list of sponsors of the publication. But the author of the book was too well-known to require an introduction from his son, however high-placed.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

CURRENCY INFLATION—ITS CAUSE AND CURE :
By J. C. Kumarappa. Published by the A. I. V. I. A.,
Maganwadi, Wardha. Price annas eight.

In this small booklet, the author has enunciated the principles of Currency and Inflation and has narrated the German experience of Inflation. He has then discussed the Indian situation and has suggested his solution of the evil. His main suggestion is "until the Government are ready to follow public opinion the people should resort to barter as far as possible." Many will differ from the author's views including the suggestion mentioned. Barter presupposes a small community within a self-contained unit. In a vast country like ours with highly complex divisions of labour, barter as a system is impossible. It is difficult to agree with the author when he says, "Barter completely erases the chances of inflation and is within the reach of the people who have control neither over their Governmental policy nor over the financial manipulations of the Reserve Bank." He has not clarified how barter is possible under a Government which maintains full grip over all means of transport—from railway to the country boat—in his own words, and, over whose policy the people have no control. Barter, in certain respects, regarding some principal items of consumption goods, might have been probable under a reverse condition, i.e., when the Government is absolutely within the control of the people and is built on a socialist foundation.

D. B.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

VAKYAVRITTI AND ATMAJNANOPADESHASHAVIDHI OF SRI SANKARACHARYA : By R. K. M. Vidyapith, Ramakrishna Mission Vidyapith, Deoghar. Published by Swami Jnanatmananda. Double Crown 16mo. Pp. ix+1+40+i-vi+1-58. Price annas twelve.

This is a popular edition of two small philosophical treatises. The text is accompanied by English translation (word-to-word as well as running) and notes on selected words and expressions.

It is gratifying to find that the Ramkrishna Mission Vidyapith of Deoghar has joined hands with several other institutions affiliated to the Ramkrishna Mission and with the Adyar Library of Madras in their endeavour to present to the average man and woman of culture the contents of old Sanskrit texts on religion and philosophy in an easily accessible and attractive form. But the needs of the scholar should not also be ignored. And every work may be so planned and executed that it can satisfy the general reader and be useful to the scholar as well.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

PRABHATA-RABI : By Bijan Bihari Bhattacharya,
"Prakasani," 15, Shyama Charan De Street, Calcutta.
Price Rs. 2-8 only.

This is an authentic and carefully written account of Rabindranath's early life. The writer has utilised all available materials and given us an interesting record. From the historical as well as the literary point of view, this book is important. Almost all the works on Rabindranath deal with his mature writings. But to the inquisitive reader the preparations for such a glorious life are no less important. Mr. Bhattacharya has removed a long-felt want and taken all pains to make his work lively and informative.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

TELUGU

PATHA MANGALI

Chakrapani, Yuva Karyalayam, Tenali.

Mr. Chakrapani needs no introduction to the Telugu litterateur. His able translations of *Sarat* and other eminent novelists and story-writers have earned him well-merited renown. This little volume containing some of his original writings is a rare treat. Pointed sarcasm, allegory and brilliant humour make the sketches gorgeous. The purposeful twist at the end of every skit leaves a delightful impression behind. His style is snappy and felicitous.

The get-up of the book is very good, but it is a pity the price is not mentioned.

THOONEERAM : By Pydipati Subbaramasastri, Sayapuram, Uyyur Post, Krishna Dt. Price annas two.

It is a collection of nine pieces which the author, who audaciously calls himself a poet, calls lyrics. Is poetry merely an effort of setting up high-sounding words to a meaningless metre? "Oh, Death, where's thy sting

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

VEDAMRIT : Edited by N. J. Mehta, B.A., LL.B. Baroda. Printed at the Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Thick Card Board. Pp. 224+354+224. Price Rs. 5.

The philosophy of the Vedas and their comprehensions is set out here in such detail as would give some idea of the reason why they have proved themselves true guides of human life, at least in India. The contents are so set out that you ask for anything in the way of instruction and guidance and you are sure to find something in response to it here. It is sufficient to say this much to show its usefulness.

GITAYOGA RAHASYA : By Rao Bahadur C. S. Pandya, B.A. Printed at the Surat City Printing Press, Surat. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 114. Price annas ten.

Rao Bahadur Pandya is a retired Government servant and spends the days of his retirement in thinking over problems of the *Savatan* religion. In doing so, he thought that children at home do not receive adequate religious education and that one way of getting over the difficulty was to impress upon their minds some of the principles set out in the Gita. With that view, he has described them in such a way as to enable parents to inculcate those principles in to the minds of their young ones. The object is undoubtedly praiseworthy but the subject being stiff and complicated success cannot be wholly assured.

K. M. J.

DECAY OF THE LOWER CASTES IN BENGAL IS MORE APPARENT THAN REAL

BY JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

THERE is an idea widely prevalent among the educated classes that the Bengalee Hindus, especially the so-called *lower* castes are dying out or decaying. We have tried to show in the pages of *The Modern Review* that the Bengalee Hindus are not decadent (see *The Modern Review* for January, 1940, pp. 36-41). We shall now try to examine the cases of some of the lower castes and see how far they are decadent or dying out or how much of their decadence is more apparent than real.

The *Bauris* are said to be one such caste. Their numerical strength at the different censuses have been as follows :

Census and Number	Inter-censal decrease —	increase +, or
1901—3,09,842 and 1911—3,13,654	+ 1.2%	1901-1931
1911—3,13,654 and 1921—3,03,054	- 3.4%	+ 6.8%
1921—3,03,054 and 1931—3,31,268	+ 9.3%	

The population of Bengal has increased during the same period, 1901-1931, by 19.1 per cent; and that of the Bengalee Hindus by 10.2 per cent. Surely then the *Bauris* are decaying; their growth has been slower than that of the Bengalee Hindus even.

Let us now examine their geographical distribution. They were distributed as follows in 1931 :

Area	Males	Females	Percentage of the <i>Bauris</i>
Burdwan	61,380	62,484	37.4
Birbhum	18,380	18,618	11.2
Bankura	58,834	60,516	36.0
Midnapore	7,110	6,658	4.2
Hooghly	12,735	13,259	7.9
BURDWAN DIVISION	1,58,654	1,61,595	96.6
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	3,937	3,972	2.4
All BENGAL	1,64,205	1,67,033	100.0

The practical equality of sexes in the different districts or different areas shows that immigration or emigration plays a secondary part in their geographical distribution. It appears that an overwhelmingly large proportion of the *Bauris* are concentrated in the Burdwan Division; and that the two contiguous districts of Burdwan and Bankura account for some 70 per cent of their total strength.

If we now compare the increase or decrease of the *Bauris* with that of either the total population or of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division where they are mostly concentrated, we shall get a clearer comprehension of the nature of their decay or their slower growth.

The percentage increase or decrease of the total population and of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division during the period 1901-1931 has been as follows :

	Percentage increase +, or decrease — during			
	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1901-31
Total population	+ 2.8	- 4.9	+ 7.4	+ 5.0
Hindus	+ 1.7	- 5.2	+ 8.4	+ 4.5
<i>Bauris</i>	+ 1.2	- 3.4	+ 9.3	+ 6.8

Thus the growth of the *Bauris* have closely followed that of the general population, especially the Hindus of the Burdwan Division. This is not due to the fact that they are an overwhelmingly large proportion of the local population—they being only 3.8 per cent of the general population, and 4.6 per cent of the local Hindus. How closely the *Bauris* have shared the general growth or decay will be evident from the following table showing the differences in the growth or decay of the *Bauris* with that of either (i) the general population or (ii) the Hindus of the Burdwan Division.

Area	Males	Females	Percentage of the <i>Bauris</i>	+ indicates lesser growth of the <i>Bauris</i> .
				— indicates greater growth.
Burdwan	61,380	62,484	37.4	Differences as Percentages as before during
Birbhum	18,380	18,618	11.2	(i) General population 1901-11 1911-21 1921-31 1901-31
Bankura	58,834	60,516	36.0	+ 1.6 — 1.5 — 1.9 — 1.8
Midnapore	7,110	6,658	4.2	(ii) Hindus + 0.5 — 1.8 — 0.9 — 2.3
Hooghly	12,735	13,259	7.9	
BURDWAN DIVISION	1,58,654	1,61,595	96.6	
PRESIDENCY DIVISION	3,937	3,972	2.4	
All BENGAL	1,64,205	1,67,033	100.0	

What strikes one at the first sight is the comparatively small differences in either the growth or the decay of the *Bauris* compared with that of either the general population or the Hindus. But the most striking fact is this : while the growth of the *Bauris* was less than that of either the total population or of the Hindus in the first decade, their decay has also been less during the second decade, and their growth in the third decade has been greater than that of the general body of the Hindus or of the general population. Taking the period of thirty years (1901-1931) together, the *Bauris* have

increased at a rate greater than either the Hindus or the general population.

So what appeared to be an apparent decay at first sight is more *apparent* than *real*. The *Bauris* cannot be said to be a decaying community. Rather during the last 30 years they have shown themselves to be more vigorous than either the general body of the local Hindus or the local population. Their apparent slower growth is more due to their inhabiting the unhealthy and malarious Burdwan Division and addiction to drink than anything else. The *Burdwan District Gazetteer* says at p. 66 :

"The *Bauris* are addicted to strong drink, and, with few exceptions, are indifferent to the nice scruples regarding food which have so important a bearing on the status of the average Hindus; for they eat beef, pork, fowls, all kind of fish, and rats."

Among the *Bauris* there is not the same restriction on widow re-marriage as among the higher caste Hindus.

"Divorce is easily obtained. It is effected by the husband taking away from his wife the iron ring which every married woman wears and proclaiming to the *panchayet* the fact of his having divorced her. Divorced wives may always marry again." [See the *Bankura District Gazetteer*, p. 58].

The age-distribution of the *Bauris* in 1931 and in 1921 was as follows :

1931 (Bauris)

Age	Males	Females
0-6	188	183
7-13	164	146
14-16	60	64
—	—	—
0-16	412	393
17-23	114	142
24-43	328	311
—	—	—
17-43	442	453
44 & over	146	154

1921 (Bauris)

Age	Males	Females
0-5	107	116
5-12	201	191
12-15	76	56
—	—	—
0-15	384	363
15-40	440	446
40 & over	176	191

Sündbärg, the great Swedish statistician demographer, in an address before the International Statistical Institute in 1899, pointed out that in all western countries the number of persons aged "15-50" is uniformly about half the total population, and that any variations which occur in the age constitution take place in the other *three-fourths* of the *Doms* are localised in the two main groups "0-15" and "50 and over". Where the population is growing the number in

the former group is much greater than in the latter; but where it is Stationary the numbers in the two groups approach equality, the mortality in these two groups, he says, is far greater than in the intermediate one, but it is about the same in both cases. Consequently variations in their relative size do not affect the total mortality, which is thus independent of the age-distribution.

Sündbärg divided populations in three categories : Progressive, Stationary and Regressive, if they conformed to the following standards :

Proportion per 1,000 of the Population of Different Types in certain Age-Periods

Type	0-15	15-50	50 & over
Progressive	400	500	100
Stationary	330	500	170
Regressive	200	500	300

According to Sündbärg's age-categories, they belong more to the Progressive category than the Stationary one. They cannot be said to be Regressive by any means.

Let us now take the case of the *Doms*. Their numerical strength at the different censuses has been as follows :

Census and Number

Percentage of intercensal increase +, or decrease -

1901—1,86,612 and 1911—1,73,991	- 6.8%	1901-1931
1911—1,73,991 and 1921—1,50,263	- 13.6%	| -24.8%
1921—1,50,263 and 1931—1,40,067	- 6.6%	

Here surely then is a case of actual and rapid decay.

Let us first of all examine the geographical distribution of the *Doms*. They are distributed in 1931 as follows :

Area	1931		Percentage of <i>Doms</i>
	Male	Female	
Burdwan	17,799	17,111	24.9
Birbhum	17,972	18,306	25.9
Bankura	7,014	6,901	9.9
Midnapore	7,728	7,451	10.8
Burdwan Div.	56,200	54,918	79.8
Presidency Div.	7,422	6,702	10.1
Rajshahi Div.	3,103	2,655	4.1
Chittagong Div.	3,051	3,101	4.4

BENGAL 71,284 68,783 100.0

The practical equality of sexes in almost all the districts shows that immigration or emigration plays an insignificant part in the apparent decrease in the strength of this caste. From the above Table it appears that more than the above Table it appears that more than *three-fourths* of the *Doms* are localised in the Burdwan Division. If we compare the growth or de-growth of the *Doms* with that of the Hindus

in the Burdwan Division as well as for that of the whole of Bengal, we shall get a clearer idea of the magnitude of the *decrease* of the *Doms*. The proportion of women, or shortage of women may increase and have actually increased during the same period.

Percentage increase +, or decrease - during

Hindus in	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1901-31
(i) Burdwan Div.	+ 1.7	- 5.2	+ 8.4	+ 4.5
(ii) Bengal	+ 3.9	- 0.7	+ 6.7	+ 10.2
Doms	- 6.8	- 13.6	- 24.8	

The proportion of Unmarried, Married and Widowed among the several castes and classes of population, as in 1921 and in 1931 are shown below.

Proportion per 1,000

The algebraic differences between the growth of the Hindus of Bengal in general and that of the Hindus in the Burdwan Division in particular, and the (de)-growth of the *Doms* are measures of their real decay. They are set out below :

Percentage of Differences between the Growth of the Doms and the Hindus in— during—

	1901-11	1911-21	1921-31	1901-31
(i) Bengal	- 10.7	- 12.9	- 13.3	- 35.0
(ii) Burdwan Division	- 8.5	- 8.4	- 15.0	- 29.3

This decay, whether we compare it with the all-Bengal figure or the Burdwan figure, is both serious and large. To what then is this due? Is it due to shortage of women among them? Is it due to restriction on widow re-marriages? Is it due to the prevalence of infant marriages among them or due to some other cause?

The proportions of females to males at the last several censuses among the general population, the Hindus of Bengal, the *Doms* and the *Bauris* have been as follows :

Census	Total population of—				
	Bengal	Burdwan Division	Hindus	Doms	Bauris
1901	960	1,001	951	989	1,049
1911	945	987	931		
1921	932	963	916	976	1,001
1931	924	942	908	965	1,017
Total decrease	- 36	- 59	- 43	- 24	- 32

A part of the decrease in the proportion of females, both among the total population of Bengal and among the Hindus is due to the excess of immigrant males over females; but a large part of the shortage is real. The decrease in the proportion is far greater in the Burdwan Division than in all Bengal. It is far greater among the Hindus, and among the Hindus (in general), and among the *Bauris* who live mostly in the Burdwan Division as has been shown above than among the *Doms*. So shortage of women does not seem to be a primary cause of their rapid decay. The *Bauris* or the general body of the Hindus with a far greater decrease in the

1921	Males		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
Doms	432	511	57
Bauris	462	493	45
Hindus		451	51
Total population of			
(i) Burdwan Division	487	462	51
(ii) Bengal	518	444	38

1931	Females		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
Doms	392	555	53
Bauris	421	504	75
Hindus	469	486	45
Burdwan Division	452	505	43
	469	498	33
Total population of			
(i) Burdwan Division	271	462	267
(ii) Bengal	343	460	197

It will be noticed that the proportion of the Married, both among males and females, is the highest among the *Doms*. This was so in 1921 as well as in 1931. The proportion of the widowed females, though a little greater than that among the *Bauris* is less than that among the general body of the Hindus, and of the total population in the Burdwan Division. Further the proportion has decreased during the decade 1921-31. If the *Bauris* and the general body of the Hindus can increase and have increased with a greater proportion of widowed females, there is no reason why the *Doms* should not increase instead of registering a rapid decay. So the civil condition of the *Doms* does not seem to be a major cause of their rapid diminution in numbers.

It may be that the proportion of the Married is swelled to an undue extent on account of the greater prevalence of infant marriages among

them. Let us examine this aspect of the question at some length.

On account of the passing of the Sarda Act (Child Marriage Restraint Act XIX of 1929) there was a spate of infant marriages among the different castes and classes; and the Census Statistics of 1931 have been thrown out of gear. So we are choosing the 1921 statistics. The proportion of the Unmarried, Married and Widowed by different age-periods among the Hindus of Bengal and of the Burdwan Division; the Muhammadans of Bengal and the Doms are given below. The Doms being only 1·5 per cent of the Hindus of the Burdwan Division can not be said to have weighted the Burdwan figures.

Civil condition of 1,000 of each sex among (i) the Hindus of Bengal (ii) the Hindus of the Burdwan Division and (iii) the Muhammadans of Bengal by different age-periods.

Age		Males		
		Unmarried	Married	Widowed
0-5				
(i)	997	3	..	
(ii)	997	3	..	
(iii)	996	4	..	
5-10				
(i)	990	9	1	
(ii)	989	10	1	
(iii)	990	10	..	
10-15				
(i)	951	47	2	
(ii)	950	48	2	
(iii)	949	50	1	
15-40				
(i)	319	645	36	
(ii)	297	665	38	
(iii)	276	698	26	
40 & over				
(i)	26	801	173	
(ii)	29	785	186	
(iii)	13	894	93	

Age	Females		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
0-5			
(i)	992	7	1
(ii)	989	9	2
(iii)	991	8	1
5-10			
(i)	909	85	6
(ii)	880	111	9
(iii)	936	60	4
10-15			
(i)	378	584	38
(ii)	301	647	52
(iii)	496	486	18
15-40			
(i)	18	750	232
(ii)	13	728	259
(iii)	23	857	120
40 & over			
(i)	4	253	743
(ii)	4	242	754
(iii)	5	326	669

We give below the Civil Condition of the *Doms* in 1921. As the age-grouping is not identical with the age-grouping as given above we could not include their figures in the above Table.

Civil Condition of the Doms

Age	Males		
	Unmarried	Married	Widowed
0-5	999	3	1
5-12	979	19	2
12-20	737	256	7
20-40	106	836	58
40 & over	19	808	173

Females		
Unmarried	Married	Widowed
990	10	.
793	199	8
130	806	64
9	769	292
8	289	703

From the above figures it can be said that infant marriages are not more prevalent among the *Doms* than amongst other classes. It cannot be said that they are addicted to it, and hence their rapid decay. Rather the lesser proportion of widows of the reproductive age-period among them indicates that we may expect a more rapid growth of the caste.

If we examine the proportion of children among the several castes and classes, it may give us an useful clue. The proportion of children under 10 of both sexes per 100 married females of the reproductive age-period, generally taken to be from 15 to 40 among the several classes are shown below. Here we meet with an initial difficulty. In 1921 the proportion of children among certain castes were shown for all ages under 12; in 1931, the reproductive age-period for these castes were taken to be 14-43 instead of the usual 15 to 40. So the figures are not strictly comparable with each other.

1921	in 1931
	153*
	161*
	163
	148
	170

The proportion of children among the *Doms* is certainly low; but it is not so low as can account for their rapid decay. For the proportion among the *Doms* was 82 per cent of that among

the *Bauris* in 1921; in 1931 it increased to 95 per cent of that among the *Bauris*. If the *Bauris* can increase by 9·3 per cent during the decade 1921-31, surely it would not be unreasonable to expect that the *Doms* would also show a positive increase of some 7 to 8 per cent instead of a decrease of 6·6 per cent during the decade in question. Hence the small proportion of children does not seem to be a major cause.

If we apply Sündbärg's test of age-categories to the *Doms*, we find them to be more Progressive than Stationary. They cannot be said to be Regressive by any means. The age-distribution of the *Doms* in 1921 and in 1931 were as follows :

Age	1921 (Doms)		1901 1931	Males	Females	Total	Proportion per 1,000 Males
	Males	Females					
0-5	99	101					
5-12	169	168					
12-15	74	64					
15-19							
1921	342	333					
15-40	459	479					
40 & over	199	188					
1931 (Doms)							
Age	Males	Females					
0-6	168	174					
7-13	159	140					
14-16	60	62					
17-19							
1931	387	376					
17-23	117	144					
24-43	344	329					
17-43	461	473					
44 & over	152	151					

Neither the *Bauris*, nor the *Doms* suffer from the usual restrictions on food imposed on an upper class Hindu; they freely partake of rats and fowls and pigs and other unorthodox food. Their dietary is in this respect more liberal and approaches that of the local Muhammadians. Their only vice is that they are addicted to *pachwai* or toddy drink. Restriction on food can not, therefore, be said to be a cause of their decay; neither their drink-habit can be said to be responsible for their rapid diminution in number, for many other castes, equally addicted to drink, have increased during the same period.

The real and main reason for the apparent rapid decay of this caste seems to be the concealment of their true caste at the time of the census; and their return under some other castes. The Bengal Census Report of 1921 speaks of the *Doms* "denying their true castes at the time of enumeration." [See p. 353]. The Bengal Census Report of 1931 accounts for their de-

crease in these terms :—"Some part of the decline in numbers may be due to the return of members of this caste under the generic name Mehtar, but the total so returned is comparatively small (23,281), and it is more likely that on this as on previous occasions the true caste has been concealed." [See p. 463].

Of the total decrease of 46,000 among the *Doms* during the last 30 years, the district of Chittagong accounts for 19,000 or nearly 41 per cent. Let us, therefore, examine the relevant Statistics for this district in some detail.

Doms in Chittagong

Age	1921 (Doms)		1901 1931	Males	Females	Total	Proportion per 1,000 Males
	Males	Females					
0-5	99	101					
5-12	169	168					
12-15	74	64					
15-19							
1921	342	333					
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44 & over	152	151					

The decrease in their number has been abnormal even for the *Doms*; it being as much as 77 per cent of their strength in 1901, as against the provincial decline of 25 per cent. This rapid decrease may be due to either emigration outwards from the district, in which case more males are likely to go out than females and thus tending to increase the relative proportion of females in the population of the caste which remains in the district instead of the decrease (42 per 1,000 males) actually noticed—a decrease far greater than their (the *Doms*) provincial decrease in the proportion of females, viz., 24 per 1,000 males; or it may be due to their bodily absorption in some other caste or castes. Emigration out of the district seems to be unlikely.

There is connubium between the *Doms* and the Kayasthas [see 28th volume of Calcutta Weekly Notes p. 343]; so it is likely that many *Doms* may have returned themselves as Kayasthas. This supposition seems to be supported by the Statistics. The number of the Kayasthas in the Chittagong district has increased from 71,421 to 1,84,735 i.e., by 158·7 per cent during the thirty years 1901-31 as against their provincial increase of 58·3 per cent. Even in the city of Calcutta the increase of the Kayasthas, due mainly to immigration from rural areas, is 138·6 per cent. This phenomenally large increase in the number of the Kayasthas in the district of Chittagong may be due to either (i) immigration into the district, or (ii) to wholesale absorption of other castes, like the *Doms*. There is no earthly reason why the Kayasthas, a highly intelligent Bhadralok caste, should immigrate into one corner of Bengal in

such a wholesale fashion. Chittagong is a rural area, only 14 persons per mille live in towns.

So we are forced into the other alternative conclusion that there has been wholesale absorption of other castes among the Kayasthas. This is also supported by the fact that in Chittagong the Kayasthas formed (in 1931) 47.1 per cent of the entire Hindu population—a proportion reached nowhere in Bengal, the next highest proportion being 20.7 per cent in the contiguous district of Noakhali. The Kayasthas formed 22.3 per cent of the local Hindu population in 1901. The Hindu population of the district has increased from 3,18,245 in 1901 to 3,92,352 in 1931 i.e., by 74,107. The Kayasthas alone have increased by 1,13,314 during the same period. Even if we assume that the entire increase of the Hindu population of the district is due to the Kayasthas—a very large assumption, the Kayasthas must have absorbed 1,13,314—74,107=39,207 persons from other castes. Had the *Doms* of the Chittagong district increased at the same rate as the rest of the local Hindus—a very legitimate assumption—they would have numbered 29,500 in 1931. But they number 5,500. Their loss during the same period has been 29,500—5,500=24,000. It is far less than 39,207; and the absorption by the local Kayasthas may well account for their decay.

It seems very likely, therefore, that there has been no decay of the *Doms* in Chittagong, dogmatic assertions based on imperfect data.

but that they have been returned as Kayasthas at the time of the censuses. Chittagong is a healthy area, free from malaria and other scourges of Western Bengal. The local Hindus have increased by more than 23 per cent as against their all-Bengal increase of 10.5 per cent during the same period. There is no reason to suppose that the *Doms* are decaying, excepting the census record of their total strength. What is likely to be true of the *Doms* in Chittagong may be true of them for all Bengal.

It may seem that we are defaming the Kayasthas; but the writer is himself a Kayastha of the bluest blood and was the Secretary of the All-Bengal Kayastha Conference and he cannot have any motive for defaming the Kayasthas. If our lower castes are really decaying to the extent reflected by the Census Statistics, it is high time our leaders should be up and doing in finding out the causes. The first step in this direction should be to form a small committee consisting of sociologists, anthropologists and medical men to investigate the problem, and to help them by supplying funds so that they may carry field investigations with the help of research scholars over different areas and over a considerable length of time. Otherwise the conclusions of such a representative committee are more likely to consist of

LATE MR. R. S. PANDIT

By P. D. TANDON

ON January 14, in Lucknow a grief-ridden voice trembled on the wires and said, "Ah, my father passed away this morning at six." It was Rita Pandit. There was a lump in her throat and sorrow was choking her. I, immediately, slammed the receiver and rushed to the place where the scholar-patriot, Mr. Ranajit Sitaram Pandit, lay covered by the untimely frost of death, to pay my last homage. Mrs. Pandit there sat sobbing, drenched in sorrow. To me she appeared to be an embodiment of grief. Nothing could console her and her daughter. The more they tried to close their eyes, and compress their lips in control the greater was the rush of feelings, and the flood of tears broke through the eye-

lashes which tried to stop them, and trickled down their faces. As I looked at the face that was dead, I felt that Mr. Pandit was sleeping soundly. But, alas, from that sleep there would be no awakening, and the dark, dismal truth, once again dawned upon me, that ours is a mad world where nothing else is certain, except death.

Mr. Pandit was wrapped up in the tri-colour flag, for the honour of which he lived and died. The dead body was kept in Mrs. Pandit's lap in the car and we drove for Allahabad. In life Mr. R. S. Pandit followed the path, which Pandit Moti Lal trod, and on death, too, he was taken along the same path in which Pandit Moti Lal's body was brought to Allahabad from

Lucknow, some twelve years ago. On the night of the 13th January, Mr. Pandit was well and cheerful, but in the early hours of the morning of the 14th he had a severe heart-attack which agonized him for about forty minutes and then his face became calm and the expressions of struggle vanished away from it. His brows were then knit in everlasting pain, and his face never smiled again.

Mr. Pandit, like all sensitive souls, was deeply stung by the humiliation that is slavery. He served his country to the best of his capacity and went to jail in every movement. Imprisonment during the Satyagraha days broke his health, and he was released in 1942. He could hardly recover when the bugle of the Mahatma blew once again, and like a faithful soldier he responded to the call. This time the ordeal proved too much for his shattered health.

Mr. Pandit was a profound scholar of genuine merit. His book *Rajatarangani* won approbations from eminent scholars in India and abroad. One foreign critic commenting on the book said that Mr. Pandit had discovered a fine new way of writing history. This time in the Naini Central Jail, he translated *Ritu-samahara*, the famous lyrics of Kalidas. His translation has fully captured the spirit of the original, and one is thrilled as one goes through it. This will now be Mr. Pandit's posthumous publication; Mr. Pandit often used to say in jail that he wanted to write one more book, and that would, perhaps, be the last one, and it should be a real contribution to the world of letters. Mr. Pandit's knowledge was almost encyclopaedic. He knew so much on so many subjects. He had a fine, sweet voice and he often sang to us his favourite songs in the jail. He was a musician who could play on many instruments. In his early days he was a front rank cricketeer in the Bombay Presidency. He had abiding and insatiable love of beauty, and his fastidious delicacy of taste was supreme. His farm at Khali was his great passion. He often used to say that it was his desire to develop cottage industries to such an extent at Khali that they may give employment to all the poor population in the neighbouring villages and towns. It was Mr. Pandit's plan to start a first-

rate "weekly" on the American lines. Once in the jail he told Pandit Kamlapati Tripathi, M.L.A., former Editor of the "Aj" that he and his wife intended to join the world of journalism and hoped that they would be welcomed there.

Mr. Pandit in life always roused people to fight for country's freedom, and his dead body, too, did the same thing, as it passed through the streets. His bier was once again a reminder to the people that the greatest thing was to fall fighting for the freedom of the motherland. Lo ! this is Nehru family, where every individual, young or old, suffers in a unique way for the country. I wonder, if there is any parallel, where one whole family had been suffering so much and in such a way for the liberation of India. Our hearts on this occasion go to Jawaharlalji, who must have been greatly distressed at the sad demise of his brother-in-law and a comrade, whom he loved so well, his daughters Chandrakanta and Nain-Tara, who are so far away from their native land. Mr. Pandit had a plan to go to America in 1945 along with his family and bring back home his children to India. Mr. Pandit leaves behind his wife, three daughters, one brother and two sisters, and a host of friends and admirers to mourn his death. The thing that pains us the most is that death took away Mr. Pandit, from our midst, at an early age, at a time when the country is more orphanic and desolate than ever before, when his friends and relatives remain behind bars to mourn the loss, and Jawaharlalji, in whose loving lap he must have yearned to spend his last few minutes, was not with him. As his bier passed through the streets surging crowds of people joined it and lustily shouted "Sahidana-Watan Jindabad" (Long live country's Martyr). It was not the bier of an individual only which was followed by a vast number of people of all shades of opinion at a moment's notice, but it was also the bier of suffering and sacrifice. Yesterday Mr. Pandit was a living reality in the worlds of politics and literature, but to-day he remains only a revered memory. He has left the land of the living and gone to the place where the immortal to the immortal speak.



SWAMI SHANKERANANDJI

A Great Preacher, Scholar and Philosopher

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

I do not feel very curious when a telegram arrives, as I receive a number of them regularly from India and abroad, but some strange premonition dominated my mind tenaciously on getting one from Thakur Mahendra Singh of Sarwan (Central India) on the 23rd December, 1943. My presentiment was not an illusion as the contents conveyed to me the news of the sudden death of His Holiness Swami Shankeranandji Maharaj, a man of deep knowledge, ardent energy, wonderful concentration, indomitable will, lofty visions and magnetic personality. He revealed the glory of the ancient Vedic religion and Aryan culture not only to his own countrymen but also to the white men of England and South Africa.

Swami Shankeranandji was born in the land graced by the five great rivers, the Punjab, in Samvat 1924. It was an era of awakening in the Punjab. During this period great and potential personalities like Munshiram, Hansraj, Lajpat Rai, Devaraj and others appeared in quick succession in the Punjab to demonstrate the futility and hollowness of western civilisation and rejuvenate the Aryan life and culture in the minds of the Indians under the banner of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj attracted Swami Shankeranandji like a magnet and he dedicated his life at the altar of Mother-India in particular and humanity in general. His whole life has been spent in the religious and social upliftment of the Hindus of India and abroad. He worked vigorously and incessantly for rousing the spirit of Vedic religion and Aryan culture lying dormant in the minds of the Indians. It is no exaggeration to say that the seed of Arya Samaj sown by Rishi Dayanand has developed into a full-grown tree through the service and sacrifice of his disciples like Swami Shankeranandji and has given a foretaste of its fruit in the Gandhian era.

Swami Shankeranandji was preaching the gospel of Vedic religion in England during the year 1908 when the tales of woe and misery reached him concerning the indentured Indian labourers of South Africa. Though his ambition was to preach the religion of the holy Vedas throughout Europe, yet he gave up the idea of the spiritual elevation of the white people and rushed to South Africa in order to save his own countrymen from religious and social degeneration. When Hinduism and every trace of it was in danger among the indentured Indians of South Africa, Swami Shankeranandji appeared there as a saviour of those unfortunate Hindu settlers. He lit the darkness of their ignorance with his light of wisdom, aroused them from slumber and prevented them from falling a prey to other denominations. He not only saved Hinduism from total extinction but also succeeded in bringing home to the white settlers of South Africa that India is not a producer of coolies according to their presumption, which is an unfortunate result of foreign subjection but she has produced prophets like Krishna, Buddha and Dayanand, the mere mention of whose names makes the land sacred and great beyond

expression. He convinced them in the course of his powerful orations that the Vedic religion and the Aryan culture were the source of the various civilisations in the world.

He was the father of the Hindu Mahasabha. Thirty years ago he had laid the foundations of the South African Hindu Mahasabha which has survived somehow up till now. A few years later the Hindu Mahasabha was established in India whose Silver Jubilee is now being celebrated after twenty-five years of its existence. Swamiji also assisted in the formation of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha along with Lala Sukhvir Singh and other Hindu leaders.

After his return from South Africa, where he incessantly and courageously preached the doctrine of the Vedic religion for a period of four long years, he toured all parts of India as a Vedic Missionary but his main field of activity had been Kathiawar, the birth-place of Dayanand and Gandhi. He chose Virpur, a State in Kathiawar, as his headquarters, where now he has breathed his last. He was greatly loved and revered by the Princes and the people alike of Kathiawar. The religious and social awakening which is being perceptible among the Royal families and the general masses of that Province, is mostly due to the strenuous efforts of Swamiji.

My friendship with Swami Shankeranandji lasted for more than a quarter of a century. During this period I met him from time to time and enjoyed his wonderful company. There were many matters of public character in which we differed honestly and fundamentally with each other. For instance, being a Congressman, I never agreed with his communal outlook and sectional politics of the Mahasabha and the League variety though we both belonged to the same religious fold of Arya Samaj. Yet, these differences on the public affairs never interfered with our personal relations and mutual friendship.

It is not possible to narrate even briefly the life-work of this great man in this short article. It would suffice to say that he was a celebrated scholar, philosopher and orator and a man of striking personal appearance. Even his critics admired him and gave him credit for conscientious actions. He played his part in this life and played it well. The mortal remains of this Sannyasi are no more to be found. With Vedic ceremonies and services, impressive and solemn, the body of this saint has been offered to the pyre. He is gone but his work will live as a lasting monument to memorise his name.

I have written a biography in Hindi of this friend of the Indians overseas which contains more than 450 pages of medium size, dealing with every aspect of his noble life. I earnestly hope that the South African Hindu Mahasabha and the Veda Dharmasabha will erect some suitable memorial as a token of gratitude to Swami Shankeranandji for his selfless service and signal sacrifice in the cause of the Hindu settlers of South Africa.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Hindu-Mussalman

In a letter to Dr. Kalidas Nag written sometime in the last week of June, 1922 (the first portion of which we quoted from *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* in our January number) Rabindranath Tagore says :

As I was setting tune to a new song, singing all to myself, sitting at the window :

My mind is tuned to the melody of fresh clouds
And my thoughts are listless for no reason . . .
the question came from you, from across the seas : "What is the solution of the Hindu-Muslim tangle in India?" I was suddenly reminded of the fact that I too have my duties towards society. It will not suffice giving mere tuneful answers to the rumbling clouds; I shall have to think out answers to the thundering questions of human history. So I must needs leave my seat in the musical soiree and face the problem that you have set before me.

Among all the religious communities in the world today, there are two that are in strong opposition to other religious creeds. Christianity and Islam are not satisfied with preaching their own faiths; they are ever ready to oppose other faiths.

To be converted to their religion is about the only way of collaborating with them. One point in favour of the Christians, however, is that they are the forerunners of the modern age; their minds are not so much confined within medieval folds; they do not allow the whole of their life to be completely circumscribed by their religious creed and hence they do not offer extreme opposition to other faiths. "European" and "Christian" are not synonymous terms and there is no inherent conflict in such expressions as an European-Buddhist or an European-Mussalman. But when a whole nation like the Muslims is characterised by the creed it professes, its chief criterion is religion. "Mussalman-Buddhist" and "Mussalman-Christian" are contradictions in terms.

On the other hand, the Hindus are somewhat similar to the Mussalmans in this respect. They too are completely entrenched in their own faith.

Only they are not as actively opposed to other religions, with regard to which the Hindu attitude is that of non-violent non-co-operation. In the case of a Hindu, his religion being based on birth and observances, the barriers are stronger. One may mix on equal terms with Mussalmans after one embraces their faith, but even such a possibility is remote and severely restricted within the folds of Hinduism. Mussalmans do not reject others by refusing or prohibiting social contacts, but the Hindus do. That is why the Hindus could never draw their Mussalman brethren as close to themselves

as the Mussalmans did draw the Hindus in their mosques and elsewhere,—especially during the Khilafat movement. Social contact bridges the gulf between one man and another, one community and another. It is here that the Hindus have segregated themselves by raising one wall after another. When I first took up the work of managing our Estate, I observed that a Mussalman ryot having business in the Estate office would be offered a seat on the bare floor and not on the carpet. There cannot be a more serious obstacle to human solidarity than this practice of looking down on people, professing religions other than one's own, as impure and untouchable. It is very unfortunate that in India Hindus and Mussalmans live side by side but have not come together. It is not his religion proper but only his social observances that accentuate the exclusiveness of the Hindu. In the case of the Mussalman it is the other way round; socially he is liberal but his creed is his greatest barrier.

Thus each of them has a door open somewhere but not for the benefit of the other.

How will they unite? There was a time when India served as a common meeting-ground for a free union of such a variety of races as the Greeks, Iranians, Huns, etc. But remember, that happened long before the Hindu epoch, which was an age of reaction and when conscious attempts were made to strengthen the fabric of Brahmanism. Ritualistic walls were reared up to unscalable heights, practically making all intrusions impossible. The Hindus forgot that any living organism, kept hermetically sealed, is sure to suffocate and die. However, that may be, the fact remains that at the end of the Buddhist age, the Indians swelled their ranks by enlisting the help of such quasi-foreign races as the Rajputs already settled, and made assiduous attempts to protect themselves against outside contacts and influences. In this way, they raised the formidable wall of a religion whose very essence was prohibition and refusal.

Perhaps nowhere in the world so dexterous a barrier was ever erected to close all possible channels of human relations.

It will be a mistake, however, to suppose that this barrier exists as between Hindus and Mussalmans alone. You and I and such of us as would like freely to order our social conduct ourselves, find that we too are not only left out but are even actively hindered. Herein lies the complexity of the problem. The solution may come only with a change of heart or with the change of time. Europe emerged into the life of modern age out of the darkness of medievalism only with the extension of her knowledge and with a devoted pursuit of truth. In the same way our two communities, Hindus and Mussalmans, have to break away from the limitations and march ahead. If the whole race is buried under the tomb of the burden of the past, there cannot be any progress, and human unity will remain an impossible dream. The barriers and inhibitions are inherent in our present mental make-up. These we must

shake off before we can hope to attain freedom in any sphere of life. Such a radical change can come only with true education and spiritual discipline. We must discard such worn-out conventions as teach us to hug the cage and forget the wings. And then and then only we shall attain real well-being (*Kalyana*) for all. Hindu-Muslim amity waits for the fullness of time. This need not cause us despair, however, for there are instances in history of how human endeavour has succeeded in ushering the age of the great Revolution—from the age of the chrysalis to that of the glorious wings. We should also be able to do the same, to lift the siege from our mind. If we do not, nothing can help us, for there is no other path to salvation.

The Classics

Century after century the great literatures of the world have silently but surely affected the lives of men in a hundred ways, stimulating thought, quickening activity, kindling imagination. E. H. Blakeney writes in *The Aryan Path*:

We commonly speak of the "classics" without always reminding ourselves how the word passed into everyday use. Originally *classicus* meant belonging to the highest class; then we find the word modified later by the sense of "used in the classes of schools." In the seventeenth century, it took on the signification it usually has today: that is, it was applied to the standard Greek and Latin writers, though it ultimately was expanded so as to embrace any writer of established reputation. And the word is often now applied to art, style, appearance.

Matthew Arnold, in a well-known essay on the Study of Poetry, rightly emphasized the importance, in any fully civilized community, of a just appreciation of all that is best in literature,—especially the best in poetry, which is literature at its highest level. And this because of the supreme destiny of poetry as a "criticism of life." That famous phrase is right, up to a point, because it is powerful in proportion as it helps to keep the domain of the excellent, in life and in art, free from the incursions of the inferior and the half true. But the definition is not enough: I, for one, should prefer to speak of great literature as an *interpretation* of life, because "interpretation" has a wider scope than "criticism," though it implies the presence of the critical faculty at all times. What, we may ask, may the best in literature accomplish for us? Surely this: it can both sustain and delight us, and therefore become, as it were, a "discipline," touching to fine issues both mind and emotion. In so doing, it has no rival,—save religion itself, which may in some degree aptly be termed the poetry of God, as revealed to mankind in moments of intense emotion, and noble aspiration. All the most vital poetry of the world has the power to awaken that transcendental feeling, which we can never wholly explain, though we are (in our most precious hours) conscious of its presence in our inmost hearts.

The value of the Classics (that is, the highest thought of the world's greatest men enshrined in the written page) cannot easily be overestimated. Consider for a brief space one or two examples of the power of the "Word" in its impact on life. Has the literature of the past or present any more magnificent asseveration of the glory and immensity of the Divine than these lines in the first *Mandala* of the *Rig-Veda*?

He giveth life, He giveth strength,
Whose hiding-place is immortality,
Whose shadow death.

"Or that pregnant saying in the Upanishads?
"Know thou that the divine Spirit is one alone; He is
the bridge of immortality."

Nazi Strategy

The New Review observes:

Hitler's choice of strategy has become clear. When the Allies landed in Italy and the Russian pressure was gathering strength, he had the choice between two strategies: maintain his far-flung positions or withdraw on an inner fortress line. This inner line could rest on a formidable line of mountainous ranges: the Etruscan Appennines, the North Albanian Alps, the Kopaonik massif, the northern peaks of the Stara Plan, the Transylvan Alps, the southern sector of the Carpathians. Only a few gaps would be left: the Ancona beach, the gorges of the Morava, the Iron Gate on the Danube, and the plains of eastern Poland. This shortening of the front would not only save men and material, but it would especially relieve an over-burdened transport service.

Hitler proved unwilling to let go his prey and his High Command knew the dangers of shortening the eastern front in the course of a battle. Moreover, a withdrawal on such a scale might have proved fatal to the morale of soldiers and civilians. Finally, it would have laid the whole of Nazi war industry open to a more thorough bombing by the Allied Air Forces. This decided Hitler to cling to what he had, as long as he could, and he will have every point defended at all costs. He nurses the hope that he will in that way make the advance so costly that the Allies might grow disposed to contemplate a peace compromise. Time has passed on to Hitler's side and the Allied invasion of the continent should take place as soon as possible.

Light and Shade in South Africa

There is a long road to travel before non-European peoples in South Africa obtain justice. Rev. W. J. Culshaw writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

South Africa is a very young nation with a long history of conflict between the white settlers and the Africans in the first place, and, secondly, between the two sections of the white race; and the existence of racial problems in such a setting is not surprising. One can however gain some encouragement from the fact that in the public life of the country a liberal-minded man like the Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr occupies a prominent position and may even come to occupy a position of greater prominence in the future. The position of the Indian community is part of the general problem. The parallel with anti-Semitism in other lands has often been drawn.

The Indian community contends against the twin giants of Prejudice and Fear, against which, up to the present, progressive forces have been able to make little headway.

Field-Marshal Smuts is recently reported to have said that 'Durban is a European city and we intend that it shall remain a European city.' It is difficult to

understand the sense in which he made this amazing statement. The population of Durban at the 1936 census is given at 251,000; of this number 90,000 were Europeans and 85,000 Asiatics. The mosques and Hindu temples in Durban are a witness to the fact that the Indian community brings with it a different civilization. This fact irritates the prejudice and feeds the fear of the politically dominant European section. The lower standard of living of the Indian community in general gives point to the fear of economic competition. Indians by their labour have built up the sugar estates of Natal and Zululand and they were well-spoken of by their employers, for in that sphere there is no question of their labour competing with that of the white man.

In common with other non-Europeans Indians are excluded from entering those skilled occupations in which they would be able to oust the Europeans.

The recognised trade unions have deliberately excluded non-Europeans from their membership, and the non-European labouring community has been compelled to organise itself in parallel organizations which have not yet obtained legal recognition from the Government of South Africa. Political rights will probably wait upon the creation of more economic equality between the different communities in South Africa.

A National Research Council for India

The following extract is taken from the presidential address by Sir J. C. Ghosh at the Annual General Meeting of the National Institute of Sciences of India, held at Delhi in December 1943, as published in *Science and Culture*:

The Council of the National Institute of Sciences felt that the time had come when the scientific men of India should gather together and formulate a plan for post-war organisation of scientific research in India. Accordingly, they arranged a symposium on that subject which was held in Calcutta on the 27th and 28th September last.

At the last symposium, an appeal was made that 0·1 per cent. of the national income might be set apart for research and another 0·1 per cent. for the training of research workers. This was generally accepted at the meeting and it was resolved that to enable effect being given to the policy of scientific development by the National Research Council, the Government of India should make an annual grant of five crores of rupees.

One cannot help quoting in this connection from the eloquent address of Prof. Hill: "We must insist that the cheapest and most certain method of human betterment is the improvement, in Benjamin Franklin's words, of useful knowledge. If a country's poor and undeveloped let us spend more on research, not less: the amount we can possibly spend is insignificant—only 1 or 2 per cent. of the national income any how—and will bring a very handsome dividend. As Herbert Agar says, this is a time for greatness—we must either be great or dead—and one important element of greatness is intelligence. Stupidity and ignorance are not compatible with greatness."

"In what ways can science help us directly in promoting human betterment? In England now we are contemplating a vast expenditure on housing, in the next 20 years £2,000 million or 2,600 crores of rupees. One per cent. of that spent on research, on

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design, materials, building, heating, lighting, ventilation and amenities will certainly make the new houses many times one per cent. better, healthier and more efficient. We are, in fact, already devoting whatever effort we can spare from the war to research on building. We mine 20 crores of tons of coal annually—1 per cent. of its cost spent every year on research will certainly improve the efficiency of its utilisation by many times 1 per cent. We're intending to spend half at least of that by a joint co-operative effort between Government and the industry. There are 60 million people in the Colonial Empire. The Colonial Research Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Hailey, is able to spend £500,000 or 6½ million rupees annually of Government money as soon as research workers are free from their war duties. Its purpose is by research to improve the welfare of the Colonial peoples. It sounds a lot but it only comes to one or two annas a head. Your Department of Scientific and Industrial Research is allowed to spend 10 lakhs of rupees per annum. It's doing very fine work for your country, as I've seen already for myself, but the cost is only 1/26th of an anna for each inhabitant of India. It could usefully spend 10 times as much. Your annual budget now, I'm told, is 600 crores of rupees; 1 per cent. of that is 6 crores. Scientific men in India would be very happy indeed if they could look forward to anything like that. In England, £50 million a year is spent on medical treatment and to this might be added several times the amount for time and health wasted owing to preventable diseases. Medical Research in all its forms does not spend more than 1 per cent. of that. The Industrial Research Associations in England spent in 1938 about half a million pounds—a very small fraction of 1 per cent. of the annual value of British industrial production. The listeners may get the very simple idea into their heads—1 per cent. It doesn't sound very much. Let us aim at giving 1 per cent. of our national budget, 1 per cent. of the value of our industrial and agricultural production, 1 per cent. of the loss due to ill-health, 1 per cent. of the cost of our food, our transport, our houses, our water, our coal, even our broadcasting, to research—and in 10 years we shall find that we're getting back not 1 per cent. but 10 or 20 or 40 or 200 per cent. in dividends...

"If those who call themselves 'Practical men' object, let us remember Francis Galton's definition of the practical man—the practical man is the man who practises the error of his forefathers..."

"Perhaps in India you will be able to profit by our mistakes. One piece of advice, however, I'm confident in giving, namely, that it's worthwhile devoting a greater fraction of your national effort to scientific research and technical development: and I'd like to leave you with the three words—'one per cent'."

We may do well to re-echo his noble words and press for an annual grant of rupees 25 crores for Scientific and Production Research, and training of research personnel.

Obscenity in Literature

Prof. P. S. Naidu discusses in *The Aryan Path* a problem of wide application—the deplorable trend to obscenity in more than one present-day literature. He observes :

What effect does great literature produce on the mind of the reader? Does it stir up his lower nature into strange restlessness; does it produce an irritating sense of disquietude? No, it does not. Objectionable passages there may be in a great drama, but after read-

ing through the whole play, or after seeing it enacted on the stage, our mind is charmed into quietude. In fact, every sense is soothed and charmed. Good literature allays restlessness, resolves conflicts, and pours balm over the troubled mind. Is it not for this reason that we seek refuge in great literature from the turmoils of this world? Consider, on the other hand, the undesirable effects produced on our mind by one of these short stories or novels with a strong sex element in it. Passion is stirred, mental balance is upset and a strange commotion is produced in our lower nature.

An artificial separation has been made between intellect and feeling, and a false belief has been propagated that a man may attain intellectual eminence while his feelings are in a disordered condition.

The lack of harmony and balance between two parts of our own nature is a thing to be condemned, and not applauded. It is this lack of harmony that is the root cause of all the ills that man is heir to at the present day.

Really great literature must be intellectually great, and must also be morally great and decent. Great art is the creation of a great mind.

The nature of our mental structure is such that it must find an outlet in some suitable channel. The mind of the great man or the genius, under the stress of a great inspiration, is filled with an exalted sentiment, unique and inexpressible.

Great art is the creation of a great and good mind. It is the outward expression of a noble sentiment generated in the mind of a great artist. Such art has also the capacity of inducing sympathetically the same noble sentiment in the mind of the onlooker or enjoyer. And there is something more wonderful about great creative art. When a Sahridaya (he who can respond sympathetically) has been caught up in its charms, his mind goes through the same stages as the mind of the creative artist, that is, the Sahridaya recreates the work of art afresh every time he enjoys it. In this act of creativity lies the secret of the joy which suffuses the mind of one who contemplates great art.

Great art is aesthetically great, and morally good, both in its origins and in its effects.

How fares it with these ultra-modern works of art which revel in indecency? What is the nature of the mental structure which has created a drama, a novel, a short story, a statue or a picture steeped in indecency while managing to maintain the aesthetic demands of outward form? The mind which creates such forms and the mind which enjoys them are both filled with bizarre complexes, phobias and repressions, ugly and unsocial in essence. And the most distressing thing about these mental states is that they are unconscious. The author does not know that they are lurking in the depths of his own mind. They are, moreover, never quiet, but are constantly seeking a channel of expression for themselves. These complexes make of the artist an unwitting slave, and escape into the world through his pen, brush or chisel. *Indecent literature is the unwitting expression of indecent complexes lurking in the unconscious mind of the artist; and when such literature appeals to other minds, these minds too, we may be certain, have hidden inside them similar complexes of an unsocial nature.* Indecent literature serves both to the mind which creates it and to the mind which enjoys it as a channel of escape for the ugly complexes hidden in their unconscious depths. When the creation and enjoyment of such literature becomes widespread, then they are the unmistakable symptoms of a decadent age.

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Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc. and also many reputed personalities of the world (of England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.) have given many spontaneous testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Science in Soviet Russia

Under the above caption in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* J. G. Crowther goes on describing the progress of science in Soviet Russia :

The planned development of science proceeds step by step according to the dictates of commonsense.

First, the needs of the nation for a satisfactory life, in goods and services, are estimated. The magnitude of the agriculture, industry and services to provide them is then calculated. The next step is the survey of the resources of the nation. These consist of human ability and genius, and the natural resources of the country.

It is insufficiently understood that the Soviet planners attach at least as much importance to human as to natural resources. In the planning of the development of physical research, the Soviet began, as we have seen, with the finding and training of men, and then built the institutes later. They did not start with paper plans of institutes into which men were subsequently made to fit. This is the reason why the founding of special institutes for men of outstanding ability has been a feature of the scientific development. For instance, an institute for the study of experimental

genetics was built near Leningrad for the famous physiologist, I. P. Pavlov. (It has recently been shelled by the Germans). A fine Institute for the Study of Physical Problems has been built in Moscow for P. Kapitza, and an Institute of Chemical Physics was founded at Leningrad for N. N. Semenov.

The importance of the Academy of Sciences in the planning of scientific development and research has steadily increased, and now the Academy is directly responsible for this work to the Supreme Soviet, the chief executive of the state. Its executive power is equal to its intellectual prestige. The Academy determines the general lines of scientific work, in accordance with the needs of the state, and possibilities in subjects and personalities. It sees that balanced attention is given to all sides of science, that no important branches are neglected, and overlapping is reduced.

The actual planning of research programmes is a process that proceeds simultaneously from the top and the bottom. In every institute the research staff prepare a programme for each year's work. The members of the staff naturally propose to work on the problems in which they are interested. The heads of departments reduce these proposals to plans for their departments. The director incorporates the departmental plans into one for the institute.

The Academy then calls a meeting in Moscow of the directors of institutes working on the same line. Their various plans are compared and co-ordinated, and adjusted to meet the Academy's general directives.

It will be noticed that Soviet planning of scientific research does not consist of dictation by non-scientific officials at the top. It is a mutual process of adjustment in which ideas flow equally from the top and the bottom, and are brought into a harmonious scheme by the Academy, which has direct contact with the Supreme Soviet, or what we would call the Cabinet. More than this, science is directly represented in the Supreme Soviet, or Cabinet, by a leading scientist. At present, this is the famous agricultural scientist and developer of vernalization, Academician Lysenko.

The Academy's plan of research for 1943 is mainly directed to the improvement of war industries and armaments. The geologists and geographers are engaged on the exploration and study of new sources of oil, ores and minerals, especially in the Urals, West Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Middle Volga regions. Agricultural scientists will devote special efforts to increase the yield of cereal and industrial crops such as rubber-bearing plants, potatoes and beet.

Technologists are to develop the use of industrial gas, the gasification of new forms of fuel, so that local fuels can be utilized, and long hauls be reduced. Numerous secret researches on aircraft, radio, weapons, etc., will, of course, also be pursued.

But pure science will not stop. Researches in the theory of numbers, the dynamics of the atmosphere, etc., will continue.

In an important speech at a meeting of the Soviet Academy of Sciences at Sverdlovsk in May, 1942, Academician Joffe has given a very interesting account of how Soviet physicists have taken part in the war. They are expected to observe the performance of their inventions under actual fighting conditions, to ensure the most intimate understanding of the soldiers' require-

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ments, and they have transferred much of their research work from their laboratories to the factories where the new weapons are made.

Joffe describes how a small group of his colleagues at the Physico-Technical Institute at Leningrad remained in the city during the siege. In spite of the terrible conditions, they continued researches which gave considerable results.

He saw one group of physicists that did not leave their laboratory for three weeks, snatching intervals of sleep on their benches. But at the end of the three weeks they were able to send a large apparatus away for testing.

At Kazan, Joffe saw physicists working in the open air with bare hands at temperatures of -45° centigrade. The metal of the instruments froze to their skin and tore it off. But not one of these scientists stopped until the work was done.

The scale of scientific development in the Soviet Union is very great. Hundreds of research institutes costing a hundred thousand pounds or more have been built. Research scientists have been trained in thousands, and applied scientists and engineers in hundreds of thousands. These have been reared on a basis of elementary scientific education given to millions.

27 Nobel Prize Winners Now Living in U. S. A.

Of 27 Nobel Prize winners living in the United States, 17 are Americans who came from Europe to escape Nazi and Fascist persecution and stultification of intellectual freedom. Two more, Dr. Karl Landsteiner and Professor Jean Perris, also fled Nazi tyranny but have since died. Novelist Thomas Mann and Professor Albert Einstein, physicist, reached the United States from Germany in 1933. Dr. Mann has continued his attacks against Nazism in his writings.

Professor Einstein became an American citizen in 1940 and made his home at Princeton, New Jersey. The U. S. Navy Bureau of Ordnance revealed in June, 1943, that Einstein had become a "staff member extraordinary" and was assigned to special research in high explosives.

Several others among the world's scientific leaders have turned their genius to American war production to help defeat Germany. Peter B. Debeys, Dutch chemist, became a chemistry lecturer at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. He is now engaged in special chemical research. Prof. James Franck, German physicist, became affiliated with the University of Chicago and is now working in industry. Mme. Sigrid Undset, Norwegian author, and Maurice Maeterlinck, Belgian playwright, two Nobel Prize winners in literature, are now living in the United States. Mme. Undset carries on the fight against Hitlerism by frequent speeches.

Dr. Otto Loewi, for 28 years leading Professor of Pharmacology at the German University of Graz and Nobel Prize winner for medicine in 1936, continues his work at New York University in New York City. Victor Hess, Austrian physicist and discoverer of cosmic radiation, joined the faculty of Fordham University in New York City.—USOWI.

Indian Scientists Making Notable Contributions Toward Winning War

American newspapers and magazines recently have been giving increased attention to the achievements of Indian scientists, both in India and in the United

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States, who are making invaluable contributions to the Allied war effort through their research in medical and chemical fields. The following paragraphs have been gleaned from such tributes :

Allied troops in remote outposts or at advanced bases inaccessible from the ground have been greatly aided by the invention of "unbreakable containers" in which even liquids can be dropped from airplanes upon hard earth without being shattered. These containers are the work of Prof. Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, director of the recently established All-India Board of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Sir Shanti is also the inventor of a widely used stove hardly larger than a matchbox, which gives off intense heat for 12 hours from a single filling of solid fuel. He has produced fabrics and other materials resistant to poisonous gases, and cotton cloth with the insulating properties and warmth of wool.

The deadly new flame-throwers that the American Army used against the Japanese before Munda are, in part, the invention of an Indian resident in America, Dr. Alamjit D. Singh, of the University of Illinois. Dr. Singh has also made important contributions to the art of camouflage, as has an Indian chemist of Detroit, Michigan, K. N. Kathju. Mr. Kathju collaborated with American chemists in developing green and other paints that cannot be told from surrounding vegetation even under infra-red photography.

Among the chemists originally from India whose discoveries have affected American agriculture is Dr. Jagannath Sharma of Los Angeles. Dr. Sharma recently announced a process for preserving melons for long periods of time while being stored or shipped. Several years ago he developed a process for artificially colouring oranges which is estimated to have added 45

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million dollars to the annual income of Florida orange growers, on good but dull looking fruit.

In the field of medicine, Allied soldiers preparing for the invasion of Burma are indebted to Sir Upendranath Brahmachari for research into the treatment of a very serious fever known as "kala azar."

Other scientists who have gone from India to America to carry on research include Dr. V. K. Koknur, working in chemical warfare; Dr. D. Saklatwalla, whose subject is metal technology; Dr. Sharat Kumar Roy, Dr. Yellapragada Subbarow, Prof. Subramanyam Chandrasekhar and many more.

The proportion of distinguished scientists in India is recognised as exceptionally high, one magazine comments. The proportion of scientists originally from India who are now carrying on research in the United States is still higher.—USOWI.

Science Editor Exemplifies India's Contributions to the United States

India has provided fifty of the ablest scientific workers in the United States, including one of the great astronomers of the world, Gobind Behari Lal pointed out recently in an interview in New York City. As science editor of International News Service and the Hearst chain of newspapers in the United States, it is Lal's function to report the progress of science and medicine in the United States. He is read by millions of people, reports scientific meetings of all kinds and knows many of the world's outstanding scientists.

Lal is an Indian who has made a distinctive career for himself in the United States. Born in Delhi in 1890, a graduate of the University of the Punjab, winner of America's Pulitzer Prize in 1937 for excellent journalism, he is a witty and accomplished member of the American Press. He lectures on science and is the author of three books.

He observes: "Scientific journalism should be a democratic service to the people. For my daily column I always select a story with a bearing on the common man. I try to point out wherein technical and scientific discoveries can be used in his service. For instance, in writing about relativity I have tried to show that this is an instrument of science which helped to streamline the discoveries of nature and bring order out of

chaos. It is simply the law of the world and itsness gives people a sense of security. Science should remove some of the paralysing fear that from lack of knowledge of the world, through increased confidence in life as a whole. We have got to warn people of what is going to be of importance to them. The purpose always is to make man's life better as a democratic experience."

Lal writes on physics, chemistry, medicine, surgery, biochemistry, biology, astronomy, psychiatry, psychology, archaeology and other technological subjects. With extensive scientific background himself, he simplifies his subjects for popular reading. He was one of the pioneers in the American trend to give the public science and medicine in popular form.

Lal is a bachelor and lives in Greenwich Village, an artistic and intellectual centre of New York City. He is interested in drama, art and music as well as in scientific subjects. He is a scholar, world traveller and esthete in his tastes. His books are "Chemistry of Personality," "Joseph Mazzini as a Social Reformer" and "Politics and Science in India." In 1940-1941, he was President of the National Association of Science Writers in America.—USOWI.

Mexico Plans A University in Every State

Unlike countries that are relegating social progress to the post-war period, Mexico is ambitiously going ahead with numerous projects of social, economic, and cultural advancement. Not least of these is a new plan announced by the rector of the national university, in the country's capital whereby, instead of the few universities now existing outside Mexico City, an institution of higher learning, under control of the federal government, will be established in every one of Mexico's 28 States. Although it is realized that the funds for such a vast program are not at hand, and that the completion of the plan will require considerable time, surveys are already under way and preliminary data is being assembled. As the program comes to fulfillment, it will be an immense boon to young men and women who cannot afford to travel to the capital and live expensively there. Thousands more will have an opportunity to obtain a university education.—*Worldover Press*.

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NOTES

Kasturba Gandhi

One school of ancient Eastern philosophy considered woman as a writing tablet on which was inscribed the will of Man. This assignment of the functions of womanhood to the purely passive is regarded by the Western schools of thought as being typical of the East and it is perhaps because of this obsession that Western writers of the obituary notices of Mrs. Gandhi have laid stress along such lines. But we, who belong to the soil that bore her, are far more aware of the positive qualities that this great lady possessed, qualities that made her long life shine with a soft radiance like that of a gem—natural, devoid of the glitter and ostentation of the artificially cut and polished brilliant. Great were the trials and tribulations through which she had passed, right up to the end of her life, and through all the suffering and stress she had retained the calm dignity and poise, based on unflinching faith and determination, that was native in her own self. Indeed her life was one long act of faith and sacrifice but little of the suffering that she had to undergo was obligatory on her, judged even by the highest ideals of Hindu womanhood. More often than not she had a choice of the path, and if in each instance this selfless noble soul chose the harder track, it was of her own volition that she did so.

Amongst the legends that enrich the Golden Treasury of Hindu Mythology, a particularly shining gem is that about Dadhichi's sacrifice. Brittra the king of the Asuras, had invested the domain of the gods. He was



Kasturba Gandhi

a mighty warrior, and further he bore a charmed life. Indra, the king of the gods, was sore pressed and was in despair, seeing that the most potent of all the weapons in his armory was powerless against the magic that shielded the person of his adversary. In the last resort he took counsel of his elders and was advised to have a new weapon forged, in the making of which the bones of a man who was pure of heart and absolutely free from sin and guile was the most necessary ingredient, and it was also essential that the bones be obtained as an unconditional and voluntary gift from him who bore them in life. Of the sages and the saintly ones on earth there was none that surpassed the Rishi Dadhichi, in the crystal purity of the soul and in the utter freedom from sin in the body. Dadhichi on being approached made the sacrifice with the utmost of willingness, and out of this act of self-immolation was born the thunder-bolt—the Vajra—the divine missile, which in the hands of Indra the cloud-borne, wrought destruction on Brittra and his hosts.

Kasturba was no austere anchorite, nor was she of the metal that goes in the making of sages and Rishis. She was of the common clay from which are moulded the numberless loving mothers and faithful wives that still adorn this luckless land. She lived and loved, and was beloved of all that came in contact with her all along the path of a long life, in the same fashion as did her mother and the mothers of her mother before her. She laid claim neither to learning nor yet to saintliness, she merely followed the dictates of her heart and her soul, pure and serene as the moonlit skies of her motherland. But in faithfulness, in selfless devotion, and in the courage of her self-sacrifice, she surpassed by far many a hero—or heroine—of the sages of the ancients. Peace and ease and leisure could have been hers for the mere asking, for she was long past the age at which her sex usually retires from an active life, and further she was frail of body and ailing in health for some time past. But she preferred to tread along the arduous and thorny path blazed by her husband. Like Gandhari, the consort of the blind king Dhritarastra of the Mahabharata, she desired no pleasure that was denied to her husband, rather she desired union with her partner-in-life through communion in sacrifice.

She was *saubhagyabati* in death in more senses than one, though she died in a British prison, away from many who loved and respected her. She has attained that freedom in death that was so intensely desired by herself and by the millions upon millions who follow

her husband, and she has obtained the peace and the rest which she had so long denied herself. The life she had lived was a shining example of selfless devotion to an ideal, may she in her death serve as an inspiration to us as did Dadhichi to the ancients. May her soul attain the same serenity in *mukti* as attained by the sage old Rishi and may the glory of her love and devotion serve as shining armour to guard her beloved husband Mohandas Karamchand, Mahatma Gandhi.

Further Lights on the Bombay Plan

The Bombay Plan has received the attention it deserves. The practicability of the Plan has been generally admitted. The financial aspect of it, although apparently very large, has been accepted in almost every quarter as being realistic. There have been no two opinions about the need for a plan; the Bombay Plan has supplied it, together with a financial calculation that such a plan would need. The Plan has crystallised the opinion that if India is to survive, organised effort must immediately be made to raise the standard of living and the purchasing power of the people. Foreign industrialists and merchants also cannot overlook this essential need, if they desire to look upon this country as a future market for their commodities.

The Bombay Plan, however, needs some clarification. The distribution aspect of it should now be explained. Of the financial part, the Rs. 3400 crore "created money" has come in for some amount of criticism, Prof. Vakil, writing in the *Commerce*, has called it inflation and has given his reasons for calling it so. The *Eastern Economist* has attempted a reply which is not convincing. Prof. Vakil has pointed out that "there is no means of knowing in advance whether the net 'gap' to be filled between the available saving and the necessary investment would be of the magnitude of Rs. 3400 crores or more or less." He does not think that "any creation of money is inflationary in effect" and draws attention to the fact that "any plan that we make should estimate our resources fundamentally in terms of savings." The *Eastern Economist's* argument that "The Bombay Plan schedules an increase in production of Rs. 4400 crores as against only Rs. 3400 crores of created money," does not explain the problem. To our mind, the most important aspect of this problem has been overlooked both by Prof. Vakil and Dr. Lokanathan. About Rs. 200 crores of created money is needed to remain in circulation to move a national aggregate income of more than Rs. 1000 crores. Annual aggregate national

income should be increased by at least five times Rs. 3400 crores in order to offset the inflationary tendency of this amount of created money. But the planners envisage a doubling of national income and a 'created money' circulation of Rs. 400 to 500 crores ought to be sufficient to effect its distribution.

The second important point that should be cleared up is the question of employment. The Plan envisages to raise industrial employment from $2\frac{1}{2}$ million to $12\frac{1}{2}$ million in a country of 400 millions. *The Capital* wants it "to be borne in mind that even if the proposed target were reached, this would mean an absorption of only 10 millions or about 13 per cent of the expected net increase of population over the whole period. Besides, rationalisation of agriculture as indicated in the Plan will inevitably throw vast numbers out of employment." The pertinent question which necessarily follows is : How will all these people be employed ? The Plan has no doubt stressed the importance of small and cottage industries both to economise machinery and to provide employment.

The third point which needs elucidation is the problem of technical personnel which would be required to work out the plan as well as for its successful direction. Importing foreign experts should be discouraged from the very start. These experts have not only been costly but also have failed in their mission in many cases due to insufficient and imperfect knowledge about India. The adaptability of Indians to technical skill has been more than sufficiently demonstrated during years after the last war and the quickness with which technical skill is acquired by Indian technicians has been conclusively shown during this War. The planned denial of technical education has been an obstacle to the Government's War Effort at the beginning of the war which was quickly overcome by expanding facilities for it. For a successful working of the Plan, technical skill will be required not only at the top Executive, the workers entrusted with the fulfilment of specific duties as well as their supervisors will also need technical skill of a high order. Technical skill should also be provided for those attending road or house building, and directing cottage industries or scientific agriculture. The Planners should now tell us how they propose to utilise the human element in the country. Harnessing the Schools, Technical Institutes and the Universities for the production of skilled executives and technical staff must be done years ahead if the Plan is to run smoothly from the start.

The Governor-General's Speech

Viscount Wavell has delivered his first political speech in the Central Legislative Assembly. Detailed comment on it is hardly called for as the new Governor-General has hardly trod on any new ground.

The new points discussed are mainly two—firstly, he said that "you cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a national unit;" and secondly, he admitted that "we are bound in justice, in honour, in the interests of progress, to hand over India to Indian rule, which can maintain the peace and order and progress which we have endeavoured to establish." But immediately after, he paused, remembered his allegiance to Churchill and Amery, and said, "I believe that we should take some risk to further this; but until the two main Indian parties at least can come to terms, I do not see any immediate hope of progress." Pleas of this kind are so well known in this country that no explanation is needed. It is a pity that a Governor-General who has the vision to look into the depth of nationalist thought, lacks in boldness to translate it into action. In his book "*Allenby in Egypt*," Viscount Wavell has summed up the Egyptian nationalist thought in the following words : "They probably felt like a man whose house has been used as an hotel for a long period by uninvited, though paying, guests without a word of gratitude to their host." *The Statesman* compares this passage with a similar one in Louis Fischer's book "*A Week with Gandhi*." In this book, Fischer reports the following comment made by Khurshed Ben (Naoraji) at Sevagram Ashram in June 1942 : "We want to be alone....It is like a housewife who has had guests staying with her too long and she is impatient to see them leave, and can think of nothing else but the pleasure of the moment when she sees them going out through the front door." Viscount Wavell will have a hard testing time in India. The words and actions of this soldier Viceroy will be watched with keen interest, particularly in the light of his own beliefs and leanings expressed in his own words. He should realise the import of the "*Quit India*" resolution as expressed in the quotation from his book cited above.

We do not agree with the Viceroy when he says, "The Cripps offer was a bold and generous offer and gave India a great opportunity to progress towards solution of her problem."....The Cripps offer was thrashed out and discussed

threadbare by persons who cannot be said to have any leanings towards the Congress. Not a single political party in India had a good word to say in favour of the Cripps offer. It was the Congress who paid the most attention to it. At any rate, this has been proved beyond doubt that the offer was a doubtful document which aimed at taking away whatever little power India had gained in exchange for a future promise. A person held in high esteem and a non-Congressman at that, Dr. M. R. Jayakar, had revealed that the action of Sir Stafford in this country was no less doubtful.

Sir B. L. Mitter on Indian Constitution

India has a painful remembrance of British promises to her. During the last war, self-government was promised to India, but in reality more restrictions have been imposed on her which were not present under the old constitution. The following report of a speech by Sir Brojendralal Mitter, Advocate-General for India, is quoted below as an illustration of how popular government has been denied to India in spite of the past promises :

Sir Brojendra Lal Mitter, Advocate-General of India lecturing on "the legislative power under the present constitution" to law students of the Benares Hindu University, explained the background of the present constitution and said that all federal constitutions were more or less copies of the federal constitution of the United States of America with local variations. After the war of independence two representatives of each of the 13 American States met in a secret conference at Philadelphia and discussed various schemes and eventually the American constitution came into existence. As a result of that conference each State surrendered some of its sovereign powers of common interest to all, such as defence, foreign policy, post and telegraphs and currency where a uniform policy was needed to the centre and this was the essence of the American constitution.

The same principle of distribution of powers was followed in the constitution of Canada and Australia but in the case of India there was a fundamental difference and that was in India the Central Government had all the powers.

The executive, the judiciary and the legislative independent of each other made a federal system of Government perfect. But in India this principle had not been strictly followed, in that, here the executive was overlapping the legislature.

Sir Brojendra added that the concept of federalism, which connected independence of the three branches of the Government of one another, did not obtain in the Indian constitution. "Here the executive head is also a law-maker. With regard to the position of legislature, the constitution of 1935 has imposed restrictions which were not present in the old constitution. The restriction may be classified under two heads : Firstly, the necessity of the Governor-General's previous sanction for initiating legislation of certain categories. Secondly, the positive restrictions with regard to specific matters and against discrimination. The restrictions on the head of discrimination and justified on the ground of reciprocity between India and the United Kingdom."

Reciprocity could not work fairly when the parties were not equal. We said that an equal partnership operated to the disadvantage of the weaker party. The field of legislation was occupied partly by the legislature and partly by the Governor-General.

Concluding his lecture Sir Brojendra contested the assertion that the Indian constitution was a democracy. He said that *here some of the essential attributes of democracy were waning*. Due to communal franchise the tendencies of parties were to align on communal lines and not on economic or political lines. The result was that a majority tended to remain a majority and a minority, a minority. Hence no alternative Government was possible when a government of majority was out of office. That explained the operation of Section 93 in five big provinces.

Reprisals at Midnapore

Cases of incendiaryism in Midnapore between August and December 1942 were discussed in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. In reply to a question, the Premier Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin stated that many houses, kutcha and pucca, had been burnt in the Contai and Tamluk Subdivisions during that period. Congressmen, villagers and Government forces were responsible. In the Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions, houses belonging to the Government, public bodies and private persons burnt by the Congress numbered 43 and 38 respectively; while Congress camps and houses burnt by Government forces were 31 and 162 respectively; while Congress camps and houses burnt by villagers were 1 and 2 respectively.

Questioned whether the Government, "in view of the widespread incendiaryism committed by official forces," would inquire into the matter, the Premier said that he felt that the Government then in power should have looked into the matter and not his Government which took office 18 months later. Asked whether the Government contemplated appointing a Tribunal to investigate "excesses committed by the military and police in Tamluk and Contai Subdivisions, as promised by the ex-Chief Minister on February 15, 1943," Sir Nazimuddin said that he did not consider himself bound by any undertaking given by the former Ministry. The several statements of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq inside and outside the Legislature amply showed that he could not fulfil his promise owing to the opposition of Sir John Herbert.

Increase in Railway Fares

The manner in which railway fares have been increased by 25 per cent, can only be characterised as the Government campaigning against the people. The reasons advanced in support of this iniquitous impost are that it would be an anti-inflationary measure and that

it would reduce travel. To obtain support for this measure, a clever temptation was thrown out that a fund would be created with the increased amount of the fare to be utilised for the improvement of third class travel after the war. These "reasons," if they can be called so, have been universally condemned by the Press all over the country and by every non-official member of the Central Legislature except the Europeans. The general feeling in the country is that the Railway Department has become the handmaid of the War Department for the purposes of transport, and of the Finance Department for yielding huge profits, and that the Railway administrations' credit with the public is at its lowest ebb. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta had tabled a cut motion to debate "the unholy alliance with the Finance Department in giving to the latter a forced loan of Rs. 10 crores in exchange for its agreeing to add Rs. 4 crores to the Depreciation Fund." In the debate on Railway Budget, Mr. Mehta characterised it as predatory in its purpose, oppressive in its results and contemptuous of public opinion. He said that the arguments advanced in support of the increase in fares were childish. He pointed out that the present railway fares entitled the traveller to all the facilities that could be given him; yet to mention only one difficulty, overcrowding was disgraceful, worse than the mythical Black Hole of Calcutta. He vigorously refuted the argument that Railway travel in India was the cheapest in the world. It was in fact 400 per cent costlier than in England.

Mr. K. C. Neogy said that the War Transport Member was treating the Indian Railways as a machine of war rather than as a commercial proposition. The warfare he was conducting was, in fact, directed as much against the travelling public as against the Axis Powers. In fact, the contempt with which Sir Edward Bentall treated the general opinion in the Legislature and the country leads to the only logical conclusion that the Government have determined to wage war against the people of India.

Sir Edward Bentall, replying on the Debate, dealt at length with the increase in fares and placed before the House further facts in support of his stand. He said :

The increase of 156 million passengers last year, equivalent to 600 trainloads a day, could only be explained by an increasing ability to spend and not by any corresponding increase in war activity. Some drastic action to check this tendency was in his view necessary. While military traffic had increased, the bulk of the increase was in public traffic. The quality of service had admittedly deteriorated but this was the case in all countries at war and the shortage of fittings was due

to the general shortage of consumers' goods. Steps were being taken to rectify this and so far as possible to curtail military passengers.

Short distance passengers within the 50-mile zone, who formed 83% of the total of third class passengers, were to be relieved of the incidence of the burden. No increase was contemplated on journeys up to ten miles. As regards long journeys Sir Edward said, it could not be maintained that a farmer who was getting Rs. 40 for what he got Rs. 10 before the war or a mill worker who was receiving three times his pre-war wage could not afford an extra three annas if he wanted to travel 50 miles. Complaints against such modest increases came ill from people who were charging 200% or 300% more for their goods or services.

The possible inflationary effect was negligible while the deflationary effect of removing the money from circulation was obvious. It would be put into circulation again when there was a decline in activity and prosperity, and would be spent for the benefit of those from whom it was now being largely taken. If the contribution to general revenues were cut, he gave a solemn warning that the cut would have had to be replaced by other taxation in the General Budget.

These additional arguments are equally unconvincing. The increase of 156 million passengers have been due to several reasons over which the public had no control. Bus Services plying along railway lines have been suspended and all their passengers have been thrown on the railway. War constructions on the Eastern zone have required a large number of personnel to be moved from place to place and railways must have been utilised for long distance travels. The Transport Member pointed out in the Council of State that in 1942-43 the revenue from civilian passengers showed an increase of Rs. 10 crores while the corresponding revenue from military passengers travelling on ordinary trains showed an increase of only about Rs. 3 crores. In making this calculation, Sir Edward has probably taken into account only the Railway Warrants issued to military personnel, but has he taken into account military men travelling with ordinary tickets? Besides, in computing this extra yield, the two increases effected in railway forces during the war must be taken into account.

His second argument is equally unconvincing. In Bengal, according to the Floud Commission, only 8 per cent of the agriculturists have the means to command fair price of their commodities. More than half were landless agricultural labour for whom the income was the lowest while need for movement for him was the highest, because he had to search and find out employment. Even if a farmer was getting Rs. 40 for what was worth pre-war Rs. 10, his cost of living had gone up 500 percent. Sir Edward is angry with the labourers who had been charging 200 to 300 per cent for their services,

but he has not taken into account Government's own statement that the cost of living Index for industrial labour had gone up by more than 300 per cent.

The measure is not anti-inflationary. It seeks to draw money from people having no surplus, while at the same time it swells the Army Budget, specially as the Defence Services will have to make the utmost use of railways at the enhanced fare. More notes will have to be printed to meet this cost. Again, a business man cannot stop travelling and whatever increase he has to bear will be reflected in the cost of production of his goods, which means that the price structure must expand further, a development which the Government is ostensibly trying to discourage. In short, this measure which the War Transport Member and the Finance Member both call anti-inflationary, will directly contribute towards accelerating the inflationary trend.

Mr. B. Das's cut motion that the demand under the head "Appropriation to Reserve" be reduced by Rs. 10 crores—the estimated revenue from the proposed increase in railway fares, was carried in the Central Legislative Assembly by 51 votes to 46. Muslim League, Nationalist, unattached Members, and some of the Independent members voted with the Congress for the motion. Sir Edward Bentall's attitude, reflected in his reply on the debate, was remarkable to say the least. He threatened that the effect of the motion, if passed, would be that the sum of Rs. 10 crores would not be transferred to the Reserve and would be left in the railway surplus with the automatic result that it would be transferred to the general revenue, and it would deprive third class passengers of the fund intended to improve amenities for them. This shows that the Government were determined to increase the fare in complete disregard of the verdict of the Legislature.

Slaughter of Cattle in Bengal

A resolution moved in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, to which all parties agreed, stressed "the importance of cattle for agricultural purposes and of milch cows for health" and referred to the "rapid decimation of cattle due to indiscriminate slaughter for food supply for military purposes."

Mr. D. N. Sen (Hindu Nationalist) who introduced the subject in the form of a resolution, drew attention to the seriousness of the problem from figures for all-India given by the C-in-C. India, in the Council of State in August last about cattle slaughtered in 1942-43, numbering 62,000 for prisoners of war, and 216,000 for Chinese, U. S. and British forces stationed in this coun-

try. The number in 1943-44, he said, must have been higher still. The figure for Bengal, a war zone, must be higher than the all-India average. This meant rapid depletion of the cattle wealth of the Province; and unless effective precautionary measures were taken the future position was dangerous. *In spite of the orders of the Central Government that no milch cow and no bullock under 10 years of age was to be slaughtered, prime cattle in large numbers were even now being purchased from the rural areas to meet the requirements of the defence services.* In normal times only the surplus and old cattle were sold for slaughter, but even healthy cattle were now being sold because of the attractive prices offered. The abnormal demand had forced up prices to fantastic levels. Unless the decimation of the cattle resources of the Province was stopped, agricultural operations as well as the marketing of crops were likely to be adversely affected. The production and consumption of milk in India was very low and the depletion of livestock would worsen the position.

In reply, the Chief Minister, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin read out a letter from Major-General Stuart which stated :

"In order to conserve supplies of beef it has now been agreed to issue a portion of buffalo meat to troops instead of beef. Certain limited supplies of beef are still obtainable from Bengal. These are purchased through contractors in possibly the cheapest market, but the Army has no control over them."

Bihar and U. P. had already taken actions to stop indiscriminate slaughter of cattle. Bombay people made the same complaint to Viscount Wavell when he visited that city. But in Bengal, where the slaughter may be feared to have been the highest, no action has been taken. The Premier has given no assurance whatever to stop the slaughter.

Anti-malaria Drugs

NEW DELHI, Feb. 9.

As some of the necessary chemicals are not available either in India or from any outside source, the Government of India have at present no measures in contemplation for the encouragement of the production of synthetic anti-malaria drugs, said Mr. J. D. Tyson, Health Secretary, in reply to Mr. Neogy in the Central Assembly today. "The Bombay Government," he added, "prepared a scheme for the manufacture of synthetic anti-malaria drugs at the Hafekine Institute and certain chemical manufacturers also proposed to undertake manufacture. Both the Bombay Government and the commercial concerns referred to applied for assistance in obtaining the imported chemicals required for the manufacture of the drugs. The Government of India were unable to give assistance in the matter because of the necessity for economy in the use of shipping space. The weight of the imported chemicals required for manufacture is about 10 times that of the finished product and in view of war-time shipping difficulties it was decided to import the finished product. It was also ascertained that the chemicals required could not be obtained from the U. K. or the U. S. A."—A. P. I.

It seems as if the Government of India do not desire expansion of the manufacture of quinine or any other substitute drug in this country. Shipping space is available in plenty

for the import of whisky, but not for bringing the raw materials for the manufacture of an anti-malaria drug. If it has to be brought at all, the Government prefers to import the finished product rather than encourage its manufacture here and that at a time when, according to a pamphlet published by the Indian Tea Association about quinine, "An ampoule of 10 grains is selling locally in the black market at Rs. 2-8, that is about Rs. 2000 per lb. and one cannot be sure if it is 10 grains. The powder is adulterated with glucose upto 50% and here also the price is prohibitive." Bengal has 20,000 acres available for cinchona cultivation of which only half is under the drug. The Bengal Government propose to increase cultivation at the rate of 300 acres a year which would take 31 years to bring this area completely under cinchona, if even this rate is maintained. The Government, however, are not ashamed of this progress.

the National Education Association of America, who says :

"Wise public policy demands the retention of separate control of our public schools. No convincing evidence has come to my attention indicating that a school board subordinate to municipal government is more economical or efficient than a board which derives its powers directly from the people. . . . Everyone will agree that our schools can serve our society best if kept free from partisan politics. Separation of education from general municipal government is helpful in doing that. There is no other public service where partisan interference is more disastrous than in education. Control of the budget is an essential function of the local school board. A budget is a statement of educational policy in financial terms. Those who control the budget have the last word regarding educational policy. The culminating argument in favour of a separate school board rests on the unique function of education in American Democracy. That function is to help our citizens, young and old, to evaluate intelligently the social, economic and political arrangements which serve us. . . . The school cannot carry out this function if it is subordinate to any of the units which it must fearlessly and impartially evaluate."

Schools in America

Mr. W. G. Humphrey, Head Master of the Leys, Cambridge, writes in *Spectator* for December 3, 1943 :

The most striking fact about the administration of American elementary and secondary education is that in spite of the general tendency in all democratic societies towards amalgamation and centralisation of administrative, executive and fiscal authority, the *American people have for the most part resolutely refused to allow their schools to come under the control of local government authorities.* The State Legislature decides and controls the general educational policy of the State in much the same way as our policy is decided by Parliament and controlled centrally through the Board of Education. The cost of education is also met partly by local taxation and partly by State taxation, with a steady increase in the proportion contributed by the States, which, in the country as a whole, rose from 17 per cent. in 1930 to 30 per cent. in 1938, and in some States is now as high as 50 per cent. The main difference from administration in this country lies in the fact that the local School Boards—which are the American equivalent of our Local Education Authorities—are separately elected by the people and are constitutionally and financially independent of the other local government authorities. In other words, the American people regard their system of free education as much too important to be administered by a sub-committee of a municipal or county council. *Those who serve on an American School Board are elected by the residents of a locality for the specific purpose of administering the Schools in that locality;* they are not persons who have been elected to supervise a miscellaneous collection of public utilities which happens to include the Schools. *American School Boards remain independent simply, because the American people believe that this is the most certain way of ensuring that their children shall receive the best education that their community can afford to provide.*

In support of his contention, he quotes Mr. Willard E. Givens, the Executive Secretary of

In India, education has always been controlled fully by the Government. In spite of the persistent Government policy of denial of education in this country, it has expanded to some extent with essentially non-official effort and money. Whenever Government has taken any step in this field, it has been mainly to deter the progress by bringing the entire educational system more and more stringently under their control. The experience of School Boards in Bengal show that these are under sinister influences from two directions—the Government, as well as the majority community in Bengal. Recognition of Schools, sanction of grants in aid, approval of text-books, teachers' salaries—all these vital matters are controlled with the sole object of ensuring the production of spineless, weak and servile creatures whom an alien Government may not have reason to fear.

British "Expert" Method of Arithmetic

The *Sylhet Chronicle* for February 15, reports :

One Mr. McAlpine, British Specialist Instructor of an Engineering College near Calcutta, and now a member of the Trade Testing Panel, came on a visit to the Surma Valley Technical School on the 4th of February. The school has its own British Specialist Instructor in one Mr. McLean Smith. These two British Specialists together set a sum to the trainees as follows :— $14+4\times2\div4$. The poor Indian boys naturally made out the result to be 16. But our British Experts flared up. "Look at this bloody answer," said one of them; "This is your Indian way of doing things : then he showed the boys and the Instructors present there his British and "expert," method of doing sums. " $14+4$ is 18, is not it ? Then, 18×2 is 36, isn't it ? Then $36\div4$ is 9. The result is very plain and the method simple. You must begin from the left and go right on. This is how it is taught in Britain and this is on British method."

As everybody was looking aghast at these British Experts and wondering at their British method, one poor Instructor, Bidhu Bhusan Sen Gupta had the hardihood to protest against what he thought to be making Arithmetic a war-casualty rather unnecessarily. Down came the British Experts on the poor 'native'; "You twenty-five rupees Instructor, what do you know of arithmetic and of our British method? Dare you protest against what we experts say. It is not for nothing that you bloody people are kept in your places." The Instructor again had the audacity to make some reply and he was at once turned out of the room with many expletives of blood and bloom.

Nearly a fortnight has passed, and no contradiction of this news has been reported. This gives an idea of how British "experts" are working in this country.

Rationing in Calcutta

Viscount Wavell is reported to have told the Bombay Food Advisory Council that, in his opinion, rationing which was the best method of ensuring equitable distribution would have to be continued for at least another five years. For Calcutta, it is bad news. Rationing can be successful only where the *voluntary co-operation* of the people has been secured and due attention is paid to the people's difficulties while working the scheme. In Bombay both have been done and in Calcutta both have been denied. Bombay has her Food Advisory Council which holds such an important position that the Viceroy during his short visit to Bombay, had found it necessary to spend a considerable time in discussion with them. In Calcutta, there is nothing of the sort, only, a few days ago, a pious proposal to set up Regional Food Councils, with the ultimate object to set up a Central One, has been announced. The functions enumerated contain only one important item—policing on behalf of the Civil Supply Department to check the Ration Cards and to stop its misuse.

The Rationing Authorities in Calcutta have not considered it important to make the Ration Cards useful. Serious complaints have been made about the quality of rice supplied. Samples of very bad quality had been shown to the Governor of Bengal when he visited certain godowns and Rationing Centres. The Central as well as the Provincial Governments have both admitted that poor quality rice has been supplied but after four weeks of rationing the complaint remains where it was at the beginning. Choice of rice according to price has been denied under the rationing scheme, people have been compelled to use whatever quality is forced on them even at the cost of health. Had the Calcutta Rationing Authority the least regard for public opinion and welfare, they should either have

maintained very good quality from the very start or should have given the public opportunity to choose according to price. Not only that; nothing of the sort has been done, but Corporation Food Inspectors have been denied facilities to detect supplies injurious to public health and bring the offenders to book.

The second serious complaint has been about the quantity supplied. The Calcutta ration is less than half of the Bombay quota and is actually insufficient for the manual labourers. The Authorities here in Calcutta have shown their usual disregard of public opinion in conceding to this very reasonable demand as well.

Inequity in Jute

The recent fixation of jute acreage at eight annas of the basic acreage of 1940 will cause another shortage of food in Bengal in 1945 if Burma be not reconquered and imports of Burma rice available by that time.

The maximum prices of jute have been fixed from Rs. 15 to 17 per maund while the ruling price of hessian is Rs. 28-8. The Bengal Government Press Note dated the 7th February says "The Government of India will also under statutory orders simultaneously fix the maximum prices for manufactured goods." These have not yet been fixed and, when done so, are not expected to go below Rs. 26 the price offered by the U.S.A. Government last year. Besides, it is nobody's contention that the price of hessian should go down in these days of high prices all round. What is most objectionable is the inequitable margin of profit to the jute mills mostly under British management. 35 seers of jute are required to manufacture 100 yards of hessian so that quantity for quantity raw jute sells at Rs. 14 in Calcutta and hessian at Rs. 28-8 or Rs. 26. And this after a terrible famine when the jute-growers had to pay Rs. 40 to Rs. 80 for a maund of rice and with some such dreary prospect before them. The Finlow Committee of Jute Enquiry compiled a table showing the prices of jute and its manufactures during the period of 1920-21 to 1931-32. The ratio there stood at 1:2. The prices of jute recently fixed by the Government compared with the current price of hessian give the same ratio. Unless the Government fix the hessian price sufficiently lower, it will legalise a tyranny carried on for decades by a strong and wealthy ring of jute mill interests, preponderantly British against millions of poor, dumb unorganised cultivators.

What Will Russia Do After The War ?

The *World Digest* published a summary of Albert Rhys Williams' admirable book "The Russians : The Land, The People, and Why They Fight" which gives a reply to the unjust suspicions about the U. S. S. R. Mr. Williams, although an American, has the right to speak with authority on Russian subjects. An eyewitness of the Revolution, he has lived in the U. S. S. R. for thirteen of the succeeding twenty-five years. He has known Russia's leaders from Lenin to Litvinov. The book will go a long way to clear the old-fashioned ideas of those Imperialists who see Russia embarking on a career of looting and land-grabbing. The substance of the summary is given below :

What could the Soviets gain by a policy of Red imperialism ? More territory ? With half of Europe and half of Asia, they have room enough for generations to come, even though they increase at the present rate of ten thousand a day. More raw materials ? They have a third of the wheatlands of the world, vast reserves of gold, oil, coal, iron—ample supplies for industries for centuries to come. Investments and concessions in other lands ? The Soviets have no surplus. Consumption more than keeps pace with production. The money gets into the hands of the people to buy back the goods they make as fast as they make them and a bit faster. This gives Russia an insatiable market at home. Why should it set out to acquire abroad what it already has in abundance ?

It is apparent that none of the usual motives for imperialism exist in Russia. But doesn't the Soviet belief in Revolution provide ideological reasons for aggression ? The assumption that revolutions can be exported is not in accordance with Soviet theory. Lenin and Stalin have repeatedly said : "Revolutions cannot be carried to other countries in a suitcase." Much less can they be imposed upon them by the bayonets of an invading army. The history and experience of the Russian Revolution itself confirms the truth of that principle. The exile of Trotsky virtually brought to an end the notion that the Russians must force their ideas and institutions on other peoples.

This does not imply that the Soviets have renounced their principles. To be sure, they hope and expect socialism to spread. As America rejoices to see any country go republican, so Soviet Russia would rejoice to see any country go socialist. It is very probable that there will be revolutions in Europe to overthrow the Quislings, the Lavals, and the Nazis. Some of these revolutions, because they occur in countries with close geographical and racial ties with the Soviet Union, will probably look to it for their example and guidance, just as other countries will look to the West. As the Scandinavian nations will probably turn to England and America, quite naturally the Slavic nations of the Balkans will turn to Russia. But in Stalin's words : "Our aims are clear and noble. Our first task is to liberate our own people from the fascist scoundrels. We have no ideas of imposing our regime on other peoples, Slav or otherwise. Our aim is to help liberate them from Nazi tyranny and then to leave them free to live in their own lands as they wish."

Without either the mood or the means to engage in any revolutionary adventure, the policy of Russia will be dictated by its own national interests and needs.

What are the basic needs of Russia ? First, Russia needs time and opportunity for the colossal task of post-war reconstruction. Take the single item of roads. To construct a system of highways comparable to America's will take from fifty to a hundred years at the present rate. Or go into the interior and see 300,000 villages lacking not only the comforts and amenities of life, but often the bare necessities. The prime reason for this was that up to a third of the national income went into the army and armaments. And the standard of living is now further drastically reduced by the war itself. Thousands of schools and hospitals gone up in flames. Millions of homes turned into ashes. Bridges and factories dynamited. Whole cities razed. Millions of youth slain or maimed, blinded, or legless. Great as are the resources of the Russian land and the recuperative powers of its people, it will take a long time to restore their shattered economy. More than ever will Russia need good relations with foreign lands—the credits, tools and machines that follow in their train.

The second basic need in the words of the Atlantic Charter is "access on equal terms to trade and raw materials."

While the Soviets attained a high degree of self-sufficiency, they in no wise believe in autarchy or isolation.

In the words of Stalin, they want trading in order "to cement friendly relations with other countries and actually promote a policy of peace."

The third and most important need of the Soviets now is security against aggression. Except in the icy wastes of the North and along the fortress-wall of mountains in the South, the Soviet Union has no natural boundaries, for the great Eurasian plain sweeps on unbroken from the English Channel almost to the Pacific. For that reason Russia pushed back the Finnish frontier in 1939 and took over those territories wrested from her in the last war. This includes the Baltic States, reincorporated into the Soviet Union by plebiscites; likewise Bessarabia and a part of Poland up to the Curzon line, repatriating five million Ukrainians and Belorussians. Quite likely the Soviet Union will want to reconstitute its frontiers along these lines.

But it is not making this an issue. Boundaries are not the first prerequisite for security. No people know this better than the Russians; no people have striven harder to set peace upon a firmer base than strategic frontiers and armaments. The only way for any country to be safe is for all to be safe. For more than a decade Litvinov was a proponent of this idea before the world. At the League of Nations he pleaded for collective sanctions against fascist aggression in Ethiopia, in Spain, in China, and in Czechoslovakia. Just as zealously, he strove for that measure which might have stopped Hitler dead in his tracks—a collective security pact between England, France, and Russia. Tirelessly, he kept reiterating : "Peace is indivisible. All nations keep the peace or all go to war."

By its actions and utterances for the last decade Russia shows that it favours some form of a world federation. More explicitly in its 1941 Treaty with Poland it declares that, "Just and lasting peace can be achieved only through a new organization of international relations on the basis of unification of the democratic countries in a durable alliance. Respect for international law, backed by the collective armed force of all allied states must form the decisive factor of such an organization." This necessity for unified action after the war, as well as during the war, is increasingly stressed by eminent leaders in England and America.

What could Russia contribute to a world federation besides its share of the armed forces ? After immediate

relief of the hunger-stricken peoples the first post-war problem to grapple with is that of general poverty and unemployment. *Russia has done away with unemployment, raised the standard of living for great populations of backward primitive peoples and carried the principles of social security for the individual citizen further than any other country.* To a world council intent on solving such problems, Soviet experience would be invaluable.

More valuable still would be a study of Russia's methods in dealing with a second and age-old source of wars—the *problem of nationality*. The U. S. S. R. presents the spectacle of 189 of the most diverse and one-time hostile peoples and races sending their representatives up to Moscow to debate their common affairs and work out their common problems. *In this realm Russia has already done on a considerable scale what must be done on a still larger one.*

That leads to a third contribution that Russia might well make to a world council—*its experience in large-scale planning and administration*. To many people that is a chief obstacle to a federation of nations. Where are the brains and the vision to order and organize affairs throughout the world—or even half of it? The Soviets have done just that in one-sixth of the world. Starting from scratch, by trial and error, they have worked out methods, technique of administration, and controls on a

The present one is fear as to what Russia will do after the fighting is over. What Russia intends to do is fairly and precisely reflected in statements by Molotov, Stalin and Litvinov. It is set down in the various agreements and treaties with the United Nations. But will Russia live up to them? To that query the reply of Ambassador Davies is "that of all the nations of the earth, none has a finer record of living up to its treaty promises than the Soviet Union."

But more important than written agreements are mutual understanding, confidence and respect. The Soviets are winning that for themselves by their conduct of the war. They are doing other things: they are sending to the United States manganese, formulas for rubber, as well as captured Nazi tires for chemical analysis. They are sending over their specialists from experts in explosives to crack sharpshooters, putting their battle experience at our disposal. In turn the United Nations are sending to the Soviets in the words of President Roosevelt "everything that can float or fly." For this the Soviets are duly grateful. *But any attempts at double dealing—exclusion of Russia from the common councils, evasion of our obligations, letting Russia continue to bear its undue share of the fighting—will stir up the deepest resentment.*

In the last analysis what the Russians do after the war depends largely on what we do during the war.

In a brilliant article entitled *Ourselves and Russia*, in the *Spectator* for October 29, 1943, Viscount Castlereagh, M.P., gives a good account of the still suspicious attitude of some powerful elements in the British national life. He has pointed out that the British policy towards the U. S. S. R. has been one of aloofness, verging on rudeness. He asks, "Did we really expect Russia to come to us, hat in hand, after we had so consistently snubbed her for years?" Then describing Russia's part in the last as well as in the present war, he says, "In spite of this invaluable support, there is still a small though

powerful minority in this country violently opposed to our Ally; it consists of certain Church elements, some regular soldiers, the motive being presumably professional jealousy; old-fashioned diehards and *that dangerous class which still prefers a Nazi to a Russian at any price.*" We perfectly agree with Viscount Castlereagh when he says, "The overwhelming proportion of our people must now realise that the previous attitude adopted towards the U. S. S. R. was radically wrong. Had our foreign policy been directed towards a rapprochement with them; had we established cordial relations with this nation which alone of the Great Powers has a consistent record in the League of Nations, then I believe that this war would never have taken place. Similarly, I am of the opinion that unless we secure truly friendly relations with the U. S. S. R. then the prospects of a lasting peace are not hopeful."

"Reign of Terror" under Defence of India Rules

The Central Legislative Assembly carried by 43 to 42 votes, Mr. Kazmi's adjournment motion to censure Government on the misapplication of Defence of India Rules in the Provinces. The Congress members, Muslim League members, Nationalists and Independent Members combined to vote for the motion. Moving for adjournment, Mr. Kazmi said :

The responsibility for ensuring that the Defence of India Rules were being applied appropriately must rest with the Central Government who had sponsored the Defence of India Act. That responsibility was all the greater in view of the assurance given to the Assembly during the debate on the Act.

He complained that the Defence of India Rules were being used to defeat the ends of justice in several places and said that the executive was thereby showing a distrust of the judiciary.

Instead of listening to the advice of the courts and rectifying the errors, the executive had invented other methods to circumvent the defences of law.

He condemned the arrests of Mr. Pardiwala at Lahore and Pandit Bajnath at Allahabad—both lawyers, whose only fault was that they were trying to defend a political suspect.

Mr. Frank Anthony said :

As a lawyer he had watched with the deepest pain the assault on the rights and privileges of the Bar. He commented on the fusion of judicial and executive functions and declared that British principles of jurisprudence had not only been misapplied but abused, travestied and prostituted in Magistrate's courts.

The Magistracy was nauseatingly servile and characterised by a complete lack of independence.

The magistrates, themselves, he said, could not be blamed. They had told him that they were virtually subordinate to the police and were against their better

judgment provoked to convict persons whom they would otherwise have acquitted.

If in addition to this, the executive attempted to inaugurate a reign of terror against the Bar, persecute and coerce lawyers, they would be installing in the country a system which could not be distinguished from injustice or oppression.

The Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, put in a very poor defence.

He referred to the distribution of responsibility between Provincial Governments and the Central Government under the Defence of India Rules and declared that responsibility for any legislation did not necessarily confer on the Central Government executive authority required for carrying out that legislation.

The Home Member explained that in the administration of the Defence of India Rules, detailed control by the Central Government would not be possible.

The Secretariat would have to be enlarged at least ten times before it could undertake the job.

Even then, what would be the Muslim League's attitude for instance, if the Central Government attempted to interfere with the League Ministries in Sind or Bengal in discharging their functions?

Proceeding to refer to the two cases mentioned in the motion, the Home Member said that in the case of Mr. Pardiwala, there was no interference by the Punjab Government with his professional activities.

The Home Member's information was that he was arrested after his engagement, which was to supply to a Barrister certain documents bearing on a *habeas corpus* petition, was completed. (Voices : Why was he arrested in the High Court, why was he arrested at all?).

The Home Member said, the Provincial Government had good reason to believe he was connected in a way which he could not state openly before the House with underground Congress organisation, and that he came to the Punjab in pursuance of underground activities. He was released a few days later when he informed the Government that he did not wish to remain in the province.

In Pandit Baij Nath's case also the arrest had nothing to do with his professional activities.

The U. P. Government arrested him because he was suspected of financing a dangerous gang connected with several acts of sabotage involving the use of explosives at Agra about a year ago and he was also suspected of acting as a link between security prisoners in jails and subversive workers outside.

The remarks of the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court quoted by previous speakers, said the Home Member, were made at an earlier stage of the case against Mr. Baij Nath when the grounds of the case were not before the High Court. The case was now subjudice.

As regards the remark that the High Court had been paralysed by the Defence of India Rules, the Home Member said, actually the provision to which they should be alluding to was not the Defence of India Rules but part and parcel of the Defence of India Act as passed by this House. (A voice : Are you challenging that observation?).

The Home Member : Yes. This is only a statement quoted in the adjournment motion that they were paralysed by the Defence of India Rules. I am pointing out to the House there is nothing in the Rules by which they are paralysed or gagged in any way whatsoever.

The Home Member deplored Mr. Anthony's aspersions on the Magistracy calling it a servile Magistracy.

Voice : Perfectly right.

The Home Member protested against these aspersions on an honourable body of Government servants. They were Indians.

(Voices : Appointed by Government).

They were drawn from a respectable class of the population (More interruptions).

On behalf of the Muslim League Party, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan gave a suitable reply to his pretended apprehension "What would be the Muslim League attitude if the Central Government attempted to interfere with the League Ministries in Sind or Bengal in discharging their functions ?" The Nawabzada said :

The responsibility for the administration of law and order in a Province remained the Governor's who was a creature of the Government of India (hear, hear).

It was true that this Assembly had passed the Defence of India Act under which the Government of India framed rules. If the Government of India felt that the provinces were incapable of applying that Act fairly and judiciously then it was their duty to withdraw the Act. To say that the Central Government could not interfere with the Provincial Government even if the grossest injustice was committed under these Rules was like handing over a live cracker to a child and then expecting that child to be safe from disaster.

The Central Government's policy towards the Muslim League is only too well-known by this time. It is patronising only when it suits the Government.

Mr. K. C. Neogy pointed out that the Home Member had succeeded in securing futile information about the two lawyers mentioned in the motion and had also used that information to prejudice the cases of the two gentlemen who had no opportunity of defending themselves. He wanted a guarantee that Pandit Baijnath would be placed on trial on the charges which the Home Member had read out in the House. It would otherwise be a most cowardly action on the Home Member's part to make these charges.

The Home Member's allegations against Pandit Baijnath, to say the least, are most unconvincing. If the Government had sufficient evidence to suspect him of financing any underground movement in 1942, there might have been some justification in arresting him then, and not a year after the movement had died out. His second argument, i.e., he was suspected of acting as a link between security prisoners in jails and subversive workers outside, may also be dismissed as equally unconvincing. This allegation may be made against any and every defence lawyer in a political case. Such loose and vague allegations may be considered sufficient by the Government for putting anybody behind the prison-bars, only if they abandon all pretensions to justice.

While passing the Defence of India Act, the present Home Member had given an assurance on behalf of the Central Government that great caution could be taken in its application. In this debate he had not a word to say about it. The D. I. Rules have been applied with extreme severity on every sphere of human activity in this country and in several cases, even a mention of the restrictions imposed under these Rules have been made punishable. The constitution has been practically cast aside and the D. I. R. installed in its place, and what is going on in the Provinces may reasonably and rightly be characterised as a "reign of terror." When the news of the arrest of the two lawyers had reached England by the middle of December last, the *Manchester Guardian* took serious notice of it and suggested the appointment of a House of Commons Committee to watch over the activities of some Ministries including the India Office. The *Guardian* added : "We have always said, whatever grievances Indians may have against our rule, we have provided them a pure and impartial system of justice. It is necessary also that such system should not only in fact be just but it should be seen and generally acknowledged to be so." Whatever power the High Courts enjoyed to administer pure justice, has been practically taken away by the D. I. Rules to which Ordinances have been added. The Executive did not rest content even at this; Sir Trevor Harries, Chief Justice of the Lahore High Court had to censure the Punjab Government for refusing to allow petitions from detained persons to reach the Court.

Ban on Mrs. Naidu

The Government of India have imposed a gagging order on Mrs. Naidu. This order came up for discussion in the Central Legislative Assembly and Sir Reginald Maxwell gave his excuses for imposing the ban. His first excuse for the ban was that she issued an Independence Day appeal and that the Independence Pledge was seditious. Since 1930, for a continuous period of fourteen years, this pledge is read all over the country on every year on January 26. It has not been banned. By calling upon the people "to renew the pledge to achieve their own freedom." Mrs. Naidu did not incite them to commit any unlawful act.

Sir Reginald's second excuse was that Mrs. Naidu's address to a press conference at Delhi was considered objectionable by the Government. The main ideas in that address were that Gandhiji was never pro-Japanese and that neither

Gandhiji nor Congress ever encouraged any violent agitation. This declaration of Mrs. Naidu is of very great importance in view of the fact that it seeks to dispel the false impression created by the Tottenham Pamphlet published and broadcast by the Government. This pamphlet branded Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru as pro-Japanese and cleverly gave out an impression that the entire Congress was so. When hard pressed in the Central Legislature with reference to Mrs. Naidu's exposure of the falsity of the charge that Gandhiji was pro-Japanese, Sir Reginald tried to side-track the main question although he had to make the significant admission : "Government had never at any time charged the Congress with being pro-Japanese. Where there was an allusion to it in the pamphlet 'Congress Responsibility, for the Disturbances' it was quoted from Mr. Nehru himself." Gandhiji was directly traduced in that pamphlet which contained the following foul insinuation against him :

"Since Mr. Gandhi had no illusions as to the likelihood of effective non-violent resistance to the Japanese, we can only infer that in the admittedly possible event of Japanese aggression on India after the departure of the British, he was prepared to concede to their demands. Such an inference accords with what we have shown to be his frame of mind at the time."

When Mr. Ramratan Gupta had asked about Gandhiji's letter to Miss Slade on or about May 31, 1942, categorically stating that the people should in no case show to or expect any quarter from the Japanese and that they should resist Japanese invasion and aggression with all their might, the Home Member admitted having seen that letter, although here also he wanted to screen the truth behind a carefully coined sentence which contained no meaning. He said : "The letter contains no such words as quoted by the Hon. Member, nor anything in the same sense." He did not give out the contents of the letter to which he attached a great sanctity and declined to publish it saying that it was a private letter to Miss Slade. This reverence to the sanctity of a private correspondence did not prevent this very Home Member to publish a private letter purported to have been written by Jayprakash Narain and alleged to have been seized in the detention camp. On receipt of Gandhiji's views about the Japanese contained in his letter to Miss Slade, it was the Government's clear duty either to publish it or to withdraw the damning insinuations made against Gandhiji in the Tottenham Pamphlet. Government lacked the honesty to adopt any of these courses. And now, when Mrs. Naidu has cleared the allegations,

the Government has taken steps to stop publicity to that.

In giving his third excuse, Sir Reginald, according to *A.P.*, "cited the passage from Mrs. Naidu's statement at the press conference reaffirming determination to adhere to the fundamentals of the Congress position and said that showed in unmistakable terms that the Congress was not prepared to accept any compromise." This is a gross travesty of truth. The "fundamentals of the Congress position" has always meant the demand for the transfer of real political power. Mass movements were resorted to at times only to strengthen this fundamental position. Mrs. Naidu made it absolutely clear in her statement when she said that Gandhiji did not intend starting any movement, the idea being that failing negotiations some action might or would be taken at some future time and that the Working Committee had discussed nothing in the way of instructions or programme. Mrs. Naidu further added : "I think it is possible to find some way to make a breach in the wall if they (Government) would let the people meet and talk to Gandhiji and let him meet the Working Committee and find out for himself what they thought and what was happening in the country." Mrs. Naidu had thus provided ample ground for the Government to take their stand on truth and to seek rapprochement with the Congress and rectify past errors. Viscount Wavell's Government have miserably failed to seize this opportunity and have chosen to pursue the barren policy initiated by Lord Linlithgow. Mr. Joshi described the real position in a nutshell when he said : "Mrs. Naidu was acting as an angel of peace instead of creating disturbances in the country." The reason for the Government's desire to maintain the deadlock is that it suits them to do so.

Gross Breach of International Convention

Mrs. Renuka Ray's adjournment motion in the Central Legislative Assembly to censure the action of the Government in permitting women to work underground in mines in Jharia and its neighbourhood has been lost by 41 votes to 23. The European Group voted with the Government and brought about the defeat of the motion.

Mrs. Ray moving the adjournment reminded the House that the Government of India was one of the signatories to the Geneva Labour Convention prohibiting the employment of women underground in coal mines. The Convention did not contain any clause enabling any participant nation to suspend the Convention.

The Government of India was thus guilty of a gross breach of international convention solemnly entered into. Apart from this, even in England today, it had not been found necessary to permit women to work underground. She said that the shortage of labour in coalfields was due to low wages and bad living conditions and that the average wage in Jharia, even with the present dearness allowance, amounted to not more than Rs. 14 or 15. It ought to have been possible for the Government to find other means to remedy this shortage of labour.

On behalf of the European Group and the coal mining interests, Sir Henry Richardson said that

He sympathized with the motion but in the interests of the war effort and in order to increase the coal raisings, there was no alternative left to them except to permit women to go underground. He said that paying extra wages would not attract more labour, as their experience was that whenever the wage was increased the coal raisings decreased, as coal miners were generally satisfied with enough to live. He also mentioned that it did not pay the coalmine owners to raise more coal as there was a depletion of their assets while the extra profit earned would go to the Government in the form of EPT. But in spite of it, they had increased the raisings to the utmost. He had therefore no option but to oppose the motion.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Labour Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, said that the Government did not take the decision to allow women labour underground in a headlong or wanton manner. He emphasised the temporary nature of the decision and made it clear that the moment it was found that the provision was not necessary, he would have no hesitation in withdrawing.

The defence of the Government action, both by Dr. Ambedkar and Sir Henry Richardson, is, to say the least, far from satisfactory. Mr. N. M. Joshi had pointed out that not far from Jharia, in Jamshedpur, the average monthly wage of a worker was about rupees thirty and this disparity of wages was the main reason for shortage of labour in the coal industry. Sir Henry's statement that increment in mining wages led to decrease in raisings is absurd, unbelievable and ridiculous. He gave no facts in support of this sweeping statement. The sole reason for employment of women underground was that woman labour is cheap and easy to control. It is clear that by the employment of women underground, the European Coal Kings of Bengal want to snatch out a bigger slice from the E. P. T. by the careful handling of the wage bill to illiterate and helpless women.

The action of the Government merits severe

condemnation. Dr. Ambedkar's statement indicates that consent of H. M. G. has been obtained before announcing the breach of the International Convention. When this Convention was signed at Geneva, all delegates, specially those from Britain, were annoyed that Japan had not ratified it. It is not unreasonable to think that it is better rather not to ratify a Convention and go one's own way than to ratify it just for breaking it at convenience.

Women in Coal Mines

The question of the employment of women underground in the coal mines was raised in the House of Commons by the Labour Member, Mr. Sorensen.

Mr. Sorensen said it had been stated that employment of women in mines was necessary for the prosecution of the war. There would have been an outcry against a similar suggestion in this country. *It would have been regarded as a great retrogression to which Britain would not return even under the duress of war.* But in India the Geneva Labour Convention dealing with the employment of women had been suspended. It had to be proved whether this particular method of meeting an admitted deficiency in the supply of coal was the right one to adopt.

Before any women were recruited for mines everything should have been done to see that men who were working there were retained by making it worth their while, and by tapping the great reservoir of male labour in India. Until wages were substantially higher and conditions generally made more attractive, recruiting of women should not have been resorted to. This very retrograde step had been condemned by the Indian TUC in no uncertain terms. He complained that neither the British nor the Indian TUC had been consulted and he was not surprised that a lady in the Legislative Assembly had moved an adjournment of the House as a protest.

Mrs. Ray very appropriately pointed out in the debate on her motion that the only authoritative body which has the power to allow a convention to be suspended is the International Court of Justice at the Hague. No other country has infringed this convention except the Government of India. The admission made by Sir Henry Richardson, the Leader of the European Group, during that debate, deserves special mention. He admitted that it was not a paying proposition for coal-mine owners to produce coal beyond a certain amount. No doubt beyond a certain level of profit the coal-mine owners do not receive any advantage as the Excess Profits Tax comes into operation. Sir Yamin Khan of the Muslim League Party pointed out that this was tantamount to an admission that the rich coal-mine owners refused to make any sacrifice for the war. Is it to be understood then that the sacrifice must come from women being sent underground in the most injurious of

occupations ? That the Government is unable or unwilling to touch the vested interests of the coal-mine owners ? This will be a revelation to the compatriots of the mine-owners at home and an indication of the Government of India's method of stimulating the war effort.

Bengal Budget

A deficit of Rs. 11 crores and 20 lakhs this year and Rs. 8 crores and 46 lakhs next year has been revealed in the Bengal Budget for 1944-45. Total revenue for the two years is put at Rs. 21 crores 34 lakhs and Rs. 21 crores 97 lakhs respectively, and expenditure at Rs. 32 crores 54 lakhs and Rs. 30 crores 43 lakhs respectively. The total provision on account of the famine relief in the two years is Rs. 8 crores 25 lakhs. No separate provision is included in the estimates for the rehabilitation of people ruined as a result of the famine. The Finance Minister has assured that "This matter is engaging the attention of Government and it is certain that large sums will be required for this purpose," but little reliance can be placed on this assurance specially in view of the fact that when great efforts should have been made for combating epidemics following the famine, the expenditure for Public Health has been put at Rs. 75 lakhs against the normal of Rs. 36 lakhs.

The Finance Minister's speech has made one startling revelation. He said : "The cost of the Civil Supplies Department which in 1942-43 was under Rs. 4 lakhs would be Rs. 1 crore, and Rs. 1 crore 48 lakhs in 1943-44 and 1944-45 respectively. These figures did not include the losses on the Department's trading operations which had been placed at Rs. 3½ and Rs. 5 crores respectively." Through a controversy with the Punjab it was established that the Bengal Government made a substantial profit in their trading operations in wheat. The rice merchants during these periods have made fabulous wealth, they simply coined money. Why has the Civil Supply Department lost the huge sum of Rs. 8½ crores ? The Bengal Government must explain to the people of the Province the reasons for this loss. We refuse to believe that such large sums of money were lost merely through the stupidity of the persons entrusted to this work by Sir John Herbert. This action of the Civil Supply Department calls for the establishment of an Enquiry Committee to go into the whole question of this loss. Will Mr. Casey have courage enough to do so ? The immense increase in the cost of Civil Supply establishment is absolutely uncalled for and unwarranted. This possibly accounts for the

cost of the rationing establishment. Great reduction in it might have been effected by reducing the number of Government shops and increasing that of the Approved Retailers. Will some legislator in Bengal get hold of a copy of Bombay Budget, ascertain the cost of her Civil Supply Department, calculate its per capita incidence and compare it with Bengal in the course of a cut motion?

Growth of Penicillin in India

The Hindustan Standard reports :

Two young scientists in the Department of Biochemistry in the Institute of Science, Bangalore, have brought Penicillin, which is the wonder drug of modern medicine, to India. Mr. S. Srinivasa Rao and Mr. S. P. De who have been successful in growing Penicillin in large quantities and have evolved a method which is the quickest for growing maximum quantity in a quarter of the time taken elsewhere. In America and England 12 days are needed for the penicillin mould to grow fully and the Bangalore method has reduced this incubation period to three days. The medium employed is wheat bran and experiments on bran showed an activity of 30 Oxford units per gramme whereas penicillin grown in solution of either sugar or glucose yields only 3 to 4 units per c.c.

First penicillin culture for this work was obtained from abroad in 1943 and the Indian product when tried in a big military hospital has yielded very good results in healing infected wounds and war injuries.

This is only one instance of the adaptability of Indian scientists to modern conditions. Given proper facilities and encouragement, Indian scientists would have given a much better account of themselves.

The Jute Industry and Price Fixation

A Bengal Government Press Note states that the question of acreage to be sown with jute this year and its probable effect on prices was discussed with the Government of India representatives at New Delhi. The Jute Mill industry was strongly represented at this conference. So far as we can gather from the Press Note, the jute growers and the Jute Mill labour went unrepresented. The following decisions were reached :

(a) The Government of Bengal will issue orders for licensing of an acreage of eight annas of the basic acreage of 1940 and will advise and encourage agriculturists to plant fully up to this acreage.

(b) The Government of India will guarantee a minimum price of raw jute on the basis of Rs. 15 per mds. of Indian Jat Middles at Calcutta (other qualities or grades of raw jute to be in parity with this price).

(c) The Government of India will undertake to buy all crop offering, old and new, upcountry or in Calcutta in order to maintain prices at the above level in Calcutta and at parity levels upcountry.

(d) A maximum price of raw jute will be fixed on the basis of Rs. 17 for Indian Jat Middles in Calcutta (other qualities or grades of raw jute to be in parity with this price) with the right of the Government of

India to requisition on the basis of the maximum price. The Government of Bengal will assist in such requisitioning from middlemen if necessary.

(e) Both the minimum and the maximum prices will be fixed under statutory orders to be issued by the Government of India. The Government of India will also under statutory orders simultaneously fix the maximum prices for manufactured goods.

The prices so fixed will come into operation from a date to be notified shortly and will remain in force up to and including June 30, 1945.

The decisions may be viewed from the standpoint of the jute grower and the people of Bengal in the following manner : (1) That the minimum price of jute has been fixed at Rs. 15 in Calcutta, thus leaving the growers as usual at the mercy of the powerful middlemen who are not nationals of the Province; (2) That the interest of the jute mill industry has been amply protected by fixing the maximum price of jute in Calcutta at Rs. 17 which would have the most depressing effect on prices in the mofussil; (3) That the crop will be purchased by the Government which will enable the mills to carry a huge stock in addition to their own at public expense, the sole effect of which will be to depress the market further and will give the mills a very strong bargaining power so far as the grower in the mofussil is concerned who will have little means of enforcing the minimum price for his benefit; (4) That statutory orders, possibly under the D. I. R. will be invoked to place the poor, ignorant and illiterate grower at the mercy of the mill and the middlemen. Provision for sowing half the 1940 acreage, called the basic acreage, has been made to deal the final blow to the grower thus tempting him to grow more jute than is warranted by actual market conditions both in the present as well as in the future.

This decision formed the subject-matter of an adjournment motion in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The motion was defeated with the help of the European Group. The Opposition contended that by this decision, particularly at a time when the Province was experiencing food shortage, the Government had betrayed the cause of the agriculturist. Introducing the adjournment motion, Mr. S. N. Biswas said :

That the basic acreage of jute lands was 54 lakhs of which four lakhs was land on which nothing but jute could be grown. In the remaining 50 lakhs paddy could also be grown. He estimated that not more than 27 lakhs of bales would be required for war purposes in 1944-45. Of this, other provinces could produce about 15 lakhs of bales, thus leaving only 12 lakhs for Bengal. To produce 12 lakhs of bales or 60 lakhs mds. Bengal would require to cultivate jute in only four lakhs of acres. Therefore, if Bengal were asked to cultivate jute on land on which nothing but jute could be grown, she

could supply all requirements for war purposes. At a time when there was a great shortage of food Bengal should produce food crops on as much land as possible. The Ministry had "stabbed Bengal in the back" by giving an undertaking to advise and encourage the planting of jute in full 8 As. of the total acreage."

The Ministry had also done mischief by agreeing to the fixation of prices at Rs. 17 maximum and Rs. 15 minimum a md. at Calcutta. Jute growers who did not sell their jute in Calcutta would not get more than Rs. 9 per md.—in many cases even less.

The Commerce Minister of Bengal, Khwaja Sahabuddin, failed to refute any of the arguments put forward by the Opposition Members. His chief argument seemed to be that, "Mr. Biswas had quoted the 1940 basic acreage. Since then the jute acreage had been reduced and last year it was only 25½ lakhs. On the other hand, the acreage under paddy was 266 lakhs or more than ten times under jute." The Commerce Minister did not say why 4 lakh acres would not be sufficient to grow the jute *actually needed by the market*, and why they proposed to sow 25½ lakh acres again this year. His comparison with jute and rice acreage is nonsensical, it is common knowledge that acreage under rice must be increased substantially if intensive cultivation is not resorted to. He failed to give the most vital assurance to the Assembly which he owed. He did not say what machinery would be there to ensure that every bit of jute the cultivator would grow would be bought at the minimum price. He also did not mention what would be the minimum price for the grower in the mofussil.

In this connection one would do well to remember the observations of Mr. W. A. M. Walker, who declared that in fixing these prices "Government have been dangerously liberal." He did not hesitate to declare that "present prices are reasonable enough." While presiding over the annual meeting of the Indian Jute Mills Association, held on February 18, he said :

"I do not pretend to like statutory fixation of prices by Government but in the existing circumstances I think there was no other course open and I am hopeful that the arrangements (arrived at as the result of a Conference held in Delhi early in January) will be for our mutual benefit."

Judging from the manner in which the Government is throwing the cultivator and the small trader to the wolves in a well-planned way, and is handing over Indian trade and industry to the British vested interests trampling under foot Indian national rights, "Our mutual benefit" needs explanation. Government, both at the Centre and in Bengal, have been more than benevolent to the Jute Mill Industry. When attempts were made in Bengal to get a

statement of the cost of production of jute goods from the mills in order to calculate a just and fair price for the raw material, the I. J. M. A. refused to submit any such return. The Bengal Government pocketed this insult and never tried to compel them to do so. In 1934, the Government of India correctly estimated that the demand for jute goods could possibly be supplied by a quarter of the machinery then available and the highest demand ever reached so far could be satisfied by a third of the equipment. There is therefore three-fourths to two-thirds excess capacity in jute industry. Any student of economics would realise what this excess capacity with a monopoly organisation means. Just as excess stock depresses the price of the raw material, excess capacity is utilised to manipulate the price of the finished product in favour of the monopolist. Government are aware of these facts and with full knowledge of the consequences, they permit the Mills and British Managing Agents to continue in their own way. The interest of the present Government in doing so may better be imagined than described.

Condition of Hindus in Hyderabad

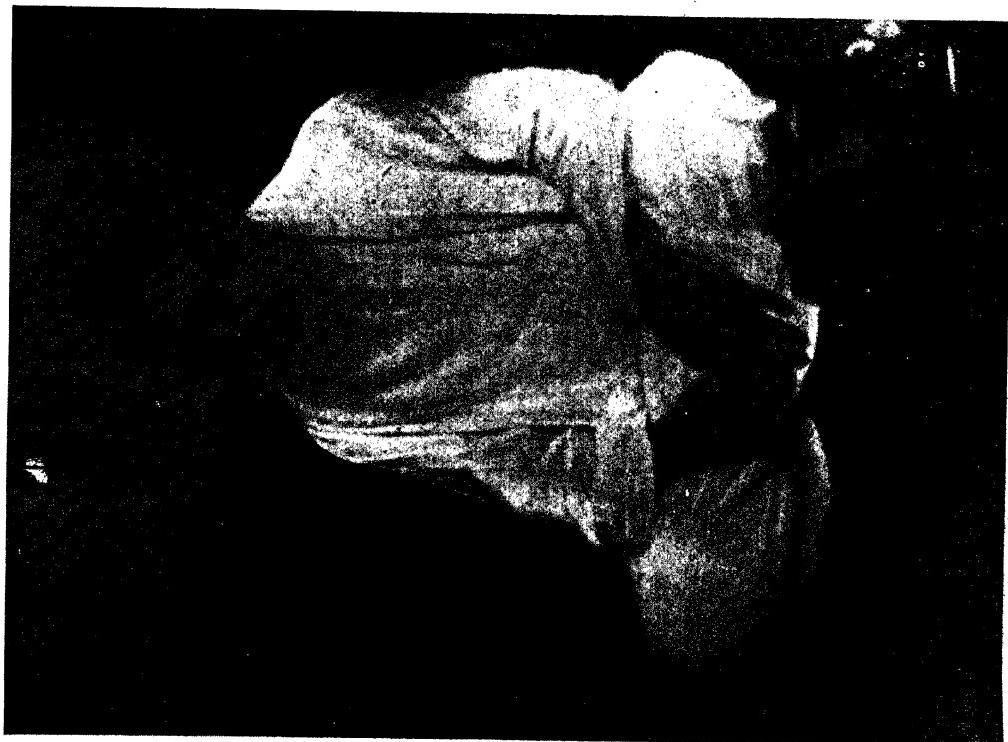
The Hindu Outlook, in the course of an article published on February 15, gives an account of the condition of Hindus in Hyderabad. A book, entitled "Places of Worship in Hyderabad," has been published by the State Publicity Department giving figures of temples, mosques, and the expenditure on them in order to prove that the Nizam Government is tolerant and liberal towards the Hindus. The following table will illustrate the real nature of tolerance and liberalism in the Nizam's Dominions :

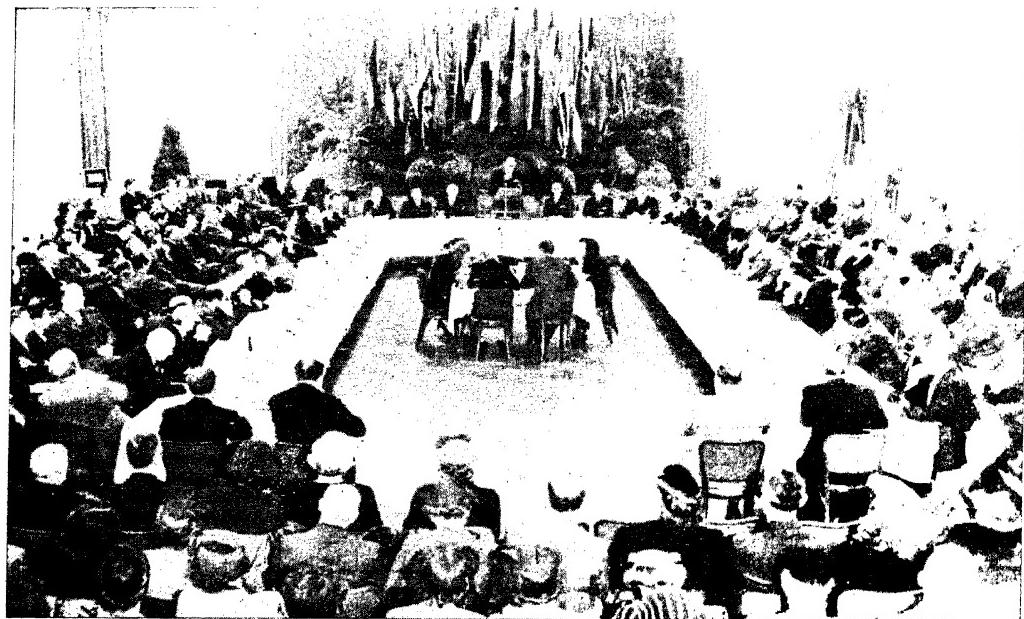
Religion	Population	Places of worship	Expenditure in rupees		Number of persons	Expenditure per place of worship	Whither tolerance ?
			per	per head			
Hindus	12,750,100	34,509	423,816	6	369	1,130	
Muslims	1,534,666	14,777	1,039,205	103	130	7,560	

Religious rights of the Minority Hindus is illustrated by the Law dated 19th Sheriwa 1308 Fasli which lays down that in places where the Muslim population is predominant, erection of temples and construction of maths and repairs thereof should not be allowed.

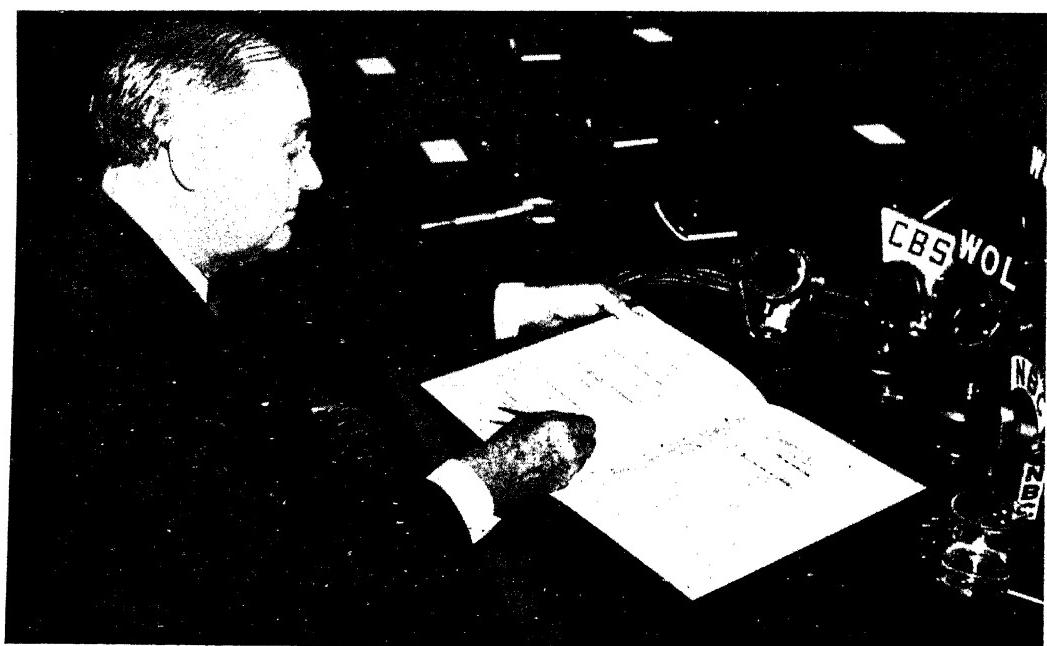
This would give a foretaste of how Pakistan would be like and the lot of the Hindu Minorities therein.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE





The Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration represented by the delegates of 44 Nations holds its final plenary meeting in Atlantic City on the U. S. East Coast.



President Roosevelt signs for the United States an agreement by which 33 United Nations and 11 Associated Governments pledged themselves at Washington to co-operate in the relief and rehabilitation of the victims of German and Japanese aggression

Courtesy: USOWI

MAHADJI SINDHIA'S END

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

INTRODUCTION

JUST a century and a half have passed away since Mahadji Sindhia died near Poona, on 12th February 1794, and the far-reaching plans of empire that he had been pursuing through life died with him. Since then his descendants, especially those reigning after the Sepoy Mutiny, have risen to eminence among our indigenous rulers by their capacity, strength of will, and power of choosing able instruments; and the industrial and military advancement of their dominions under the late Maharajah Sir Madhay Rao Sindhia, has been most striking and rich in promise. But their dream of a North Indian empire has vanished. The real founder of the Sindhia Raj was Mahadji Sindhia, popularly known as the Patil Bābā, and any fresh information about him will interest the Indian reader. We possess in two Persian manuscripts, not yet printed or translated, very minute details about a supposed witch-craft practised against him after he had crushed the Rohila miscreant Ghulam Qadir (1789) and his last illness and death (in 1794). These contemporary accounts also throw a curious light upon the popular superstitions and crude medical practice of those days and thus help us to form a picture of the then society. The first extract is from the *Ibratnamah* of Faqir Khair-ud-din Allahabadi, the munshi of Resident Anderson, and the second from news-letters despatched from Poona to Delhi and probably collected by Claud Martin (of Lucknow fame), which have now found a place in the British Museum (Add. 24,036).

I. BLACK MAGIC AGAINST SINDHIA (FROM KHAIR-UD-DIN, III, f 313 ETC.)

In the month of March 1789, a fever attacked Mahadji Sindhia. For the first twenty days he neglected to take any medicine; although Hakim Baqā Khan, his physician, pressed him, he disregarded his advice. At last the disease was prolonged and swelling of the head, both cheeks, neck and breast, appeared. Then treatment was tried, but no medicine had any effect, so that the swelling was aggravated into putrefaction and worms. Every medicine that was tried, merely increased the swelling and pus,—

till at last he became unable to sit down or rise up, and gave up attending the Audience Hall. A report spread throughout his dominions that he was dead, and revolts broke out.

On 8th June, he called Rana Khan to his side, and asked him to sit in the *darbar* and conduct the administration on his behalf, so that his kingdom might not break up. Rana Khan urged him not to give way to despair, for then his government would be upset at once. That day Mahadji called his doctors together and censured them, saying that if they could not cure him, he would employ a European doctor.* They replied that they had tried every medicine known to them but had failed...

On 20th June, the swelling and pain increased to such an extent that the skin of his face on the left side, from the nose to the ear fell off, and worms came out of it...emitting an awful stench. Nearly two seers of putrid flesh fell down, of itself, from his neck !

On 30th June, the Maharajah proposed to call a European doctor; his courtiers disapproved of it...

Then Hakim Baqā Khan, Rana Khan and other courtiers discussed the case, and the suggestion that it was due to witchcraft was mooted. Mahadji himself disbelieved the theory, but at last ordered an investigation to be made. Busy search was made in all directions. At last [on 14th July], spies brought in reports about a woman in the city of Vrindavan, who was famed for the practice of witchcraft. They said that by living with her for some days and giving her money, they had heard her boasting that Mahadji Sindhia's illness was her own work, done at the solicitation of Gosain Himmat Bahadur.

On 15th July, she was by some trick brought to the Maharajah's presence; all the sardars were summoned by Mahadji and he told them about his own kind treatment of Himmat Bahadur and the latter's ill return. Rana Khan solemnly admonished the woman to speak the

* In fact, the British Resident with him, Wm. Palmer, had offered him the services of the Residency Physician, Mr. Cochrane, but had met with a refusal. [P.R.C. 251]. The disease was "painful eruptions,"—the summer boils of Mathura ?

truth, promising her high rewards. She replied :—"I shall speak the truth, whether it pleases you or not. Gulzar Singh the eunuch and Sarup Giri Gosain (*chela?*) repeatedly went to me, promised me several thousand rupees, and pressed me till I agreed to this. I had at first objected; but they told me that Mahadji was bent upon rooting out all the Rajahs of Hind and on killing their own master. I had no help but to agree. They used to come to me daily and give me materials for sorcery as well as wine &c."

Mahadji then sent Jivaji Bakhshi, the friend of Himmat Bahadur, and Gul Muhammad the mace-bearer to Himmat's camp and summoned Sarup Giri and Gulzar Singh before him. The witch identified them as the persons who used to visit her. They denied the charge in the presence of Himmat Bahadur.

Sindhia ordered Syāmaji Risaladar of his guard cavalry to surround the tent of Himmat Bahadur and prevent him from slipping away. Jivaji Dada appealed to Rana Khan, who came and told Sindhia that it was unwise to believe in such a woman's tale, lest the sardars of Hindustan should rise in revolt and the Deccanis would be powerless to subdue them. Mahadji replied by producing the report of his news-writers (spies) in Himmat Bahadur's camp, confirming the latter's treasonable instigation of the Hindustani chiefs against Sindhia and his summoning of troops from Firuzabad and Sadabad. Rana Khan rejoined that the words of spies were not worth believing as they spoke what they thought would agree with the circumstances and temper of their employer! He strongly dissuaded Mahadji from striking at H. Bahadur and advised him to press the witch to counteract her magic, saying "If her allegation be true, it will be proved by any alleviation of your illness. You can then punish H. Bahadur."

The witch agreed on condition of her life being granted. She called for some wine and bacon; placing the bacon on the lid of an earthen pot and sprinkling the wine on it, she kindled a fire below it and began to mutter spells. In proportion as juice came out of the meat, Sindhia's pain began to decrease. Then Rana Khan and Jivaji and other friends of H. Bahadur could urge nothing in his favour!

Mahadji issued this proclamation to Himmat Bahadur's followers: "Those of you who value your life and property, should this day leave his camp and go over to some other camp, or else you would share his ruin." His officers stopped the supply of grain and fodder

to officers on the route to plunder and drive back Himmat's soldiers coming to him from Firuzabad and Sadabad.

On 21st July, Sindhia ordered Jiva Bakhshi to go out with his troops and bring Himmat Bahadur to his presence. [But H. B. slipped away on the way, fled to Ali Bahadur's camp, and took sanctuary under the Peshwa's flag, the *zari pataka*. Mahadji demanded the surrender of the fugitive, but Ali Bahadur and the Maratha sardars in his army strongly refused, and a civil war between the two agents of the Peshwa seemed imminent. After three days of tension and standing to arms on both sides, Sindhia's anger was mollified by Rana Khan, who induced him to submit the whole case to the Peshwa's judgment].

II

LAST ILLNESS OF MAHADJI SINDHIA

(FROM PERSIAN *akhbarats*)

[Introduction.—From the middle of 1792 to his own death in February 1794, Mahadji Sindhia was in residence near Poona, close to Wanowri. He used frequently to hunt deer in the jungles in the environs of the Peshwa's capital, and the exposure and mosquito bite very likely gave him the malignant fever of which he died].

February 1794. At this time Mahadji Sindhia suddenly fell so ill that he at once retired to the female apartments. He said that in the preceding night he had eaten *bajra* bread mashed in milk, with banana vegetable curry (*tarkāri*), and for this reason a little heaviness and pain in the stomach and fever had appeared. Therefore, Hakim Baqā Khan prescribed a laxative. Sindhia ordered Aba Chitnis to hold an urgent consultation with him and then go to the Court (*kachari*) to discuss affairs with every one. This was done. Up to noon, he had three or four motions in all. Thereafter he took a regulated meal. In the evening all the courtiers were sent away. He told Aba and others that he had now been restored to health, and so they should all go back to their tents and take rest. They carried out this order.

Next morning, on awaking he called for Hakim Baqā Khan and told him that the fever had not left him. The physician replied, "You should put yourself to a strict regimen for two or three days, and then all the illness will disappear." Abā asked Hakim Baqā Khan if he would repeat the medicine which he had given the previous day. The Hakim replied, "This is

a question of medical treatment. If you wish to remain under my direction and advice, I shall administer a laxative today also." On hearing this, they all objected. After a long discussion, Mahadji himself by the advice of the Hakimji took a laxative; but up to one and a half quarter of the day (11 A.M.) there was not even a single motion. After he had eaten food there were three motions...

Mahadji asked Hakim Baqā Khan if he would permit him to eat Kabuli grapes. The physician objected, "Grapes have the heating property, and you have today taken a laxative; besides, the fever has not yet left you." Sindhia replied, "Nothing else is to my taste. What else shall I eat?" The Hakim feeling himself helpless, allowed five grapes to be eaten.

When four *gharis* of the night were over, he had two more motions, and he felt better in comparison with before. He ate a little regulated diet and took rest.

Next morning (10th February), he awoke. Hakim Baqā Khan came in and felt his pulse. Just then Abā and Babu Mirza came and talked between themselves that the medicine of the Hakimji had given no relief to Mahadji's body; and that the disease was something different [from what Baqā Khan had diagnosed it], so they should place him under the treatment of their own physicians. Sidhāji, a son [or nephew] of Mahadji's father-in-law, had great skill in [Hindu] medicine, and medicines prescribed by him were given to Mahadji...

At night barley broth was prepared and Mahadji drank a little of it. Then at night there came such a severe attack of fever that he himself and the other people present there were all alarmed. So, Abā Chitnis and others came and by their common consent administered a medicine of Sidhāji...

From six *gharis* after nightfall, Mahadji remained utterly unconscious. On hearing of it, Abā, Krishnāji, Ramji Patil, Babu Mirza and others arrived there. After mutual consultation, at dawn [11th February] they gave away in charity to the Brahmans, Mahadji's robes and

armour, with one elephant a pair of gold bracelets (worth Rs. 500), and Rs. 5,000 in cash. After that one horse with Rs. 200 in cash, one buffalo with scarf and turban and Rs. 25 in cash,—were given away to the Brahmans in charity. There was a slight relief in the restlessness and unconsciousness of Mahadji compared with the night past.

After this Sidhāji and other Hindu physicians met together, held consultations and took the sanction of the chief officers of Mahadji to administer to him a pill of mercury, pounded in a gold foil,—which is called *mātrā* in the Hindi language. It was dissolved in the juice of ginger, *bahman*,* and garlic and Mahadji was made to drink it. They applied to his head a poultice of *bahman*.

Immediately after the application of this remedy, up to three quarters of the day, a condition of extreme insensibility and weakness supervened, so that all hearts lost the hope of his surviving.

For this reason, all that day no food was cooked in Sindhia's camp kitchen. When this news reached Nānā Fadnis, he came with Apa Balwant [Mehendele] and other sardars, and issued orders for food being cooked; then he went to Shrimant Peshwa, who at once rode out with all his sardars, came to this place, saw the sad condition of the patient, and returned to Poona at two *gharis* of the night.

When the time for giving up the ghost arrived, Mahadji asked twice or thrice "Has Daulat Rao come?" and passed away at six *gharis* from nightfall, on the 11th Rajab [=12 February 1794].

Very brief and somewhat different accounts of these two episodes are found in the Marathi language: (i) the black magic, in *Hist. Papers* (Gwalior ed.) No. 558, *Aiti Tippane*, iv. 9 and 13. (ii) last illness, in Jagannath Vishwanath's letter of 15th February 1794, printed in Sardesai, *Mara. Riyasat. Uttar* ii. p. 407.

* *Bahman*, the root of a plant resembling a large radish; it is crooked, red and white, and is used medicinally. [Richardson's Diction].

ERRATUM

Correction in *The Battle of Lakhri* (*The Modern Review* for February, 1944).—Bapu Holkar was the nephew and not the son of Tukoji.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

An Impression of the Patriot-Publicist

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

THE sun shone from an azure sky. As it sped towards the meridian the tufts of morning mist floating aimlessly about overhead dissolved. Soon the atmosphere warmed up. To the almost irresistible appeal of the brilliantly lit out-of-doors was added joyous voices and the crash of cannon and pistol shots.

"You cannot stay indoors," they said in unison. "Come out and be glad."

It was the Fourth of July, 1907 of the Christian era. On that day, in 1776, the United States of America had emerged into being.

Every one round about me in Chicago, my home at that time, was full of patriotic zeal. Adults, adolescents and little children gave vent to their national enthusiasm in every conceivable form of noise. Much of it was extremely shrill. Only members of a youthful nation, brimful of energy, could thus express their patriotic fervour.

I had work to do and must needs stay indoors. Home then was a small room on the first (or, in American parlance, second) floor of a modest house situate in Hamilton Avenue, on the west side of the second largest city in North America. In it I worked and received visitors during the day and slept at night. Sometimes I also had (cold) lunches there.

News had been brought to me of a review that had recently been started in Allahabad. It is, at this day so far removed from July, 1907, not possible for me to say precisely by whom this information had come to me. So far as I can recollect, however, it was Roti, as we called Rathindranath, Poet Tagore's son and heir. He, a little younger than myself, was studying agriculture at the Illinois University and used to come occasionally from Urbana to Chicago. His father—as yet hardly known outside Bengal—was the editor's friend and a frequent contributor to another publication of his. If it was not he, I cannot now figure out who else could have been the informant.

I liked the name—*The Modern Review*.—Then in my twenties, I burned with enthusiasm to sweep out the old to make room for the new. "Good Old Times—Not For Me," I had written,

a week or two before, for one of the American magazines.

With only the name to image to me the publication, I hardened my heart against the excitement outside and set to work on an article. It was to be a dissertation on education—the system as I had found it in the stimulating New World compared with that existing in India, not yet stirred out of the Dark Ages.

With the fire of early manhood activating the pen, writing got done with magic facility. That facility, alas, cannot be recaptured today. Experience has, for nearly four decades, been pouring cold water upon the flame of youthful self-confidence. The article, finished by bedtime, was posted the next day to Allahabad.

Just this month, 36 years ago, the postman—a mulatto (of mixed white and negro parentage) handed me a packet that contained the October, 1907, issue of *The Modern Review*. It was the IV number of Vol. 2. My contribution—"Education in India and America, a Contrast and Comparison"—occupied the position of honour. As if that success were not exhilarating enough in itself, there was a letter from the editor—Ramananda Chatterjee, M.A. Written in a fine, even hand, it cordially invited me to make further contributions to the Review.

My name, I was informed, had been placed upon the complimentary list. I was to have all the nine numbers preceding the one containing my article. They were, in fact, delivered to me by the same post.

The publication was too young, the Editor wrote me, almost apologetically, adequately to remunerate a writer sojourning in a rich country like the United States. Rs.....per page would, however, be sent to me as an honorarium.

At the sight of that figure my heart sank. I had already made considerable headway in journalism in the United States and Canada and my articles were being sought after in Europe. Only a few days earlier an American editor had promised to pay me for my articles at the rate of five cents (say two and a half annas) a word.

The contents of *The Modern Review*, however, greatly attracted me, as its name had already done. Aside from the articles there

were notes from the editor's pen—virile notes—that endeared him to me. In the nature of comments on current events, they showed that love for the Motherland propelled his pen. His interests were catholic. His sympathies were broad. The spontaneity of thought was refreshing.

Irresistible appeal lay in the style, as disclosed by these ten issues of the Review. The sentences were short. The words were simple—almost austere. The meaning was crystal clear. The comment was fearless. Sometimes it was blunt and even caustic: but never unrestrained, much less abusive.

I was happy indeed that this *Review* was to be added to the periodicals and newspapers I was already receiving from India. It would help me to keep my finger upon the Motherland's pulse.

In this manner originated my association with Ramananda Chatterjee—an association that was to last so long as he himself functioned upon this terrestrial sphere. As the years sped by the relationship grew warmer. Long before his end came on this September 30th, we were on fraternal rather than merely friendly terms.

II

Only when I visited the land of my birth in 1910 did I form an adequate idea of the conditions in which Ramananda Babu's journalistic enterprises had been launched; and of the difficulties in which they were conducted. Nurtured upon literature at the strong breast of the Calcutta University that had but recently crossed over from maidenhood into the woman's world, he took to writing with ever-mounting passion.

Social causes moved his pen. With the slender salary of a professor he contrived to start an organ for the amelioration of the sad state in which nearly every one round about him had his being. Fellow-feeling—pity he, in common with me, abhorred giving any one—for the sightless persons who must perchance sit, walk and sleep in ceaseless darkness, tugged at his heart. He adapted for the use of the Bengalis the system of finger reading invented in 1829, by Monsieur Louis Braille, a Frenchman.

Shortly after shifting to Allahabad as the Principal of the Kayastha Pathsala, he began editing a magazine with a scope wide enough to stretch across and around life. The *Prabasi*, he called it. Many articles of mine Bengalized, were to appear in it in years when this bairn of Ramananda's brain, lusty from birth, had not yet quite attained adolescence. Less than a de-

cade later he brought into existence *The Modern Review* that was to prove the means of bringing him so close to me.

In June, 1910, my wife and I were honoured guests under the hospitable roof of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru—who, for the sake of our people, migrated more than once, in his latter years, from his regally appointed mansion to a prison pen. From one acquaintance or another I learnt, during that visit, of Ramananda's long sojourn within sound of the sacred *sangam* (confluence) of the Ganges and the Jumna; and built up, in my mind, a picture of his life and work, his trials and tribulations and his achievements.

It became clear to me, for instance, that his sense of personal dignity would not permit him to be a mere cog in the Kayastha Pathsala machinery. So long as he was its Principal, the internal management must not be subject to manipulation by members of the managing committee. Upon that point he was adamant.

Nor would he supinely submit to the rules framed by officials for regulating the working of institutions partly fed from the public financial trough. His temperament would not allow him to be prodded by agents of the Education Department supercharged with a sense of self-importance. He could not and would not keep down criticism of a system that he found soulless and soul-destroying.

Pins must have pricked him from one side or another almost from the moment he, in his thirtieth year, first occupied the Principal's chair at that institution. Within him were, fortunately, resources of the spirit that enabled him to ignore them.

This indifference, in itself, must have angered some of the elements not too well disposed towards him. The hour of clash was bound to strike, sooner or later. It struck. He struck, too. No longer would he stay there. He sent in his resignation and departed, to the glee of the would-be despots and the sorrow of the students who had found in him the *guru* of their hearts.

Maintenance of self-respect cost him dear. He had sealed up the only avenue of income he had. I doubt if there were a hundred rupees in cash in the house at the time, or much of a credit balance in the bank. Five children and a wife looked to him for sustenance. Bills turned in by the printers of the *Prabasi* had to be met.

Mark, however, the leonine heart of the man! In what, to others, would have been an unendurable predicament, he determined to go ahead with the scheme he had already formed for launching *The Modern Review*.

To him being out of a job meant not the blank realm of despair but that of intense activity of the mind. Here was, he felt, God-given, unfettered opportunity to carry out that plan.

The manner in which he conducted the monthly in English made him the despair of some of his well-wishers. The Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in whom the spirit had not yet been touched by the autumnal frost that reddens the *chenar* leaf in the Kashmir valley and touches the human blood (provided it is blood and not water) everywhere with fire. Knowing me since the beginning of the century, he confided in me that Ramananda Babu flew in the face of Fate. Not recognizing the heat that the times were generating, particularly in the temper of the officials, he went on criticising—*criticising*—day in, day out—that Ramananda would not listen to the dictates of prudence and tone down his criticism of men who, in the editor's view, were comporting themselves prejudicially to our interests—hurting our national dignity.

No one, therefore, wondered that he, already a *persona non grata* with the educational authorities, was told to speed away from the *sangam*. Bengalis were not needed to agitate the political stream in the province—a stream as yet placid.

From one who was something of a firebrand I heard, years later, an account of an interview that Ramananda Babu had with one of the leaders at this juncture. The great man was asked as to what he would do if he himself had received the order to go. My narrator had the gift of mimicry and I enjoyed the humming and hawing that he reproduced.

Well may the leader have hesitated, however. Lajpat Rai, whom I knew from my college days, had been railroaded from the Punjab to the banks of the Hughli and thence shipped off to Burma without charge or trial. The judicial processes were being set aside whenever and wherever the executive so willed. A regulation fabricated early in the century, when the Indian Empire was on the anvil, was dragged out of the government's junk shop and vigorously used.

III

In Calcutta Ramananda could rub his mind against the greatest minds of his day. Not far from the house he tenanted, lived and worked Professor (now Sir) Profulla Chandra Ray and Professor (later Sir) Jagadis Chandra Bose. Off and on Rabindranath Tagore visited the metropolis and lived in his ancestral town house.

It must have been not long after settling down to journalistic work in Calcutta that the Poet said to him: "You are a school-master. You might look through these and do what you like with them."

"These" Ramananda told me some years later were poems of Rabindranath's composition that he had himself Englished. Nothing much, he said, needed to be done. He encouraged the Poet to go on putting his Bengali works into English. These appeared in 1910 or 1911 in *The Gitanjali*.

Ever attracted by the Poet's personality and eager to spend, in quiet, country surroundings, as much time as he could spare from his responsibilities in Calcutta, Ramananda acquired a piece of land in Santiniketan. It was only a short distance from the mud house in which Rabindranath dwelt, surrounded by tillers of the soil and artificers—surrounded as a shining light is by a penumbra of Cimmerian gloom.

In those days, Ramananda told me, there were no buildings between his little hut and the Poet's mud house. Across the fields he could see when the oil lamp was blown out and the Poet retired for the night.

Early in the morning the two friends used to meet. As the spirit moved them they would hold converse for minutes or hours on end.

"Those were precious moments," Ramananda remarked to me. "What stores of knowledge—what breadth of vision the Poet possessed!"

It needs to be added, however, that Ramananda played no small part in his life. Long before William Butler Yeats met Rabindranath at William Rothenstein's house in London and the foundations were laid for the introduction of the "Song Offerings" to the British public, the gifted editor had been printing in his Review translations of Tagore's writings. Many a person unfamiliar with Bengal's tongue got his first glimpse of Rabindranath's beautiful soul through these renderings.

Later on Ramananda got together tributes to Rabindranath Tagore from celebrated persons all over the world. With a feelingly written introduction, he published them in "The Golden Book of Tagore." This service, noteworthy as it was, was, in reality, only the last pier of the bridge the great editor had for years been building for the Poet to march over from Bengal to the world.

IV

During the occasional visits that Rabindranath began to pay to Britain after I settled

there, practically from 1910 to 1925, we often talked of Ramananda. Just before the outbreak of hostilities in 1914, or possibly a little later, Kedarnath Chatterjee, my colleague's eldest son, arrived in London to pursue his scientific studies at the University there. While still a student, or possibly shortly after obtaining his M.Sc. degree in chemistry, he became a unit of the scores of chemists who were set to work in Manchester to evolve the means of manufacturing chemical dyes, for which, still the beginning of that titanic struggle, the British had almost wholly depended upon Germany. Throughout his stay he had the freedom of our house. And we always talked pleasantly and intimately about his family.

I recall full well the note of surprise—pleasant surprise—in Kedar's voice when entering my study in our Herne Hill home for the first time, he remarked concerning a picture that hung against the wall almost on a level with my head as I sat at the desk dictating to one of my secretaries—a Welsh woman.

"That picture, Mr. Singh, seems to have been taken from *The Modern Review*," he said.

"Appropriately. Do you not think that Sri Valmiki should look down benignly upon my labours?" I queried in reply.

"But I do not recollect having seen any other writer do this," he continued, with biting sarcasm.

"So much the worse for the writers," I observed. "It was good of your father to give us this charming study of our great sage-litterateur. I like the design, the colouring and, most of all, the feeling that the artist has imparted to the lineaments; and the posture, particularly of the shoulders.

"Had Ramananda Babu done no more than to encourage the men and women who, under the distinguished leadership of Abanindranath Tagore, had liberated themselves from degenerate imitation of Occidental technique, he would have earned our eternal gratitude. By making the finest specimens of their paintings available through his magazines and also through albums, he is providing the means of education in Indian aesthetics.

"Knowing, as I do, something of the technique of printing and blockmaking, I greatly admire the plates that have been produced in India and by Indians. I admire them so much, indeed, that many of the pictures on the walls of this house have been taken from *The Modern Review* and framed. Come. I will show them to you."

I remember two of these prints that my wife and I particularly admired. They were entitled "Siddhas of the Upper Air" and "An Indian Angelus." (So I, at least, called it—I do not recollect what title the editor had given it).

The two were diametrically opposite in technique and colouring, the first-named delicately tinted, the second a study in warm, sunset-red. Both had great appeal for us.

This talk with Kedarnath carried my mind back to a conversation I had had with E. B. Havell and his wife when, a few years before, they had been calling at our house in Belsize Park, Hampstead, near which they themselves lived. He, himself an artist of no mean ability, had, while at the head of the Government School of Art in Madras and later in Calcutta, realized the great harm the mimicry of Western modes was doing to Indian artists. They were not assimilating anything that would join on with their racial heritage. The daubs they were turning out were, in consequence, soulless. With each stroke of the brush they were moving farther and farther away from the Indian tradition. Abanindranath Tagore, who, for a time, sat at Havell's feet, was keen upon ushering in a new movement that to us is known as the Bengal School of Art.

My English friend and his Danish wife, herself a sculptress—a pupil of the famous Rodin—said that they eagerly looked for the delivery through the post of *The Modern Review* month by month. Upon opening the packet, the first thing they examined was the frontispiece in colours that almost always gave them the greatest possible joy. Mr. Chatterjee, they emphasized, was doing a grand work in making it possible for the general public to see the beautiful drawings by Indian artists.

I frequently heard from Ramananda in those days and contributed to his magazine as often as I could. The letters that came from Calcutta were largely devoted to matters directly or indirectly related to the nationalist activities in the Motherland. They contained personal references—"family news," was his phrase.

I have not the space to make extracts from them here even if I could get at them—which I cannot—our house is in the throes of rebirth and my papers are scattered over both hemispheres. They showed me even more clearly than did his notes month by month in *The Modern Review* that in his heart burned the blue flame of love for the land of our birth. In

the light shed by that flame he plied his pen and ordered his life.

V

In 1922, during a sojourn in India, I realized with something like its full force the tragedy that had happened to my friend of which he, ever chary of harrowing his friends' feelings, had given meagre details. The little lady who, since the tying of the nuptial knot, had been at his side through weal and woe, ever helping him so far as lay in her power, had become a physical wreck. Her youngest son, Prasad, had died in 1919, upon the threshold of manhood. A fine, strapping boy was he, as distinguished at football and other sports as he was at his studies.

The pang that throbbed through my heart was relieved by the sight of the kindly ministration by the daughters. I must say that when, some years later, in the course of another visit to India, I beheld Shanta Devi, now Mrs. Kalidas Nag, I was shocked at the toll that nursing had levied upon her.

Proud was Ramananda of his daughters. Well might he be. Their literary and artistic productions, of which he, from time to time, sent me copies, displayed great merit.

I remember on one occasion he told me, or wrote to me, "My daughter.....says that Father is fond of girls. So, in the second generation too he has only girls." (I quote from memory).

From what little I saw of the granddaughters in the course of my present sojourn in India, he had every reason to be delighted with the promise they gave. I expect much from at least one of his youngest son's (Asoke's) daughters.

VI

I had, from time to time, been urging Ramananda to set sail from Calcutta across the seven seas to behold, with his own eyes, something of the world and to hear, with his own ears, the various peoples talking on any and every subject in their respective native surroundings. He had a mind to do so : but...

A man who edited two publications in two languages and published them regularly, month by month, in the trying political conditions of India, had, of course, many impediments in the way of his proceeding abroad for however short a period. Even though Kedar had grown to manhood and was taking as much as he could of the burden of management and also helping on the editorial side, it was difficult to forecast what might happen during the chief's absence.

Finally, when he resolved to get away from Calcutta, he unwittingly chose a time when I was not in Europe to receive him. The letter he wrote me shortly in advance of proceeding made almost a complete circuit of the globe, chasing me from London to Brussels, thence to Washington, D.C., Montreal, Canada, Manila in the Philippines and Hongkong. It did not catch up with me in any of these places and was at long last received by me in Colombo.

He had gone to Europe at the invitation of the League of Nations. He was to examine the work of that organization and to write about it.

He did make this examination and he did write. The hosannas that must have been expected from him did not, however, gush from his pen's throat. So searching was his criticism and so just his comment that I, on one occasion, asked him to put his articles together, edit them and give them to us in the form of a handy volume that we could keep on one of our library shelves for ready reference.

If my memory is not at fault, he did not keep the money sent him to cover his expenses : or possibly he asked the organization not to send the cheque. This action, if my recollection is correct, was fully in accord with his principles and practices.

His sense of right and wrong was most delicate. This I had observed on many an occasion.

VII

It was during my lengthy stay in Ceylon (1927-1930) that I learnt from him of a new journalistic enterprise upon which he had launched. It was a venture indeed. A publication called *The Vishal Bharat* was about to be, or some time before had actually been, started.

If this new monthly paid its way, he, I thought, would indeed be lucky. It would do so because the publishing house from which it was to appear month by month was well-known all over India—and was respected. Then, too, the Editor—Benarsi Das Chaturvedi, was as capable as he was well informed and had associated with him Brij Mohan Varma, whom I considered to be a very promising journalist.

Both for personal and public reasons I was glad that this essay was made in Hindi journalism. From the initial years of the century I have been supporting and, if possible, aiding, the movement, hoping that in this way we may have a *lingua Indica*. The Indian National Congress, through the initiative of the Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi had in later years adopted Hindi and Hindustani as a partner

of English that, up till then, had been the sole medium of communication.

I feel the force, even at this moment, of the surprise this venture caused me. Ramananda had been known to be a great protagonist of Bengali. He would not, it was reported to me, countenance the movement for the writing of that language in the *Nagari* script. A little further thought soon made me realize that his love for the Motherland was greater than his love for the mother-tongue. Here, indeed, was another instance showing the catholicity of his interests.

VIII

Ramananda's entrance into the realm of active politics also occasioned for me some surprise. He, like me, had confined his efforts to reviewing the activities of politicians, patting them on the back or lashing out at them, as he felt they deserved.

Neither the Indian States Subjects Conference nor the Hindu Mahasabha had managed, however, to pull him out of his study for more than a day or two at a time. He might preside at a session, give a reception committee the support of his name and influence and, what was even more valuable, suggestions. The service that he thereby rendered to these organizations was inestimable.

I am glad that he did not graduate from journalism into politics. Many a colleague of mine in the U. S. A., Canada, Britain, Ireland, the continent of Europe and several African and Asiatic countries, had accomplished that transition with varying degrees of success. They had been more or less lost to the literary world. India would have been infinitely poorer if the all-consuming fire of politics, like the scorching ray from Siva's third eye, had dried up the stream of ink that poured from the point of Ramananda's pen.

IX

Our talks together in Calcutta will ever remain fresh in my memory. "Do not join any party," my friend counselled me. "You have always been a non-party man. Remain such."

A year ago we had an opportunity of continuing this conversation, in Dehra Dun. He had come here to officiate as a minister at the wedding of a friend's—my as well as his—friend's daughter. No sooner had he entered the gate and looked at the house to which I had been making additions and alterations, than he said: "You are only two. Why such a large house?"

My wife, in her practical American way, replied: "Come. I will show you why."

"Ah! yes," he remarked, after he had walked to the annex we had built, "this is very cosy and comfortable and will be easy to take care of. But what about the other house? It is much larger than this?"

"Come and see that, too. It will explain itself," she said.

In her tow he went from room to room. "Cuttings—books—photographs, apparatus for making photographs everywhere—everywhere," he exclaimed. "No place to live—only to work."

"Yes, that is the case, exactly the case," she agreed.

Then he climbed the stairs to the first floor. "Large rooms, bright and airy," he noted, "more fitted for lecture halls and classes than...."

"Yes," my wife, without letting him complete the sentence, interjected. "Yes." "I am trying to persuade my husband to start a class in journalism and conduct it whenever we are in India."

It gave me great joy to see what joy this piece of information afforded him. His words were much too flattering for me to reproduce them in an article designed to give an idea of his personality and patriotism unsullied by any personal consideration to persons who did not share with me the good fortune of intimacy with him. I would have eschewed even this reference to it had I not wished to draw attention to his keen interest in the concluding year of his life upon this earth in the welfare of our journalists.

This interest had not been just then born. This any one who had the good fortune to sit at his feet would attest. How many young men went into his office raw and came out of it finished writers! I have to point out only a single instance—that of Amal Home. How valiantly he upheld in the Punjab the best traditions of our profession during the dangerous period of martial law in 1919. As the editor of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, he is making a real and abiding contribution to our progress.

X

Ramananda's intellectual preoccupations and even more so his temperament, could never permit him to become a "society man," flitting from one function to another, sipping tea here and dining there. He had, however, a genius for friendship. Never demonstrative, his staunchness was appreciated by those who came in contact with him with any degree of intimacy.

The readiness with which the right word leapt from his lips or flowed from his pen, sweetened intercourse with him.

In the early period of our acquaintance, as yet purely of an epistolatory character, I came upon a religio-social worker who paid a warm tribute to these qualities of Ramananda's. J. T. Sunderland by name, he was a Unitarian preacher. Keenly interested in Indian affairs he, I seem to remember, accompanied by his daughter, had gone to India and formed a strong attachment for the great Bengali editor-publicist.

The friend that he made then remained his for life. Sunderland contributed, from time to time, to the pages of *The Modern Review*.

One series of his articles in that monthly were put together and brought out in book form, by Ramananda Babu. To this volume ("India in Bondage," it was, I think, called) the authorities took exception. There were proceedings. All copies of the book that lay with the publisher were seized.

Ramananda was thereby put to a great financial loss. He had paid Dr. Sunderland the royalty in advance. He could not recoup it, nor the expense he had incurred upon paper, printing, and binding. The suit, though conducted by a friendly counsel (B. C. Chatterjee), who appreciated his patriotic work to the point of forgoing his fee, cost of pretty penny. Not one word of recrimination or repentance did he utter.

XI

In connexion with myself there was one encounter that tickled my sense of humour. It must have occurred in 1923. I was shortly to return to Britain. I needed some colour and monochrome blocks for a book that was then in the press in Hyderabad (Deccan). To supervise the processing, I went to Calcutta.

As soon as I arrived at Messrs. U. Ray's engraving establishment, the young son of the proprietor, who used to attend to me there, asked me to excuse him "while he wrote a note. Presently Ramananda Babu came a little breathlessly, into the office.

"The Great Eastern Hotel where you live" he said "is too far for me to go : but I wished to return your visit and therefore I made this arrangement to be notified when you came here, which is near my home."

He was at least judged from my own experience, an exceedingly good correspondent. While, in conformity with the habit formed in my early manhood in America, I would sit down at the typewriter and compose my letter to him directly upon the machine, or, if it was not to contain any matter of a strictly personal or confidential nature, dictate it to one of my secretaries, I do not recollect a single occasion when he did not write with his own hand.

His writing bore upon its face the tell-tale marks of the schoolmaster. I marvelled at his ability to retain legibility, for writing for the press, having to be often done under great pressure, causes deterioration of caligraphy.

Even when his eyes began to give him trouble, he kept up this practice. Many specialists did he consult. They all told him, as he confided in me, that he was suffering from cataract. It was curable : but it would not be ripe for operation for some time. Without a whimper he somehow managed to carry on his work despite this disability.

The eczema, to which he became subject during later years, must have been agonizing. I recall my own experience. Towards the end of the first world-war I ate something that poisoned my blood. A rash broke out all over my body. Ointments, lotions and baths alike were of little avail. For seven years the almost intolerable itching made me miserable, day and night. How my dear friend must have suffered in the end days of his life !

The lamp has now been snuffed out. The light it shed, however, refuses to be dimmed. In my view its brilliance, as reflected from the pages of his monthly, will increase with time and slanting across our path, carry us onward to his goal—*Freedom*.

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POLAND AS A POLITICAL UNIT

By CHANDIKAPRASAD BANERJI,
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A country to be a well-knit political unit must possess all or several of these factors—a recognisable nationality based on language or race or on both, common cultural and historical tradition among the inhabitants, common memory of the past, common religion, and most important, natural barriers of rivers, mountains or sea as dividing lines between that country and its neighbours and common religion. All of these factors are not essential and countries might grow into a full-fledged modern state without possessing some of them. A nationality or nation, once it has achieved statehood, generally retains it throughout its future career. Poland offers one of the few exceptions to this rule. In fact, no country has had a more fitful and chequered history than Poland. It has passed through several Protean metamorphoses in its extent, size and political framework.

Early in January, 1944, the victorious Red Army crossed the pre-1939 Polish eastern frontier. That event once more drew public attention to that ill-fated country. The question arose whether the Russian would behave as champions of Polish independence and integrity or as liberators of their own soils. The Polish Government expected that the Soviets would enter Polish Ukraine and Polish White Russia on the express understanding of the Polish Government. But so far the Soviet Government have done nothing of the kind, have not even cared to resume diplomatic relations which were severed a few months ago. The Poles, with their flamboyant nationalism, will not cease creating trouble and this remains a potential source of friction between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-Saxon Powers.

The Poles are a branch of the Slavonic stock and are the kinsmen of Russians, Czechs and Yugoslavs, both racially and linguistically. Unlike their Russian neighbours, however, they adopted Catholic Christianity and were thus culturally the inheritors of Latin civilization, whereas the Russians as belonging to the Greek Church had affinities with Greco-Byzantine culture. The nucleus of the kingdom of Poland was that section of the great northern plain of Europe which lies between the Oder and Vistula.

In the 16th century there was a union of the crowns of Poland and Lithuania. The Polish constitution throughout the Middle Ages and down to the Partitions was a curious blending of republican and monarchical forms. The kingship was elective and altogether dependent on the reactionary aristocracy. The union with Lithuania induced Poland to take up a policy of an eastward expansion at the expense of Russia. For a time even Moscow came under Polish control. But this country, without any definite natural barriers underwent a rapid process of shrinkage since the latter part of the seventeenth century. The Swedes took her Baltic possessions, the Russians took Kiev and on the south the Turkish menace reappeared.

Poland's elective kingship and the perversity of her constitution, combined with her decadence made her a favourite sporting ground for the dynastic ambitions of Powers like France, Austria and the most sinister of them, imperial Russia. Candidates favoured by the Great Powers began to contest for the Polish throne, with the results that the elected kings were at best creatures of foreigners and indifferent to the true interests of the country. In course of these unscientific expansion in the latter part of the Middle Ages, Poland came to possess within her frontiers foreign elements like White Russians and Ukrainians, as well as a number of Germans. Another unfortunate trait about Poland was the cleavage between the nobility and peasantry. The Polish aristocracy was intensely patriotic and had its own ideas about freedom but their callousness to the welfare of the bulk of the population made the latter absolutely indifferent to the problem of Polish independence. As a result when the Partitions came in 1772, 1793 and finally in 1795, it was the Polish nobility which fought with backs to the wall against the might of Austria, Prussia and Russia.

The first partition of Poland proved a fortunate occurrence in many respects. Deprived of her unassimilable tracts she emerged as a more compact state. There was a hasty but no mean development of education, literature and art. The paralyzing constitution was swept out. But before the excellent process of

revival was completed the fury of the neighbours once more stunned Poland and then followed the second and third partitions.

From 1795 to 1815 there was no Poland in the framework of the European state system. The Enlightened Despots of the time had knocked her out of existence by their most unenlightened piece of political injustice. Polish patriotism continued to trouble the three partitioning powers and the Polish elements in their territories remained a permanent incubus to them. The Polish revolt under the leadership of Kosiusko greatly helped the success of the Revolutionary armies of France and henceforth the ties between the two countries became very close. It was in pursuance of the national sympathy for Poland that Napoleon created the autonomous Duchy of Warsaw, a skeleton of the glory that was Poland. But the nationalist aspirations of Poland were not satisfied by this and Napoleon's alliance with the Tsar acted as an obstacle. After the final overthrow of Napoleon, Poland was again partitioned, this time Russia obtaining the bulk of the Polish territories including the capital Warsaw. Tsar Alexander I, however, was at that time passing through a Liberal phase. The Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw was made into a kingdom of Poland over which the Russian autocrat was to reign as a constitutional monarch. The new arrangement was disliked both by the Russians and Poles, though for different reasons. The Russians to whom all liberty of expression and civic rights were denied, resented the conferment of these privileges on the hated Poles—a subject people. The Poles on the other hand wanted back the frontiers of 1772 and would have none of the Russian influence. The results were the futile revolts of 1830 and 1863 after which the little independence that the Poles enjoyed was taken away and upto 1918 a thorough process of Russification of Poland went on apace. The Russian language was imposed on the schools and universities, the Roman Catholic church as well as the Polish nobility were brutally persecuted, thousands of patriotic Poles were transferred to the furthest limits of Russia and an attempt was made to denationalise the Polish lower classes. This policy on the whole was a lamentable failure. For, in spite of an inspiring address to the Poles by the Tsar at the beginning of the war, most of them took sides with the Central Powers. Many, however, also joined the Russian army.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 gave the Poles the necessary opportunity to assert their independence. The Germans purchased their assistance by promising them independence from

Russia, but very soon they proved as tyrannical as Tsarist Russia. In the meanwhile bands of patriotic Poles had reached France and persuaded France and the U.S.A. to plead for their cause. The resuscitation of Poland formed one of the Fourteen Points of President Wilson, and France also threw her influence on the scale in favour of a revival of Poland. Poland was thus recreated in 1918, thanks mainly to Marshal Pilsudski, a typical war-lord. The Austrian and Prussian portions of Poland were mostly recovered, with Danzig as a free city to which the Poles had a ready access. But the eastern frontier was yet to be defined. The Curzon Line did not satisfy the exaggerated notions of Polish national prestige. A war with Bolshevik Russia began in 1920 and with the technical aid of France the Poles transformed the Russian offensive into a rout and finally annexed large tracts of White Russia and Ukraine at the expense of Russia. Next she suddenly seized Vilna from Lithuania.

The history of Poland from 1920 to 1939 is the history of a semi-Fascist anti-Communist republic, gradually transferring its loyalty from France to Germany as the big brother. The national animosity against Russia, accumulated through centuries of oppression, was intensified in the post-war period by ideological differences. After 1934 the Franco-Polish relations definitely cooled down and Poland entered into a ten-year pact with Hitler's Germany. The bogey of Bolshevism made her Fascist rulers absolutely subservient to the Nazis with whose co-operation she committed the petty robbery of Teschen from hard-pressed Czechoslovakia. When the Soviet Union offered alliance to Poland as a safeguard against Nazi aggression it was stupidly rejected. It was mainly due to the obduracy of Poland that the Anglo-Franco-Russian military plans were wrecked with disastrous effects on Poland. Hitler began a quarrel over Danzig in his characteristic fashion, entered into a pact with the Soviets and began the attack on Poland in September 1, 1939. The Poles fought on with their rather back-dated methods of warfare, such as employment of cavalry. The expected Anglo-French aid never came and her resistance finally broke down when the Red Army invaded Poland from the east. The whole gang of Smigly-Rydz and Beck fled away to Rumania. Poland was again partitioned this time between Russia and Germany. Warsaw fell to the German share, and White Russia and most of Galicia to the Russian. A fugitive government was formed in London. For the second time in history, Poland was obliterated from the map of Europe.

The German aggression on the Soviet Union in June, 1941, brought the unexpected prospects of liberation to the Poles. Diplomatic connection with the Soviet Union was re-established and a Polish army was created from among the Poles in Soviet territory in order to fight against the Germans. Poland as one of the United Nations became an ally of the U. S. S. R. Unfortunately mutual recriminations among the two governments soon started. The Soviet Government never ceased to express its determination to re-annex Polish White Russia and Polish Ukraine which really belong to Russia on ethnological grounds. Towards the latter part of 1943, when the Red Army had definitely begun the supreme task of expelling the Nazi invaders from its native soil, the Russo-Polish diplomatic relations were suddenly severed.

Poland as an independent national state with an access to the sea is an essential element of the European State system. In any future readjustment of Eastern Europe she must have a place. But as a true freedom-loving people the Poles should give up the medieval ambition of ruling over foreigners. The White-Russians and the Ukrainians are much more akin to the

Russians and it is just reasonable that they should be united with the latter. Again, the differences between the upper and lower classes in the Polish society have to be submerged in order that a true democratic state might be brought into existence. The friendly hand of the Soviet Union must be grasped and the result will be a better future for the people of Central and Eastern Europe. In this connection it should be mentioned that the Polish patriots in Russia have denounced the exiled Polish Government in London as reactionary and have set forth a five-fold programme for the new Poland that is to be created. It is to be a really democratic state, in which the lands will be divided among the peasants and the class distinctions wiped out. New Poland will extend further westwards and will give up its claim to parts of White Russia and Ukraine which justly belong to the Soviet Union. An alliance with the Soviet Union, after the manner of the Czech-Soviet alliance, is to be concluded. A plan of making Poland a member of the Central and Eastern European Federation—a scheme elaborated by Dr. Benes—has also been envisaged.

BENGAL'S FOOD FRONT

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE bumper 'aman' crop of 1944 has not brought any appreciable relief to the starving people of Bengal. We were told that there would be enough for all and for that reason one should not lose heart. It was a cheering message and the people would be most unwilling to give up this hope unless stern facts force them to do so.

What is the actual position with regard to the demand on and supply of rice within the province of Bengal? The 'aman' crop is said to have yielded 8,333,000 tons. With regard to the 'aus' crop nothing is certain. Moreover, in estimating the yield there is serious bungling. On August 13, 1943, Mr. Wood, the Secretary, Food Department of the Government of India, said in the Council of State that

"the aus crop, if shared at one lb. per head per day, will provide fully for the rice requirement of the whole people of Bengal for upwards of 90 days."

This estimate gives us a total crop of 2·4 million tons. On October 8, Sir Thomas Rutherford, the then acting Governor of Bengal,

in a broadcast speech said it was 1·8 million tons. The Department of Agriculture, Bengal, on January 6, 1944, places it at 3 million tons. Accepting it as 3 million tons, which, on the face of it is absurd, the total crop is estimated to be a little over 11 million tons. But Mr. Sen, the Director-General of Food with the Government of India has been pleased to place it at 10 million tons in his speech in the Council of State on November 19, 1943. "He further said that 'the average annual requirements of rice in Bengal including imports, were 8.86 million tons,"

and with the total crop of the year "there should not be any scarcity in Bengal in 1944."

We have to take other factors into account in support of Mr. B. R. Sen's theory of sufficiency. The Central Government has taken the charge of feeding 3,000,000 or 4·8% of the population of Bengal. "If we assume that one-fifth of this population is under two years of age, (for whom no provision for food has been made), then for the remaining four-fifths, at the

rate of 4 seers per week," we would be benefited to the extent of 604,000 tons of foodgrains supplied by the Centre. The people that have died during 1943 is estimated to be in the neighbourhood of 2,000,000. They formed 3·2% of the population requiring 307,000 tons of rice at the rate of Government estimates of 344 lbs. per capita per annum. Export of foodgrains from Bengal has been stopped and the present ruling prices of rice will keep consumption and wastage down to the lowest limit.

Taking all these facts into consideration the present high price of rice, *viz.*, Rs. 15 to Rs. 20 per maund, is not at all justified. The average people are passing through great distress and those who cannot buy rice at such a price and die of starvation, have died in the last year's famine. For this reason one does not find dead bodies on streets of mofussil towns at the present movement. We know from the speech of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in the Bengal Legislative Assembly that on an analysis of the weekly crop reports of the Government of Bengal, up to the end of January last, he discovered that in 87 districts and sub-divisions of Bengal, 26 or 29·9% showed a steady tone with regard to price, in 13 or 14·5% there was an increase, in 14 or 16·1% rice was selling at price much above the controlled rate, for 13 or 14·5% price was 'not reported' and in 21 or 24·1% of districts and subdivisions prices had been falling.

If the food problem of 1944 is to be tackled properly, it is imperative that the real cause of the present high price should be explored without further delay.

One of the reasons for the present high price of rice is that there must have been some defect in the estimates of yield of the total crop for 1944. With crop of over 10 million tons for a year, the market would have been flooded with rice and it would have been by this time necessary for the Government to fix a minimum price for paddy and rice to save the producers from serious loss. Then the estimate of the total requirements of the province should be revised in the light of past experience. For consumption alone, 9·5 million tons are required on the basis of 344 lbs. of rice per capita per annum of 62·4 million people of the province. By a second method of calculation we arrive at the same figure, *i.e.*, about 9·5 million tons. If the total population of 62·4 million consisting of children of all ages, widows taking one meal a day, persons taking rice once a day and supplementing their diet with other cereals, be converted to total adult population taking rice meals twice a day, we have a population of 46·76

million souls. At the rate of 5·5 mds., which is quite an underestimate, per capita per annum we require 257,500,000 maunds or 9·37 million tons of rice. There has been practically no 'carry over' from 1943. The seed requirements, normally, are 376,000 tons. It would certainly require a little more if the 'Grow More Food' campaign is to take a practical shape. Normal storage, even computed at 16 seers per capita, the minimum quantity that has been allowed by the Government of Bengal to the people of Calcutta and the suburbs to keep in stock, will require 873,000 tons. It can be safely said that the village people with the memory of last year's experience will try to keep away from the market as much quantity as possible with the result that there would be a smaller quantity available for purchase by the people who are not growers. Mr. P. J. Griffiths was right when, "referring to house-holders who load up stocks of food," he said in London on February 15, that "it is difficult to condemn the ordinary householder for what he might well regard as common prudence." When all these factors are taken together it is not difficult to guess the reasons of the high price of rice even when a bumper crop has just been harvested.

In normal times Bengal is a deficit province and it is somewhat difficult to convince the Government and the thinking people of the other provinces that ordinarily it is so. It may be questioned that if the position is so acute, then why famine is not witnessed in all its horrors every year. The simple answer to this is that famine or scarcity of food, in fact, takes its toll every year in Bengal but such deaths are recorded under the heads of malaria, cholera, 'other causes,' etc., in the official registers. Ninety per cent of suicide cases every year are due to pangs of starvation goading people to take away their lives with their own efforts. And further, the people usually live on starvation diet making the average people physically very weak. "The peasantry of Bengal" says an official report of the Director of Public Health, "are in large proportion taking to a dietary on which *even the rats could not live for more than a few weeks*," (Italics mine). And it is also to be taken into consideration that any acute shortage was never felt because of the fact that imports from Burma and other provinces of India prevented from any panic being spread that causes disappearance of rice from the market.

It is high time to think of the proper remedy when the country is passing through a severe scarcity of food and a famine is impending. The first thing, still necessary, is to create con-

fidence in the minds of the people that Government is sufficiently equipped to meet any emergency whether the producers bring their commodities in the market or not. It means that Government would go on importing wheat from foreign countries and keep the people informed about such imports. It is not by itself sufficient to create a stock in the hands of the Government only, but that there should be free movement of grains to the deficit province at the slightest manifestation of scarcity. In other words, transport facilities should be easy and swift. This should be done even at the sacrifice of the movement of war materials from place to place. Petrol should be freely given to lorries carrying essential foodstuffs as they are done in the case of 'essential war materials' and no distinction should be made between the two. It is wrong to think that weapons for killing the enemies are more necessary than food that would keep its own people living. There is bound to be chaos everywhere and the army personnel may be involved in the epidemic that would be caused by famine.

The quality of rice supplied to the people of the province, especially to the people of Calcutta and the suburbs, should be improved at once. There is going to be a nutrition deficiency not only in the civil population but also amongst the 'essential labour' population in the factories and workshops. The supply of bad rice has caused serious misgivings in the minds of the people about the Government's capacity to feed the people throughout the year. It has given rise to the idea that the stocks with the Government are not only poor in quality but also inadequate in quantity and has encouraged people to store for evil days.

The Government should themselves be conversant with the actual position within the country and should shake off all sense of complacency about the future. They should not, in any way, try to delude themselves and the people with statistics of 'bumperness' which have been found to be thoroughly undependable by test in the past. This sense of complacency and thorough inefficiency on the part of the Government of Bengal have caused enormous quantities of cereals, as has been disclosed during the debates in the Bengal Legislative Assembly on February 1, to run into waste in the Jessore district. There were further disclosures about such waste in other parts of Bengal and the exact quantity of such 'grains stored on the ground and in the open', in several parts of the province is not yet known. It shows a lamentable lack of

knowledge about the seriousness of the situation and a complete lack of appreciation of what the Central Government through the help of other provinces have been doing to alleviate the distress of the people of Bengal. The Centre is being infected, to a certain degree, with this sense of complacency. The remark of the Food Member in the Central Assembly branding Pandit Kunzru's statement trying to give a true picture of the Bengal situation on February 4, as "alarmist," proves my contention. It is always safe to err on the side of pessimism when lives and welfare of millions of people are involved. Had there been no sense of complacency in the mind of the Government, the disaster of the last famine could have been partially averted.

The policy of the Government of Bengal regarding procurement of rice has given rise to serious misgivings. There was a good deal of difference between the Central Government and the Government of Bengal

"in the execution of the scheme as to the minimum load which could be placed on the Chief Agents"

selected for the purchase of 'aman' crop from the districts.

"On the urgent representation of the Bengal Government, the Government of India have decided not to over-ride the opinion of the Provincial Government on this point, *for which opinion the Bengal Government must and do accept full responsibility*" (Italics mine)

disclosed a statement of the Food Member of the Government of India. What is the responsibility of the Bengal Government? Has any body ever tried to assess the "responsibility" of the Bengal Government in the last famine? And what are the ultimate effects if such responsibility, on a proper enquiry, be fixed upon them?

The ordinary trade channels have been thoroughly disregarded in the procurement and supply of foodstuffs in the Province. If some of them, as Mr. Fergusson says in the Calcutta Corporation in the first week of February, are guilty of creating black market in the past, it is wrong to besmirch all of them with one black dye and refuse offers of all help from them. The Government of Bengal, in its Civil Supplies Department, is guilty of gross corruption and in the words of its Chief, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy on September 24 last in the Bengal Council, it is

"that at the present moment the temptations were so great in the way of the officers that it was very difficult for them to surmount them. It was difficult to get officers to stand up to the temptations which could be offered by the trade"

and people naturally ask 'why the same department with the selfsame officers have been put in charge of civil supplies in 1944?' It is a great blunder to keep away the private traders from doing their bit with their past experience in the trade and of the various local conditions which may prove to be serious handicaps to those who have been newly recruited in the line. Everybody will agree with Mr. P. J. Griffiths, in what he has said in the speech referred to in an earlier portion of this article, *viz.*,

"There are plenty of capable officials in the province but work of this kind involving purchasing and marketing operations is one to which the official is unaccustomed and to which in many cases it is difficult for him to adapt."

I earnestly hope that the Government of Bengal will change their stubborn attitude against the private trade and save Bengal from being visited by another famine in 1944.

Finally, I may repeat that let there be a body who will rise above party politics, and go into the real causes of the present price position of rice in Bengal, and suggest ways and means for inducing people to throw more rice in to the market and thus bring down the price. It is useless to hoodwink the people by repeating untruths regarding falling prices, and the consequences of such untruths have been in the past the cause of shaken confidence in the Government. The leaders of people now in detention, are the only competent persons for the undertaking of this great task and bring it to a happy termination.

In the meantime, it is better to think of paying subsidies to the sale of rice so that people who can pay part of the price from their own resources, may be able to buy the necessary foodstuffs till the crisis is over.

There is no knowing when the War in the Eastern World is going to terminate. We have been recently told that the Japs are very tough fighters and that their resources do not encourage hopes of an easy victory. It will take a long time before Burma is reconquered. It is, therefore, necessary that some long-term planning should be undertaken to make Bengal self-sufficient with regard to her food requirements. The 'Grow More Food' campaign is being systematically carried on for the last three years. This is superfluous because when the price of foodstuffs are attractive, the growers are suffi-

ciently intelligent to grow more food in preference to other crops. It is desirable that knowledge of intensive cultivation should be brought to their very door. If there has been a 'record crop' in 1943-44, it was possible partly by increasing the acreage and partly through the bounty of nature. The land cultivated was a little over 18·0 million acres with an yield of 8·3 million tons. The yield is then nothing more than 1030 lbs. per acre. Figures for other years are : 1936-37—1290 lbs.; 1937-38—1249 lbs.; 1938-39—1029 lbs.; 1939-40—1020 lbs., 1942-43—693 lbs., per acre, *i.e.*, a diminishing return year by year. More acreage means, more labour both human and cattle, more resources for ploughing and preparing the ground, more seed, more everything.

Other lands produce many times more than what Bengal does. In Italy (in 1939) the yield per acre was 4592 lbs. In Japan (1939) 3558 lbs.. Egypt (1940) 3450 lbs.; Formosa (1940) 2419 lbs.; U. S. A. (1940) 2291 lbs.; Bulgaria (1939) 2240 lbs.; Korea (1939) 1949 lbs.; Eire (1939) 1277, Indo-China (1938) 1140 and India (1943) 1030 lbs. only. It has been disclosed that a little over Rs. 65 lakhs have been contributed by the Central Government to Bengal for the 'Grow More Food' campaign in 1943-44. It would have been better if the Government in its Department of Agriculture had opened two model centres in each of the 87 districts and subdivisions of Bengal to give practical demonstration of the results of their researches in the laboratory. With an area of 3 to 5 acres in the corn-fields of the muffasil and entailing a cost of Rs. 2,500 for each centre (although a very big amount for the purpose), it would have required a sum not more than Rs. 4,35,000 or 6·7% of the cost of the propaganda for the year. It would have produced a many-sided effect. The local cultivators could derive their knowledge of improved agriculture direct from the experts, the knowledge of the experts who have been drawing fat salaries without having any touch with the real conditions of agriculture could have been tested, and the produce of these farms would not only fetch some return on the outlay but also enhance the total food reserve of the country. In my view, that is the only practical proposition by which the yield of the land can be increased and Bengal's food front sufficiently strengthened.



UDAYAGIRI FORT AND THE VALIA KAPPITHAN

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE historic fortress of Udayagiri around which time has woven many interesting legends and thrilling stories, stands amidst a landscape of arcadian jollity and exuberance, thirty-three miles to the south-east of Trivandrum on the main thoroughfare which links the capital with Cape Comorin, the Land's End of India. An excellent Rest House for tourists occupies a corner of this imposing fort. The Udayagiri fort is an ancient monument which reminds the tourist of the days of yore, when Travancore was in the throes of battle.

Uplifting yet awful in its glories and glooms, the Fort stands on the summit of a pretty hillock rising abruptly from a plain which is at some distance encircled by a chain of hills. A magnificent panorama unfolds itself to the view of the sight-seer who ascends the top of the Udayagiri hill. To the east are seen the beautiful gleaming pale green lakes, extensive paddy fields, winding rivers and irrigation channels; the cliffs of the famous Veli Mala Range, the sacred playground of God Subramania, the Melamkote Temple and the stone *mandapam* at the top of the Veli Mala. The Padmanabhapuram Fort, garrisons and Catholic Church greet his vision in the north-west. On the south-western side he sees the Colachel Port, Muttom, Manavalakurichi and other sea-coast villages and, in the distance, the vast shimmering sea girdling the land.

Right in the centre of the summit of the Udayagiri hill is seen the foundation of a flag staff. The basement built of laterite and mortar shows the depression caused by the planting of the flag staff. This indicates that the flag staff was of an enormous size. It is said that the port of Colachel, Vattakotta near Cape Comorin, and other places were clearly visible from this platform which was used as a watch-tower. Cannons were mounted on this basement.

The Udayagiri Fort encloses about 90 acres of land in the centre of which is a hill 260 feet high. The strong granite walls of the fort are

fifteen feet thick and eighteen feet high and are lined within and without with huge granite slabs. The parapets in the fort are 4 feet high and 3 feet thick. A magnificent specimen of military architecture, the fort has ten bastions, five of which are intended for mounting heavy artillery, the others being pierced for musketry only. The fortification has been planned on an extensive scale. The principal entrance to the fort is a gateway near one of the bastions. Inside the fort area is a small tank.

The Udayagiri Fort, half a mile to the



A general view of Udayagiri

south-east of Padmanabhapuram, the old capital of the State, is of great historical importance and antiquity. The fort was also used as a prison for keeping dangerous criminals. Tradition avers that Chempakavalli, a Brahmin widow, mounted the funeral pyre here, consequent on the death of her beloved husband. In former days a detachment of the East India Company under St. Leger was stationed here. Colonel Munroe issued the famous ultimatum to the Nanchinad rebels from the Udayagiri Fort.

Many are the legends and stories of valour and terror which have gathered round this fort and which are on the lips of old men. One of

these colourful stories is that a large number of the sepoys who had mounted guard on the north gate of the fort were killed by a *Yakshi* (female goddess worshipped by low caste people)

Eustachio Benedictine De Lannoy was born in far-off Holland in January 1715 A.D. and strange enough, fate had ordained him to guide the destinies of Travancore. It is an intriguing story. De Lannoy was charged with the task of serving an alien Royal Master many thousands of miles away across the seas. He came to India as a Captain of the Dutch regiments scheduled for duty in the East at a time when the Dutch held a sort of supremacy in the Malabar Coast and possessed a number of factories at Cochin. Travancore was then ruled by the warrior prince Marthanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore (1729-1758 A.D.), whose prowess and organising capacity brought under one sovereignty the hinterlands of Kerala extending immediately north-west and south-east of his Central State.

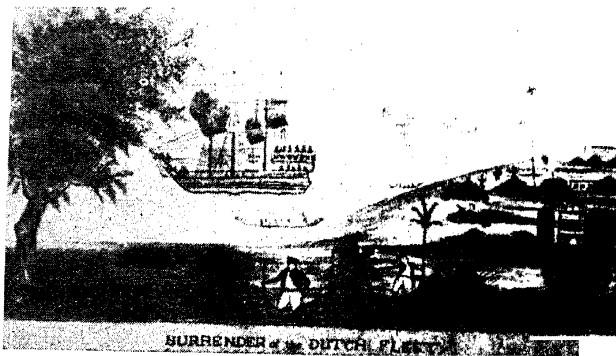
and credited with evil powers) and that one day a valiant Subedar was daring enough to challenge the *Yakshi* who came into conflict with him and that since then the guard was taken away under royal commands. Another story avers that the younger *Yakshi* who is believed to have her abode in the famous Melamkote shrine, frequently takes rest under the large banyan tree inside the Udayagiri Fort and that none dare chop off any branch of this tree. Old people say that a wood-cutter who had the audacity to cut a branch of this banyan tree, fell into a swoon and that he took to his heels discarding in terror the branch. Close to the principal entrance to the Fort is a temple consecrated to a *Yakshi*. On the eastern side of the Fort is noticed the ruins of a temple.

The construction of the Udayagiri Fort commenced so early as 716 M.E. (1601 A.D.) under the command of His Highness Sree Veera Ravi Varma who ruled over Travancore from 1592 to 1609 A.D. But the Fort proper was built by the Dutch Naval Commander Eustachio De Lannoy who was taken captive by His Highness Marthanda Varma during the famous battle of Colachel.

The State then occupied only a fourth of its present area. The rest of the country comprised a number of petty principalities ruled over by ambitious and unscrupulous



Udayagiri Fort



The Surrender of the Dutch Fleet,—the Battle of Colachel, 1741 A.D.
(From an old Painting)

chiefs who were always warring with one another. The Dutch entered into political alliances and intrigues with these kingdoms with the secret and diplomatic motives of maintaining the balance of power and of perpe-

tuating their own commercial supremacy. In 1734 A.D. when the Rajah of the principality of Quilon died, the Rajah of Kayamcolam, the neighbouring chieftain, tried to annex Quilon. The Maharaja of Travancore who was a born conqueror demanded Quilon. The Dutch found in Maharaja Marthanda Varma of Travancore a powerful rival and they were alarmed at the might of his arm. The Dutch Governor of Cochin despatched an envoy to the Maharajah's court to remonstrate with him about the unreasonable aggressions on Kayamcolam and Quilon. The Maharajah, with characteristic courage and precision, asked the Dutch to attend to their own business. Soon, under the lead of Rama Aiyan Dalavà, the Travancore army prepared to attack Kayamcolam. The Dutch were alarmed at this and they deputed Van Imhoff, the Dutch Governor at Ceylon, to prevail upon the Maharaja to refrain from launching the proposed attack on Kayamcolam whose ruler was an ally of the Dutch. Marthanda Varma was not to be won over either by persuasion or intimidation. He made it clear to the Dutch Governor that he was prepared to meet the Dutch in open battle. Van Imhoff grew indignant at this challenge and he forthwith sent a well-equipped army from Ceylon which landed at Colachel, a port forty-five miles to the south-east of Trivandrum. The Dutch army fortified Colachel and took possession of the country from Kottar to Colachel and planned to attack Padmanabhapuram, the then capital of the State.

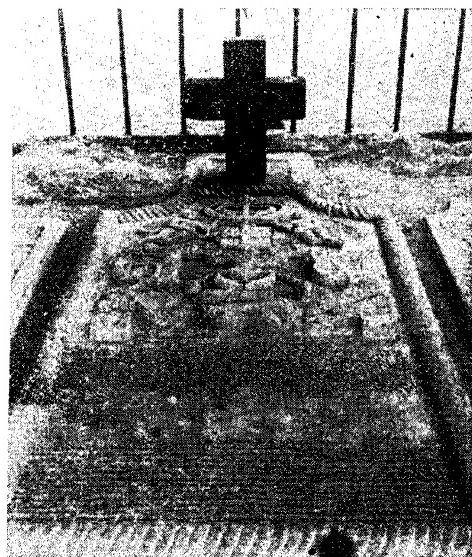
Maharajah Marthanda Varma, who was at the time engaged in defeating the army of the Elayadathu Swaroopam, an ally of the Dutch in Central Travancore, hurried to Colachel. He worshipped at the shrine of Thiruvattar and advanced upon the Dutch forces. For two months the war was waged. The Dutch ships were watched by Travancore's fleet of boats. In the first encounter not one soldier of the Dutch regiments survived and in the second and decisive battle the Dutch Army retreated to their ships, leaving behind many of their compatriots dead and wounded with twenty-four Europeans as prisoners. The famous battle of Colachel at which the Dutch suffered a crushing defeat was fought on the 31st July 1741 A.D. The Travancore Army captured from the Dutch 389 muskets, cannons and swords.

Among the twenty-four Dutch prisoners who were captured at the battle of Colachel were Eustachio De Lannoy, a young man of twenty-six, who was destined to become the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of his Royal Captor, and

Donadi who was also raised to a position of responsibility in the Travancore Forces. The Maharajah, himself a mighty warrior, discovered in De Lannoy and Donadi military geniuses who later on distinguished themselves as the most competent and trusted Captains in the Travancore Army. The kindness and consideration with which the Dutch prisoners were treated by the Maharajah, induced them to place their services at his disposal. Marthanda Varma forthwith appointed De Lannoy as a Captain and second in command under the Soldier-Dewan Rama Aiyan. Donadi was also made a Captain.

Galletti in his authoritative work *The Dutch in Malabar* says :

"These men (De Lannoy and Duyvenschot) not only understood their military duties and were well conducted men, but had besides a fairly good knowledge of fortification and the art of war, having served in Europe and gained some experience."



De Lannoy's Tomb, Udayagiri Fort

De Lannoy served his Royal Master faithfully and fought many a successful battle for the Maharajah which resulted in the wide territorial expansion of the State. He held a succession of important commands and in every major conquest between 1741 and 1777 A.D., De Lannoy played a prominent part. He reorganised the Travancore Army on Western lines and made it efficient and up-to-date. Between 1755 and 1760 A.D. the Travancore forces under

De Lannoy defeated the Zamorin of Calicut twice, and put to flight Maphuze Khan, the Generalissimo of the Nawab of Arcot. The Maharajah was pleased with De Lannoy's efficient services in the aggressive wars and raised him to the rank of General and appointed him to the supreme command of the Travancore Army. He made the Army 50,000 strong consisting of cavalry, infantry and artillery, sappers and miners and drilled and disciplined them after the latest European model. Johnson, writing, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, of the Travancore Forces, says :

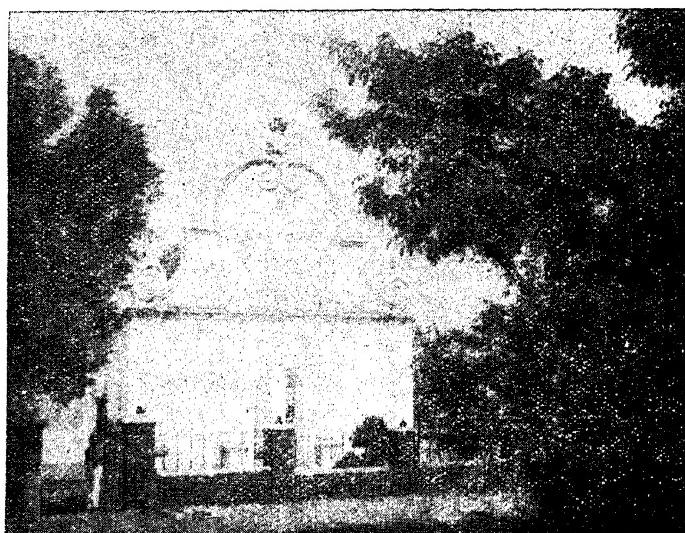
"It is strange to see how ready the sooldier of this country is at his weapons. They are all gentle men and termed Nairs. At seven years of age they are put to school to learn the use of their weapons, where, to make them nimble, their sinews and joints are stretched by skilful fellows, and annointed with the oyle sysamus. Their continual delight is in their weapons persuading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity."

structed forts and ramparts at all the strategic points along the eastern frontier and erected batteries on the coast. He built a huge fort at the ancient military headquarters of Travancore and called it "Udayagiri," literally meaning the "Peak of Dawn." He established an arsenal at Udayagiri where cannons, mortars, weapons, powder and shot were manufactured on a large scale under his expert supervision. Major Welsh in his *Military Reminiscences* describes a gun and a mortar found at Udayagiri in the following words :

"But the greatest curiosities were a gun and a mortar, both of exquisite workmanship mounted on the parade in Udayagiri and cast in the place by some European artist. They were made of brass; the gun sixteen feet long and bored as a twenty-two pounder, was so extremely massive that twelve hundred men assisted by sixteen elephants could not move it, even a few yards. The mortar was equally heavy and I think had an eighteen inch bore."

Indeed an eloquent tribute to the military genius, efficiency and thoroughness of De Lannoy, with whose help Maharaja Marthanda Varma entered confidently on an unbroken career of conquest and annexation which resulted in the present territorial extent of the State. A prodigy of mental adroitness and energy cast in military form, De Lannoy's nerves never flickered even during times of severe crisis.

In July 1758 A.D. Maharajah Marthanda Varma the Great died and he was succeeded by H. H. Rama Varma. De Lannoy loved his Royal Master almost to a fault and his absolute fidelity knew no bounds. In the furtherance of the interests of the



The Dutch Chapel in the Udayagiri Fort. Inside this Chapel is De Lannoy's Tomb

It was along with such born fighters that De Lannoy fought many a battle for his Royal Master. After the cessation of hostilities De Lannoy turned his attention entirely to the fortification and defence of the country. Not only was he intrepid on the battle field but he proved himself to be a mighty organising genius in times of peace which followed conquest and annexation. He was as firm as a rock in determination and as strong as a dynamo in action. He con-

Maharajah, De Lannoy was ever ready to do anything and risk everything. His entire existence was devoted to his master and benefactor, and he had no ambition save the ever-increasing greatness and glory of the sovereigns whom he served. Much is not known about the domestic life of this great soldier who was thoroughly absorbed in the military affairs of the State and therefore found little time for relaxation. A French traveller

Anqueti du Perron who visited the Malabar Coast in 1758, A.D., in his book *Zendavesta* refers to the Dutch gossip that De Lannoy was virtually a prisoner in the hands of the Maharajah of Travancore and though he had secretly longed to escape he was powerless to do so. De Lannoy's whole-hearted and passionate devotion to the Maharajah proves that this gossip was unfounded. Du Perron also narrates a story that De Lannoy wanted to marry the daughter of an English official in the settlement at Anjengo, that the girl's father refused to give his consent and that, therefore, De Lannoy in his wrath prevailed upon the Maharajah of Travancore to declare war against the English and thus he obtained his bride. The author of the *Travancore State Manual* says that

"Lannoy's influence with the Rajah was so great that he made him wage war against the Anjengo chief to obtain his daughter in marriage for himself."

History associates the name of the Dutch Commander of the Travancore Forces with the conversion of Devasahayam Pillai, who was formerly a Hindu official. It is said that the Maharajah of Travancore visited Verapoly in the company of De Lannoy and confirmed the rent-free tenure of the ground which was presented to the Carmelite Mission by the Rajah of Cochin. De Lannoy was a pious Christian, and naturally had a flair for evangelical work.

Eustachius De Lannoy was one of the three outstanding personalities in the founding of modern Travancore, the other two being his royal master Marthanda Varma and his colleague Rama Iyen Dalava. Lannoy served H. H. Rama Varma for about 19 years with the same zeal and fidelity with which he had served Maharajah Marthanda Varma for seventeen years. In 1760, De Lannoy defeated the Zamorin of Calicut. For this battle, De Lannoy constructed the famous Travancore lines, a huge earthen rampart, 30 miles in length stretching from the shore of the Vembanad lake opposite to Cranganore to the foot of the Western Ghats. The remnants of this massive and strategical fortification still stand as solemn and melancholy witnesses to the valour and achievements of by-gone years, and the military greatness of De Lannoy.

Apprehending an invasion from Hyder Ali, De Lannoy strengthened the fortifications and was ready to face the Muslim invader. In 1777 A.D., De Lannoy passed away after a short illness in his own fort at Udayagiri. Within the fort, in the church built by him, this brave soldier lies buried. The Fort and the little chapel with its mausoleum remind the visitor of

the old days of war and strife, the heroic achievements of De Lannoy—*Valia Kappithan* (Great Commander)—as he was endearingly called by the grateful people of Travancore—who after thirty-seven years of devoted and strenuous service under the Rulers of Travancore took his eternal rest. The Udayagiri Fort and the Dutch chapel are in excellent preservation to this day, thanks to the keen interest taken by the Archaeological Department of the State. The chapel was erected by the Travancore Government as a place of worship for the alien Roman Catholics who were in service in the Travancore army. The tombstone of De Lannoy



A corner of the Udayagiri Fort showing the Rest House

bears the following arresting Latin epitaph, which when translated reads :

"Stop, Wayfarer !

Here lieth Eustace Benedict de Lannoy, who as the General-in-Chief of the troops of Travancore was in command and during about 37 years served the King with the utmost fidelity. By the might of his arms and the fear (of his name) he subjected to his (the King's) sway all the Kingdom from Kayamkulam to Cochin. He lived 62 years and 5 months and died on the first of June (of the year) 1777.

May he rest in peace !"

The tombstone of De Lannoy is a fine piece of sculptural workmanship. Among the heraldic symbols sculptured on the tombstone are a cannon and a cannon ball, a spear-head, a sword, a trumpet, a glass, a banner, two pairs of drums, two muskets, two angels, a crescent and a cross. The tombstone is rectangular in shape with a raised border worked out on the pattern of a stout and closely twisted rope. At the bottom of the epitaph is seen a skull and cross bones symbolical of death.

The tombs of De Lannoy's wife and son are

also in this cemetery. The desolate stillness encircling the ruins of the ancient fort strikes the visitor with a sense of awe. The demise of *Valia Kappithan* who had grown gray in the service of two of the rulers of the State was deeply mourned by the people who considered him more as a son of the soil than a foreigner. The touching epitaph of the grave of De Lannoy immortalises the memory of this valiant soldier who though an alien in nationality, fought for Travancore with honour, zeal, fidelity and daring.

De Lannoy's son, Johannes De Lannoy, a youth of 19 who was a Battalion Commander, died of a fatal wound in a battle at Kalakkad while fighting for Travancore. Margaret De Lannoy, wife of the *Valia Kappithan*, died in 1782 A.D. after surviving her husband for 5 years. Their graves and the tombs of four other European Commanders of the Travancore Army

who had died in harness, are found in chronological sequence in the cemetery, close to the right wall of the ruined church which has no roof. The Udayagiri epitaphs are written both in Latin and Tamil. *The Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI, Part I contains these inscriptions, which are of considerable historical interest.

The history of medieval Travancore is written over Udayagiri's massive fortifications and big arsenals. Although bereft of its former glory, Udayagiri, a place replete with historical associations and legendary glamour, still has its lure. Tourists feel thrilled at seeing these relics which bear witness to the architectural and martial activities of Travancore. The Udayagiri Fort is an imposing landmark in the history of Travancore and like the famous fort of Golconda it evokes sacred and awesome memories.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

By NOEL H. MATTHEWS

CHATTERJEE, your sword is broken,
Tumbled from a dying hand—
Pen whose ringing words have spoken
Justice' cause in every land.

With Humanity's defender
Gone, another light is out,
Still the flames fan into splendour,
And the voice becomes a shout !

Ramananda, Dawn is breaking !
Fires lighted in the night
To unlettered man are taking
Banners that are clear and bright.

You have struck the white-hot casting—
We can forge the world anew !
Man may yet be everlasting
Through the works that he may do.

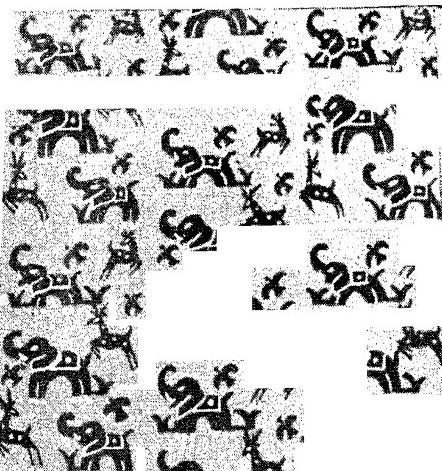
O brown brother, I am telling
What I know must surely be,
When oppressed mankind, rebelling,
Mind to mind shall bridge the sea.

1944 ART IN INDUSTRY EXHIBITION

By AJIT MOOKERJEE, M.A. (Lond.), F.R.A.I. (Lond.)

AN important art show organised by Burmah Shell has been opened in the middle of January at the Government School of Art in Calcutta. The display of works does full justice to the two aims : "The first is to serve as a link between artists and industry, thus on the one hand acquainting artists and craftsmen with Industry's requirements and on the other, illustrating to industrialists the talent which is available in this country. The second aim is to strive by all practical means to raise the standard of commercial art and industrial design throughout India." Never before has it been possible to see clearly how an Indian art exhibition can create a source of inspiration for the present as well as for the future.

It is no exaggeration to state that art that is being "encouraged" in our country today is more aesthetically barren and tasteless than anything that was produced in the past. The new Indian vulgarity as well as its prompt acceptance by our official art-mentors has its



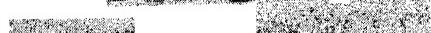
A design of Chintz
By Sheila Auden



By Arun Ganguly

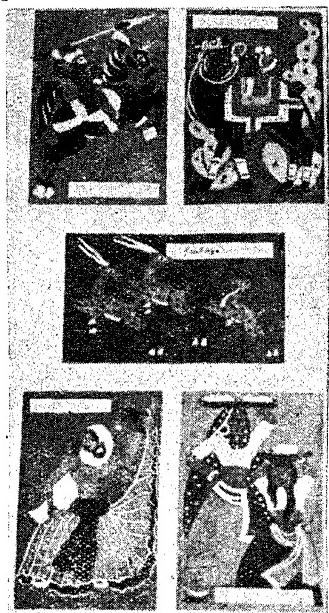


GROW MORE
RICE



By Latif

adjustments that have been harassing our artists and art-patrons alike.



Greeting Card
By Sheila Auden



By P. Sen

But we can approach this exhibition with a considerable degree of hope, for Mr. Henry Born, its General Secretary, at last has dared to show works of young commercial artists and has given promise of opening a way for even newer traditions. This highly successful venture typifies one of the great goals for which we are fighting.

The paintings are arranged on a number of screens in a continuous narrative series. Captions on separate card-boards, and on the paintings themselves, make the sequence intelligible, and point out the significance of the individual exhibits. The visitor is first shown the recruitment posters, then anti-Jap and anti-waste posters, then grow more rice posters, then cleaner Calcutta, civic guard, defence savings posters and so on. We then proceed to the Room No. 2 for a closer study of commercial photography, labels, scent bottle designs, letter-heads, etc. A separate section is devoted to calendars, printed fabrics, sari borders, greeting cards, etc., and match box labels, which are mostly assemblages of small sketches depicting grow more food, and these are among the most charming from the point of view of colour and texture. Out of the spontaneous observation of an actual event, and inspired by its profound social feeling, our artists have shown a great talent in painting "grow more rice and food." All the confidence of joy and sorrow, the unshakable certainty of a better future is expressed in these posters and



By O. C. Ganguly

drawings. Accidentally, the recruitment posters are the weakest of all and some of the prize-winners deserve little credit.

It will be seen that the exhibition is not one which can be skimmed casually; to get real benefit from it, the visitor must read it patiently, but read it in a new manner. Art is a language, the artist lives in a society and he cannot ignore its vital needs and struggles. Art, thus, has its roots in, and derives its material from life and it cannot be properly understood unless we

learn to read art symbols directly with our eyes. This aim has been before the organisers of the present exhibition, and it is very clearly stated in a leaflet which is given to visitors.

This exhibition is one of the few cultural activities that are being carried on in our wartime metropolis, and for this alone it deserves wide public support; but at any time, and at this time more than ever, it should serve to remind us of our artistic responsibilities, and of our shameful neglect in that respect in the past.

HOW YELLOW FEVER, ONCE A DEADLY TROPICAL DISEASE, HAS BEEN CONTROLLED

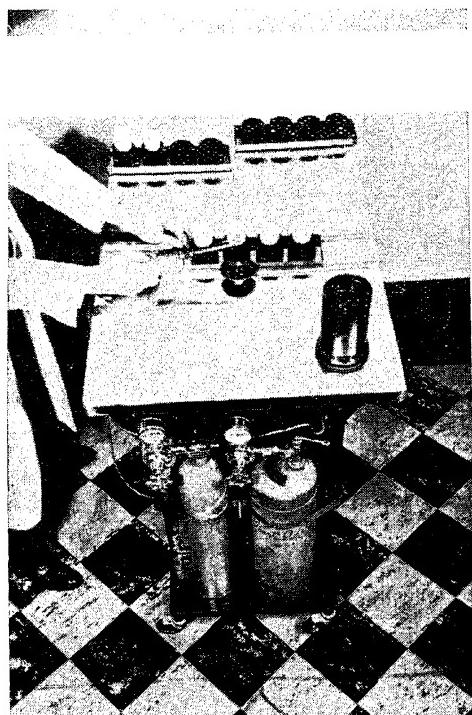
FROM the Rockefeller Institute in the heart of New York City to the Yellow Fever Institute standing on an African hill at Entebbe, Uganda, overlooking Lake Victoria, stretches a life-saving line designed to protect soldiers and civilians from the inroads of yellow fever. In 1936 a vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute which provides immunity against yellow fever after a single injection. This brought under control a disease that carries a 70 per cent mortality rate.

Wartime demands for the vaccine have been so great that in order to produce enough of it, the Rockefeller Institute has had to double both its laboratory space and the number of its technicians. More than 40 lakhs of doses were distributed in 1942, yet this was only a fraction of the amount that was furnished free during 1943 in a world-wide campaign to keep yellow fever within bounds.

Men of the U. S. armed forces are vaccinated before they leave America. In addition, quantities of the vaccine made in New York are shipped direct to Entebbe. There it is tested and distributed in various parts of Africa and the Middle East. Known as 17D, the vaccine is conveyed in vacuum flasks packed with ice, and reaches its destination in perfect condition. It had its first great test in 1938, when 10 lakhs of persons were vaccinated in Brazil and an epidemic that had reached spreading proportions was checked.

Airplane traffic has created new problems of health and sanitation, however, and in certain areas a yellow-fever card proving immunization is as important now as a passport. In Africa and the Middle East this certificate must be not

less than 14 days, and not more than two years, old. Airplanes landing from any part of the world where there is yellow fever are examined and sprayed with insecticides. The daily



Preparation of yellow-fever vaccine at the
Rockefeller Institute, New York City

plane service between the Sudan and South Africa is under constant surveillance, lest disease-bearing mosquitoes be conveyed from one area to another. Pilots must show their certificates of vaccination, and arriving passengers are held incommunicado until the planes are fumigated.

When a mosquito bite results in a case of yellow fever, the patient is isolated in mosquito-proof quarters to prevent other carriers from biting him and spreading the virus. Strict anti-

the Rockefeller Institute. It was established that yellow fever was entirely absent from the Asiatic continent, and that although explosive outbreaks had occurred in Mediterranean ports, it was non-existent in Europe. In Africa the disease was traced over an area of approximately 40 lakhs square miles, extending from Senegal to Angola along the west coast, and to the east as far as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda. The affected area is bounded on the north by the Sahara Desert and overlaps the Belgian Congo in the south.

For some reason still unknown, yellow fever apparently has never touched the east coast of Africa. There is no evidence to indicate that it has ever been present in Asia, Australia, New Zealand, or any of the islands in the South Pacific. As a result of rigid anti-mosquito control measures, it was found at the time the survey was made to be much less widely distributed in the Western Hemisphere than in the past.

With the opening of the Yellow Fever Institute at Entebbe in 1936 field work was initiated which was extended later to include the southern Sudan and parts of the Belgian Congo. The Institute is supported jointly by the government of the Uganda Protectorate and the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation. Experts have been working there for the past four years, making steady progress in their knowledge of the bearers that transmit yellow fever. Field study of the disease is the main function of the institute. Cages filled with monkeys, mice, and rats may be seen by visitors. In the colony of 15,000 mice, some 7,500 are bred each month. Local monkeys are often found to be immune to yellow fever, so most of the tests are carried out on rhesus monkeys, imported from India, which are fed and cared for by African boys.

It was only in 1927 that members of the West African Yellow Fever Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation first succeeded in transmitting yellow fever to rhesus monkeys—a discovery that gave great impetus to yellow-fever research. Specimens of the Indian monkey *Macacus sinicus* were sent to the Gold Coast, from Europe by Dr. Henry Beeuwkes, director of the commission. After receiving injections they sickened and died. Later it was found that the monkey *Macacus rhesus*, the species usually found in zoological gardens, is even more susceptible. This opened the way to experimentation without depending on human volunteers.



Physician takes blood for yellow-fever protection tests in Uganda, Central Africa

larval measures are immediately introduced in his surroundings. If a mosquito bites a victim during the first three or four days of his illness, the insect in turn becomes a virus carrier and after 12 days is ready to infect new subjects. Then an epidemic may break out.

INDIA NOT IN INFECTED AREA

A world-wide immunity survey was undertaken in 1931 to define the regions in which yellow fever was present. Serum specimens collected in various countries were studied at

RECENT EPIDEMICS IN AFRICA

The most extensive epidemic of yellow fever ever recorded in Africa occurred in 1940 in the Nuga Mountains of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Soon afterward, yellow fever broke out in Uganda. Studies there revealed an important focus of the disease in parts of the Ituri forest (Bwamba County) having a population of some 25,000 Africans. The virus was still active in this region a year later. At least six local districts with a population of 5,000 were involved, and it was estimated that more than 1,100 cases of yellow fever occurred in the area studied. A programme of mass vaccination was started in August 1941, and the epidemic subsided.

Mortality in the Sudan had been much greater, and the epidemic there had reached more extensive proportions before being checked.

CAUSE OF YELLOW FEVER

The causative agent of yellow fever is one of the smallest viruses known. It passes through bacteria-tight procelain filters and is not visible even through the most powerful microscope. It is strictly a parasite and does not multiply in the absence of living tissue cells. The commonest carrier in cities is the mosquito *aedes aegypti*, but jungle yellow fever is conveyed by several other sorts. There is still considerable mystery about the varieties and breeding habits of the bearers, but field work goes on constantly in the African and Brazilian jungles.

Forest regions and banana plantations are particularly fertile breeding places for yellow fever. But it may occur under a variety of conditions, and the exact factors determining its occurrence are still not wholly determined.

Aedes aegypti is distinctly domestic in its habits. It breeds almost exclusively in and around houses and favours cisterns, tanks, buckets, roof gutters, flower vases, and other man-made receptacles in which water is left standing. It is practically never found near the swamps, rivers, and lakes that harbour the malaria mosquito. In Brazil, where yellow-fever epidemics have been severe, sanitary measures to ward off this disease have been brought to a high state of perfection. Specially

trained sanitary inspectors make weekly visits to householders, inspect their homes and courtyards, see that discarded containers are disposed of and that water-storage tanks are covered with wire screening. Breeding places which cannot be eliminated are rendered harmless by periodical oiling. Large tanks are sometimes stocked with special varieties of small fish that feed on mosquito larvae.

How YELLOW FEVER SPREADS

Three elements are essential for the outbreak of yellow fever in an urban community: an infected person, mosquitoes, and a non-immune population. Towns which previously were days away from jungle territory are now within hours' reach by motor bus and airplane.

After a susceptible person has been bitten by an infected mosquito an incubation period



Inoculation Station in Central Africa with equipment ready for mass vaccination against yellow-fever

follows during which the viruses multiply in the victim's body. In from three to five days he becomes violently ill, but until then he is unaware of the infection. If other mosquitoes bite him they in turn become infective, and remain virus carriers for the rest of their existence, though they themselves are unharmed by the virus. A mosquito infected with yellow fever has been kept alive in the laboratory for more than 200 days. Only females bite.

Before an effective vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute, a number of scientists studying yellow fever in various laboratories between 1927 and 1931 became infected, and several died. Since vaccination was introduced

in May 1931, workers have pursued their research without the slightest reaction.

Special laboratory facilities are required for testing vaccine activity in animals. For this reason the availability of yellow-fever vaccine in the United States has been limited to centres where its application may be controlled scientifically. At present it is obtainable under certain conditions and without charge at the Rockefeller laboratories in New York where it was first developed; at Rockefeller laboratories in Rio de Janeiro and Bogota; and at the Wellcome Bureau of Scientific Research in London. Until the Germans invaded Paris it was also available at the Pasteur Institute.

distilled water gives satisfactory results. The mixture is centrifuged for 30 minutes, after which the fluid is removed and given a preliminary filtration for clarification through a Buchner funnel with a thin film of asbestos fiber. The final infiltration is through Seitz filter disks at 10-pound pressure.

The vaccine is put up for distribution in ampoules containing 3·0 cc.; also in 1·0 cc. tubes. It is then frozen in a mixture of alcohol, carbon dioxide, and snow, and desiccated. Each bath is tested for bacterial sterility, for virulence, and for quantity of virus. Tests are made on mice or monkeys. The quantity of virus in different lots of vaccine has varied considerably.

Some have had so little that they were discarded. The vaccine is stored at a temperature of 4 degrees centigrade and is always sent to the field packed, with cracked ice, in wide-mouthed vacuum bottles.

REACTIONS VARY

Any reaction to the vaccine is apt to be mild, generally consisting of headache, low-grade fever, and pains suggesting grippe on the sixth or seventh day after inoculation. Research done at the Rockefeller Institute in the past year has shown that the jaundice which sometimes accompanied vaccination was probably due to a virus contained in the human serum component employed in the vaccine. It is now being made without this element.

When the vaccine is administered in the laboratory or on small groups in the field, between 97 and 100 percent of the vaccinated show protective antibodies in their blood on subsequent tests. There is great variation in the response of man to the immunizing agent and the injection of a mild virus is likely to give protection for a long period. Mice are used for testing the antibody content of the human sera before and after vaccination. In this way the presence or absence of protective antibodies are established.

Symptoms are apparent usually between the fifth and the eighth day after vaccination. Laboratory tests have shown that there is no relation in the individual case between clinical reactions, such as headache and fever, and the appearance of virus in the blood-stream. There is no regularity in the white-blood-cell response

Form No. 8—PAN AMERICAN SANITARY BUREAU, WASHINGTON

INTERNATIONAL CERTIFICATE OF VACCINATION

Place... 67 Mission St.

Date... 1-4-43

This is to certify that

George
Sex... Male Age... 33 Color... White Nativity... U. S. A.
was on the dates indicated vaccinated against:

(Cross out portions not applicable)

Cholera—Doses: 1st 1-11-43 2nd 1-18-43 3rd 1-2

Smallpox—Type of reaction: 1-18-43

Typhus Immune 1-11-43 (2) 1-18-43 3 (3) 1-25-43

Yellow fever 1-4-43

Other diseases (specify): Typhoid

after vaccination, although a slight depression from there by sailing vessel to many European lasting from three to seven days is usual, and American ports.

Tests made on a group of subjects at the Rockefeller Institute showed that during the first 28 days after vaccination, protective antibodies were demonstrated by the mouse

In 1821 some 20,000 persons died of yellow fever in Barcelona, Spain. The disease has long been present in West Africa, particularly around the Gulf of Guinea. It has been more common among sailors, traders, and government officials than among the Africans, who have a certain immunity. In 1927 it broke out sporadically in many areas from Senegal to the Belgian Congo.

North America has suffered repeatedly from yellow fever introduced by ships from the West Indies. The larger ports on the Gulf of Mexico and along the Atlantic seaboard were invaded often, and the disease extended up the Mississippi Valley as far as southern Illinois.

The theory of Dr. Carlos J. Finlay, of Havana, that yellow fever is propagated by the mosquito was announced in 1881 but received little attention at the time. In 1900 the Yellow Fever Commission of the U. S. Army, composed of Doctors Walter Reed, J. Carroll, A. Agramonte, and Jesse W. Lazear, performed experiments in Cuba which proved conclusively that the mosquito *Aedes*

Physician prepares to inoculate a group of villagers in Central Africa with yellow-fever vaccine

protection test in the blood of all 29 persons vaccinated. None was immune at the end of seven days, and only nine out of 23 persons had responded at the end of 14 days. Great individual variation in antibody response was noted, but the reaction in general was slight compared with that in rhesus monkeys or in persons recovering from clinical yellow fever. The antibody reaction is strongest between the 21st and 28th day after vaccination, although with some individuals the rise continues for 70 days.

HISTORY OF YELLOW FEVER

Little is known of yellow fever before the discovery of America by Columbus. One theory is that America was the original home of the disease. Ancient Mayan records of early pestilence mention symptoms suggesting yellow fever. A second theory is that the disease is of West African origin and was imported into America in the days of the early slave trade. Yellow fever was prevalent in the West Indies early in the 17th century and was distributed



Member of an Airline ground crew is immunized before operating in yellow-fever territory

aegypti is a bearer of yellow fever.

No time was lost in applying the new knowledge to the control of the disease. William C. Gorgas, later surgeon-general of the U. S.

Army, was able to rid Havana of yellow fever within a few months' time in 1901. Within four years the Panama Canal Zone and neighbouring cities were freed of the disease. Dr. Oswaldo Cruz undertook to clear Rio de Janeiro in 1903 and completed the task within five years.

Yellow fever was eradicated from Guayaquil in 1918 and 1919 by Dr. M. E. Connor, and control work in Peru was completed by Dr. Henry Hanson in 1921. As the disease was suppressed in the principal disseminating ports, it cleared

up in many other places spontaneously, or with moderate efforts at control.

Before the immunizing vaccine was developed at the Rockefeller Institute, a number of scientists engaged in studying yellow fever in various laboratories during the four-year period of intensive research, 1927-1931, became infected, and several of them died. Since vaccination was introduced in 1931 there has not been a single accidental infection among the investigators. Science has brought this once deadly disease within the bounds of control. *Courtesy: USOWI.*

THE TASHKENT INSTITUTE OF EASTERN MANUSCRIPTS

BY ANNA KOCHERYANTS

SCIENTIFIC organisations of Uzbekistan together with the eastern institute of Academy of Sciences, USSR—at present evacuated in Tashkent—recently marked the seventieth birthday and the fiftieth anniversary of the scientific work of A. Semyenov, an eminent scholar of the east and author of over a hundred and sixty scientific papers. Semyenov is in charge of a large fund of eastern manuscripts in the Uzbekistan State Public Library. This extremely valuable collection is at present being transferred to the recently founded Academy of Sciences, Uzbekistan which is organising a special Institute of Eastern Manuscripts on this basis.

Professor Semyenov has devoted many years of his life towards the study and classification of this rare collection and is compiling three volumes of catalogues. He demonstrated to us the third volume which includes manuscripts on history, philosophy, biography, letters and correspondence; descriptions of travels and memoirs and treatises on grammar and style, natural science, medicine, agriculture, geography and bibliography.

"Persian manuscripts take the first place in our collection with respect of number," says Alexander Semyenov. "We have very many manuscripts in Arabian and Turkish languages.

"Belles-lettres of east are well represented on our shelves. We have, for example, the only extant copy of Khamza ("five poems") by the famous Persian poet, Emir Khosrov who died in 1325. And here is the manuscript by the greatest Persian lyricist, Hafiz, dating back to 1350. We also possess unique copies of poems by the great poet and moralist, Saadi who died in 1292."

Among the manuscripts are many lists written by the famous Calygraph and Norkeo in gold and silver colours; some of them belonged to various historical figures of the east.

"The department of philosophy and ideology of the Moslem east," continues Semyenov, "contains many heretofore unknown and unique manuscripts, as well as numerous copies which are of great value for their artistic execution. Our collection includes a considerable number of manuscripts on medicine, mathematics and alchemy in Persian and Arabian languages some of which have not yet been mastered by science. Many treatises have carefully drawn diagrams and are decorated with exquisite drawings."

The history of Central Asia—especially for the past three hundred years—is well represented. The fund has also extremely valuable collections of eastern lithographies and printed editions which came out in Central Asia, India, Iran and other countries of the east. Here is also to be found the only copy of the "Turkestan Symposium" consisting of 594 cardboard-bound volumes of similar sizes. The symposium is a two-thousand page collection of all the articles and papers written on the history of Central Asia from the sixties of the last century down to 1912 and is also furnished with detailed explanations. This collective work, which includes printed magazine and newspaper articles as well as pamphlets and books about Central Asia in Russian, English, German and French, was begun by the Russian scholar, Mezhev.

Semyenov says :

"Dramatists and artists get material on clothing and the interior decorations of palaces of visitors and khans. Historians look for the unique documents. I recently discovered an interesting document telling about how detachments of armed horsemen fought many centuries ago. It contained an especially interesting material on tactics of cavalry attacks and offensives. After studying it I made a translation which I forwarded to Marshal Voroshilov."

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

MR. Churchill's speech before the Commons begins with the statement that

"I have never taken the view that the end of the war in Europe is at hand or that Hitler is about to collapse and I have certainly given no guarantee or even held out any expectation that the year 1944 will see the end of the European war. Nor have I given any guarantee the other way."

About Hitler's army and the German General Staff, he said :

"The strength of the German Army is about 300 divisions though many of these are substantially reduced in numbers. The fighting quality of the troops is high." "The German General Staff possesses great skill both in handling of troops in action and in their rapid movement from place to place. The recent fighting in Italy should leave no doubt on these points."

Regarding the contribution so far of the Western Allies towards the vanquishing of Germany Mr. Churchill's statement related in the main to the aerial offensive over Germany and occupied Europe—which in his opinion had forced Germany to employ four-fifths of her fighter forces on the British and American fronts—and to the pinning down of between forty and forty-five divisions in Italy and Yugoslavia, besides holding down large bodies of German forces in France and the Low-countries through the fear of invasion. As regards the disappointing nature of the Italian campaign, as gauged by results, he attributed that mainly to extremely bad weather and to some extent to the obstinate nature of the defence ordered by Hitler against the Allied forces advancing upon Rome.

With regard to the future of the European campaign, he held out great hopes of wearing out the German aerial defences to the vanishing point. As to the coming offensive he gave great praise to General Eisenhower's staff arrangements and justified the handing over of the supreme conduct of the combined invasion forces to him. As regards the recent conferences, he paid some compliments to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and his wife.

He had much more to say about the conference at Teheran, specially about the political complications that may arise in the future. Finally he clearly stated that the Allies had agreed that the full force of all of the parties in conference at Teheran would be used to the utmost during the coming spring and summer.

Taken as a whole, the speech does not throw much light on the prospects of the Allies in the European war, viewed from a short-time angle. Mr. Churchill has made it clear that Hitler's war-machine has not yet begun to crack, and

that even after the tremendous battering it has received during the three years of the Russian campaigns it may put up such a formidable defence—by cutting its losses and shortening its lines—as to render the question of ending the European war in 1944 a problematical one. The position becomes still more puzzling when his own statements regarding war-production and numerical strengths of the fighting forces of the opponents are considered relatively. Even if we admit that the defenders usually enjoy an advantage of a handicap of two to one in such matters, the production and numerical strengths of the Allies as a whole should be overwhelmingly preponderant, if the problem of transport be solved. In any case, whatever might be the real hitch, the Eastern theatre of war has been again relegated to a second place beyond all doubt. Which means that this war is going to be a long one, from the global point of view, unless the Allies get an extraordinary run of luck.

Leaving future considerations aside one finds the Allied position encouraging in so far as the Russian battle-fronts of the immediate present—and recent past—are concerned. The German defence lines are being steadily levered back, though the fighting is gradually becoming fiercer and extended. The thaw is not very far off now and large-scale operation may have to be halted for some little period in the near future, in order to change over from the methods of the winter campaign to that of the spring and summer. But in this winter's campaign the Russians have been able to manœuvre into positions of vantage almost all along the line. If the question of transport across vast stretches of totally devastated areas could be solved, then the synchronized assault on the Germanic defences from the East and the West could now be developed on a titanic scale. The German defenders on the Russian soil have had no respite this winter, but of course neither did the Soviet soldier have any.

With the approach of spring the Second Front comes nearer its zero hour. Somewhere between March 10 and April 8—two full-moon periods—things should possibly begin to move. It is impossible of course to guess at the secrets of time and place—and methods—in the schedule of Invasion plans. This much is certain that the bloodiest of all struggles are ahead of the Western Allies and much will depend on how closely the secrets of the opening moves have

been guarded. The Allies are not leaving less of losses. In the seven months since the much to chance, to judge from what the various spokesmen of the United Nations have said, but still against an adversary of the calibre of the German Supreme Command, the element of surprise would be of the greatest value to the attacker. In Italy the Wehrmacht had shown an uncanny capacity for guessing the Allied moves and with meticulous care and great tactical skill, as admitted by Mr. Churchill, they had countered the Allied drive to Rome, utilizing every advantage of terrain, of weather and of transport facilities. From a desperate situation in which the Allies seemed to hold every card they had staged a recovery to the extent that the attacker now had to face a defence in depth that was not only getting harder and more obstinate every day but was growing more and more on the aggressive side, attacking and counter-attacking with an increasing amount of ferocity, in a rising tempo, which has made General Alexander describe the fighting as "terrific."

1942 was the year of fate for German aggression, 1944 seems to be the year of trial for the defence strategy set up by Hitler's Supreme Command. Up till now the defence has been successful in the West and South inasmuch no serious breach has been made in the defence lines in Western and Southern Europe, despite the extremely careful and vastly extensive preparations made for the attack on the "soft underbelly of Europe." The high hopes entertained at the time of the collapse of Italy have now been whittled down to the expectations of the fruits of a limited offensive, as can be gathered from Mr. Churchill's statement. Great undoubtedly as would be the effect of the capture of Rome on the Italian situation, it would have been infinitely more so had the Allies been successful in November or even in December. On the Russian front the German defence has not been able to stand up against the battering of the mighty armies of the Soviets. Nearly three-fourths of the soil overrun by the Germanic hordes has been wrested back from the invader, and some of his strongest defence bastions have been blasted out. But there too, it must be admitted, there has been no rout, and the German retreat has been orderly up till now. The Germans have suffered very severe losses, but their General Staff has so far been able to extricate the great army groups from encircling movements and to keep the defence line intact, in spite of the extremely violent assaults *en masse* by the Russian forces, pressed on regard-

less of the capture of Orel and Byelgorod, there has been no slackening of the Russian effort, no attempt at lessening the sacrifice of men or material, and the achievements have been magnificent beyond even the dreams of the United Nations. But despite many major reverses, and terrific losses, the German retreat does not as yet show the signs of degenerating into a rout, nor does the defence line indicate any definite signs of cracking up. As yet the defender seems to be able to call up reserves in time to patch breaches, to fight rear-guard actions and to hold up the arms of pincers movements from engulfing retreating army groups by putting up "hedgehog" defences against the logical path of the main assault columns of the Soviets' forces. Moreover, the resistance seems to stiffening slowly as the German line is shortening and drawing nearer to its main supply and reserve depots. All of which tend to substantiate the Soviets' contention that the German defence in the East will not tend to collapse until at least 40 or 50 of the 160 Axis divisions, now on the Eastern front according to Russian estimates, are drawn away to the Western theatre of war due to pressure exerted by the other Allies.

The situation, therefore, calls not only for an early opening of the Allied offensive in the West but also for the quick establishment of wide bridgeheads, through breaches in the German "West-Wall" defences, that would permit a vast invasion force to operate on a Second Front comparable in magnitude to the Eastern battle-zones. When the campaigns in the West match in intensity and extent those on the Russian front, it is only then that the crucial test of the Germanic defence strategy will come. Mr. Churchill's speech makes it clear that the Western Allies are now keyed up to the point of the supreme test and it also expresses every confidence on the ability of the chosen leaders to meet any exigency that may arise in the venture.

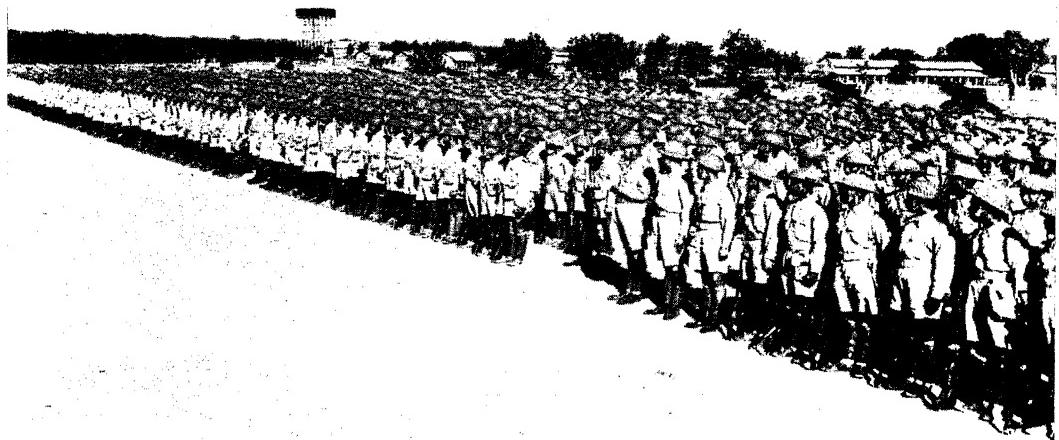
Coming nearer home, the situation in the Arakans is very obscure and that in the Hukwang valley somewhat less so. We are not as yet in a position to view the operations in these areas in their full perspective. Judging from what reports have been released to the press, no quick decisions are likely to be obtained on the Indo-Burmese fronts in the near future. As the monsoons are now only eight to ten weeks distant on the Arakan areas, the chances for a major thrust into Burma through that sector seem to be remote.



Fierce U. S. artillery barrage drives Germans from an Italian town



U. S. Marine gun crew fighting for Tarawa atoll in the South Pacific Gilbert Islands
Courtesy : USOWI



Thousands of Chinese soldiers trained and equipped by the U. S. Army centres in Eastern India stand at attention during an Address by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek who on his way back to China from Cairo Conference inspected these U. S. training centres in India



Major-General Chennault, Commander of the 14th U. S. Army Air Force, recently named as Chief of Staff for the Chinese Air Force, conducts members of the Chinese Aeronautical Affairs Commission on a tour of inspection of his headquarters unit at an advanced air base in China

Courtesy : USOWI

THE RISE OF MAHADJI SINDHIA

BY RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI

MAHADJI SINDHIA, lovingly called by his contemporaries as *Patil Baba*, was probably the most remarkable personality in Indian history during the last 30 years of the 18th century. His rivals for that distinction were Haidar Ali and Nana Fadnis, but the activities of these two ranged over a smaller area than Mahadji's and they had to struggle against much lighter odds than he. Above all his work endures, while the other two have left only their names behind. Mahadji was the founder of the State of Gwalior and the creator of its greatness, though the house of Sindhia first rose above obscurity to landed possessions—but on a much humbler scale, under his father Ranoji.

Ranoji, the hereditary patil or village headman of Konher Khed, died in 1745, and four of his sons,—Jayappa, Dattaji, Jotyaji and Tukoji, had all died by January 1761, and so also had done Jankoji the son of Jayappa. Thus, after the fatal day of Panipat, the only surviving son of Ranoji was Mahadji, born out of wedlock to a Rajputni girl. Mahadji had to start life with the heavy handicap of a slur on his birth. And this blot on his escutcheon led to a long delay in his being recognised by the Peshwa as the head of the Sindhia family and estates in succession to Ranoji's deceased sons.

Another and probably more potent cause of the delay was the discord in the Peshwa's family. Balaji Rao, the 3rd Peshwa, had survived the disaster of Panipat by only five months, and left his throne to his eldest surviving son Madhav Rao, a lad of sixteen only, though probably the most highly gifted prince of that race. Against him stood his paternal uncle Raghunath Rao—the man whose unpatriotic ambition afterwards brought the English merchants to attack the national Government of Poona and whose worthy son Baji Rao II completed his work by signing away the independence of the Maratha State at the Treaty of Bassein* in 1802. Raghunath's guilty plan was to raise a party of his own, usurp the *de facto* administration of the Poona Government and turn the lawful Peshwa into a political prisoner. This disloyal design Mahadji refused to support, and hence Raghunath, during the first few years when the youthful Madhav Rao was not yet firmly seated on the saddle, thwarted Mahadji in every possible way, especially by raising up rivals to him from among the other members of the Sindhia family.

Mahadji Sindhia was probably born in 1727. The story of his adventures in retreating from

the fatal field of Panipat (1761) closely pursued by a ferocious Afghan horseman who left him wounded and crippled for life, and his rescue by a water-carrier (*bhisti*), is well-known. We next hear of him as coming from Malwa to join the Peshwa at the siege of Miraj in December 1762. But he seems to have immediately returned to Ujjain without the question having been decided about his succession to the Sindhian State. A large *nazarana* of several lacs was demanded which Mahadji could not pay; and Raghoba who then handled all such important matters was not favourably disposed towards Mahadji as the latter evinced a distinct attachment to the young Madhav Rao. Mahadji's competitor for the family headship was Kedarji Sindhia, a son of Tukoji, the youngest of Ranoji's sons and not a little trouble to Mahadji was also created by the widowed ladies of the Sindhia family, the two wives of Ranoji, Nimbabai and Chimabai, both living, Jayappa's wife Sakhubai, Dattaji's wife Bhagirathibai, and Sagunabai the wife of Jotiba. All these ladies now suffered intolerable hardship for want of some supporter to look after their needs. In a letter dated 8th July 1767 Mahadji complains bitterly that his own mother Chimabai was for years living entirely on debts which had grown to twenty thousand rupees and that no one would lend her any more money.

Besides Madhav Rao and Raghunath and the ladies of Ranoji's family, there were others whose selfish interests conflicted with a speedy settlement of the problem of the Sindhia succession. Naro Shankar, erstwhile governor of Jhansi, Chinto Vithal, Raghoba's principal adviser, Gangoba Tatya Chandrachud, the mentor of Malharrao Holkar, these and others had all a hand in nominating the Diwan and other officials for managing Sindhian financial affairs. The nomination gave these worthies not only a share in the *nazarana* but also an opportunity to provide for their hungry dependents. Contemporary papers mention so many candidates for these posts that it would be tedious to enumerate them here. Nobody cared to examine the fitness of the nominees, nor the wishes of the would-be master. Mahadji did short work with two such officials, as will be seen later.

II

Personally Mahadji studiously avoided taking sides in the severe internece conflict that for long raged between the young Peshwa

and his uncle. During the summer of 1763 when Janoji Bhosle of Nagpur joined Nizam Ali and burnt Poona, the Peshwa called upon Mahadji then at Ujjain to descend upon Janoji's possessions of Berar. Mahadji obeyed the summons and so threatened Janoji that the latter at once threw himself upon the Peshwa's mercy. Madhav Rao was highly pleased with Mahadji's performance and wished at once to instal him formally as the successor of Dattaji and Jankoji. Mahadji had a cordial meeting with the Peshwa at Toka on the Godavari in October 1763 and together they marched towards Poona. But the project of Mahadji's installation received a sudden set-back owing to the appearance of a pretender who falsely personated the missing Jankoji Sindhia and claimed the succession. During November the pretender was examined and exposed and was suitably punished. In the meanwhile Raghunathrao appointed Kedarji to the Sindhan chiefship, fixing eight lacs as the amount of the *nazarana*. Within a few days, however, Madhav Rao issued sanads in the name of Mahadji, declaring him as the rightful heir, (15 Dec. 1763). This step only aggravated the confusion and threatened to spread the poison of domestic feud in Sindhia's house. Fortunately, Kedarji proved perfectly loyal to Mahadji.

But Jayappa's wife Sakhubai appealed to Raghoba against Mahadji's appointment, probably on account of his illegitimate birth : and the vacillating Raghoba issued orders setting aside both Mahadji and Kedarji and bringing forward his own nominee, Manaji Sindhia, a distant relative of the family, he being the grandson of that Sabaji Sindhia who had carried the Maratha arms to Attock during 1758. Manaji was a spirited soldier and staunch partisan of Raghoba. This supersession of Mahadji's claim incensed him terribly. He broke into open rebellion against Raghoba during the summer of 1764 when the Peshwa was absent in the Carnatak expedition against Haidar Ali. Mahadji at once proceeded to Ujjain.

As soon as Raghoba learnt that Mahadji had started for the north without obtaining his formal leave, the former issued instantaneous orders to his officials to arrest him immediately on the way. "Mahadji Sindhia has run away without taking leave, therefore he should be pursued night and day on the way and prevented from crossing the Tapti. Not a moment's delay would be tolerated." But Mahadji was not the man to be so easily cowed. He opposed the pursuers boldly and quickly reached Ujjain via Maheshvar on 13th July 1764. Nor did he care to report his action to the Peshwa or anybody-

else. He at once took possession of the actual management of his patrimony, not minding who was formally invested with authority by the Peshwa's Government. Raghoba resented this conduct of Mahadji all the more and at once called to his presence Mahadji's nephew Kedarji with a view to setting him up against the rebel Mahadji. Kedarji saw through the game and thus replied to Raghoba, "The revered Mahadji Bawa is already performing loyal service here. To him you should address whatever commands you have to issue. I am entirely dependent upon his wishes. We shall both serve you loyally." Thus Mahadji continued his operations in Malwa and exacted tributes from the local chiefs. Raghoba could not coerce him beyond issuing verbal orders. But he managed on the advice of his confidential and wily secretary Chinto Vithal to appoint one Mahadaji Govind as Manaji's Diwan and send them both into Malwa. Mahadji was equal to the occasion. He disregarded the new Diwan altogether and so managed matters that within a few months of his arrival, this new Diwan Mahadaji Govind was openly attacked and killed in a scuffle by the villagers near Ujjain in June 1765. Incidents like this disclose the inherent defects of the Maratha administration.

III

All the while Mahadji was not remiss in promoting the main interests of the Maratha government in the north. While he was near Kotah in Rajputana in May 1765, he learnt of the severe disaster which had overtaken Malharrao Holkar in an encounter with the British troops under Major Fletcher. Mahadji immediately ran to the defeated veteran's assistance, although in personal matters he was none too friendly towards Holkar's policy. Malharrao was then very old and so took to heart his severe rout by the English that he gradually lost his strength and died next year.

During the autumn of 1765 Clive appeared near Allahabad and gave a masterful turn to Indian politics by taking under British protection the Emperor and Shuja-ud-Daula and accepting the Diwani of Bengal. Shuja-ud-Daula who was chafing under the blows he had received at Baksar, was appeased and quieted. Clive's settlement caused a severe set-back to the traditional Maratha policy in the north, since hereafter the British came forth openly to dispute with the Marathas the future supremacy of the Indian continent. The young Peshwa well realizing the significance of these changes sent Raghoba expeditiously to the north, as he

was the only experienced man acquainted with the complicated affairs of that region. Raghoba appeared in Malwa in the early months of 1766, when Mahadji readily joined him and rendered whatever service he could, without showing the least chagrin for the treatment he had received in the past. While the Maratha armies were preparing to humble the Rana of Gohad, Malharrao Holkar died on 20th May, 1766 near Jhansi in the presence of Raghoba, Mahadji and Mudhoji Bhosle of Nagpur.

IV

Although during all these years Mahadji was subjected to the most distressing circumstances, he was cautious on one point. He carefully husbanded his scanty resources and utilized them in organizing his military arm, collecting a band of devoted followers whom he regularly paid and honourably maintained as the best means of overcoming his external difficulties. Most of his latter day companions and comrades in arms were reared during these early days. He left his own mother in want, as we have seen before, but concentrated on increasing his military strength, which throughout his future career underwent frequent reforms and changes as experience demanded. One of his lieutenants Raghoram Page writes on 17th August 1765 : "Here Mahadji has about him a band of devoted comrades ready to sacrifice their lives for him. All are of one mind, all imbued with a spirit of loyal service to Mahadji's master the Peshwa, in perfect imitation of the devotion and sacrifice exhibited by his brothers before him in the service of the Maratha State."*

Raghoba's expedition in north India during 1766 and 1767 proved a dismal failure. He could not subjugate even the Rana of Gohad, now joined by the Jats of Bharatpore; and as the emperor and Shuja-ud-Daula had been already detached from Maratha subjection, Raghoba had to return to the south utterly discomfited and therefore all the more enraged against his nephew for not having supplied him with enough funds from Poona and for planning to ruin his reputation. The ill-feeling soon assumed a serious form; the two came to open blows. The British agent Brome, who visited Raghoba at Nasik towards the end of 1767 and who incited him not a little to an open conflict, vividly describes Raghoba's attitude.

Raghoba openly demanded a half share of

the Maratha State; the Peshwa refused it point-blank and called to his presence the various important sardars in order to make them swear allegiance to him. This was in November 1767, when both Mahadji and Tukoji Holkar repaired to Poona. It was at this time that Mahadji received from the Peshwa his final official investiture without much ado about the *nazarana*. Tukoji and Mahadji remained loyal to the Peshwa throughout the ensuing campaign. Only two prominent sardars,—the Gaikwad and the Bhosle of Nagpur—sided with Raghoba.

The two parties came to close grips on 10th June 1768 in the vicinity of Dhadap near Nasik, when Raghoba was completely routed and compelled to submit to the Peshwa. Thereafter he was kept a close prisoner in the palace of Poona. Holkar's Diwan Gangadhar Tatya secretly helped Raghoba, a conduct which the Peshwa severely resented and for which the Diwan, besides being heavily fined, was caned in an open Darbar at Poona. Mahadji gained the Peshwa's high favour and regard and was at once despatched to the north to look after the Maratha interests there. Mahadji arrived on the scene of north India towards the end of 1768 and at once began to assert his personality on the situation which is well-known to history. Mahadji's Diwan Ragho Ram Page who has already been alluded to, and who was a partisan of Raghoba, now rebelled against Mahadji, who attacked and killed him in an open fight in January 1769, thereby teaching a lesson to all his subordinates that they had now to deal with a master who was not to be trifled with.

The year 1769 thus marks the rise of this last hero of the Maratha Empire, having served a period of tutelage for some eight years, of which the main incidents have been presented above. It is well-known how Mahadji's willing co-operation alone enabled Nana Fadnis to win the First Anglo-Maratha War which was provoked by the wicked Raghoba seeking British protection after the murder of his nephew, the Peshwa Narayan Rao.

This sketch of Mahadji Sindhia's early career clearly shows how cautiously he climbed the way to success in the midst of almost unsurmountable difficulties. All the great qualities of the head and the heart which he exhibited in his later career received their early development under the stress of the circumstances through which he had to pass in this early period. Destiny marked him out to be one of the greatest men that the Maratha nation has produced.

* Raj vol. 13, 22. The first 62 letters of this volume supply a fund of information on Mahadji's early career.

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

A Critical Survey*

By MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. UMESHA MISHRA, KAVYATIRTHA, M.A., D.Litt.,

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I consider it to be my first duty to express my most sincere gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy and Religion of this session of the Conference which is holding its sittings within the precincts of a University which I am proud to call my *Alma-mater*. Being fully aware of my limitations and of the onerous duty which a President has to perform I feel much diffident within myself to shoulder the responsibility, but as आज्ञा गुरुणां श्वचारणीया, I have no other choice.

As the President of a Section it is my next duty to deliver an address covering the progress achieved in the subjects connected with the Section since we met last at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1941, and to place before you some of the more important problems which as a student of Indian Philosophy I have before me.

Before proceeding with the first part of my work, I must confess very frankly that the survey of the progress made in this Section, as given below, in no way claims to be quite exhaustive and comprehensive. It is partly due to the short notice of the session and partly to the consideration of not encroaching upon the time of others while delivering it before the audience here.

I

The most important contribution to this Section is the *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. II, Parts I & II, by Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane. Pandit Kane's scholarship needs no introduction. The first volume of his *History of Dharmasāstra* has been before the public for over ten years and we know what great amount of labour and scholarship is necessary for such a monumental authoritative work. The present volume contains the treatment of *varna*, *āśrama*, *samskāras*, *ādhika*, *achara*, *dāna* and *utsarga* and *sravata* sacrifices. The author has based the exposition of all these topics on authoritative original sources including most of the modern *Nibandhas*. The subject is so vast and its nature is sometimes so complicated that it is difficult to say that all the schools of Dharmasāstra are

fully represented, but as far as it seems, Pandit Kane has not omitted any important text from his treatment. We are much indebted to the author for his contributions and are anxiously looking forward to see his third volume dealing with all the rest of the topics of Dharmasāstra which I hope is almost complete by now.

The next but not the less important work is *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā in its Sources* by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha with an Appendix named *Critical Bibliography of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*, also known as *Mīmāṃskusumānjali* by myself. It is the first volume of the newly started *The Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion Series* under the general editorship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and published by the Benares Hindu University. Dr. Jha was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest scholars of recent times. As regards his contributions to Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, we may say without any hesitation that he has done the same service which the great Kumarila Bhatta did in his time to the Sātra. His present work which was, unfortunately, his last contribution in this life, is the most exhaustive and all-comprehensive treatment of the three well-known schools of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, namely *Bhatta*, *Guru* and *Mishra*. By the publication of this work we have got a complete book on the History of Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā based on original sources.

The *Agamasāstra* of *Gaudapāda* deserves our next attention. Though generally it is called *Māndūkyakārikā* or *Gauḍapādakārikā*, yet the present author likes to name it *Agamasāstra*, because it is an "authoritative treatise which deals with or is based on a traditional doctrine or doctrines." It has been edited, translated and annotated by Mahamahopadhyaya Vidhushekha Bhattacharya of Calcutta after a thorough study of the book for about twenty years. Professor Bhattacharya is not at all satisfied with the interpretation given by Sankarāchārya, and identifies it with that of the *Vijñānavāda*. It is true, holds Prof. Bhattacharya, that *Gaudapāda* advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās*, but certainly, takes the *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanisad* as the ultimate basis for his treatment. One may or may not share with his views, but there is no doubt that his treatment has opened quite a new line of thinking and is worth further investigation. In spite of

* Presidential Address (Philosophy and Religion Section) delivered at the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University, December 31, 1943 and January 1 and 2, 1944.

all the praise that the present edition deserves, it is a fact that the printing of the text in *Devanāgrī* script would have been much more desirable.

Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University deserves our congratulations for his *Early History of the Vaisnava Faith and Movement in Bengal*. In this interesting work the author gives us an account of the views of early Chaitanyaism based on almost all the original works written by the followers of Sri Chaitanya. Though not quite exhaustive, the author has given a summary of almost all the works written in Sanskrit by scholars and devotees inspired by the personality of Chaitanya. He also discusses therein the interpretation of *rasa-sāstra*, theology, philosophy, rituals etc., as found in the works of Vaishnavism of that period. The book, on the whole, is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature and deserves our praise.

One of the most important books that has been published in the *Adyar Library Series* is *The Philosophy of Visistādvaita* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M. A. The main purpose of this work, as he himself has told us, is to give a critical and comprehensive exposition of the central features of the Philosophy of *Visistādvaita* and its relation to other schools of Vedānta. The author very dispassionately and critically elucidates almost all the aspects of the school. He proceeds with a clear outlook and makes efforts to judge his statements from the correct angle of vision of all the schools of Vedānta. His statements are quite authentic and do not conflict with the true spirit of the school on any point. The author seems to me one of the best exponents of the thought. It is indeed a very good addition to the literature of the school.

Dr. S. C. Nandimath, Principal, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, has added *A Hand-Book of Virasaivism* to the literature of the Lingayata School. Saivaism is one of the important schools of Indian Philosophy which has two sub-schools—Saivaism of Kashmir and that of Southern India which is, ordinarily, called Virasaivism, or more popularly, Lingayata Darsana. The author has made a comparative study of the various schools of Vedānta and has compared and drawn contrasts between their views and those of the Lingayata school. The teachings of this school are more particularly moral, but their philosophical back-ground cannot be overlooked. The author has discussed topics like the conception of God, *Sakti*, *Māyā*, Appearance, and Reality. The book is well written and the author deserves every encouragement.

History and Philosophy of Lingayata

Religion (being an Introduction to the *Lingadharanacandrikā* of Nandikeshvara) by Mr. M. R. Sakhare is another work added to the literature of Virasaivism. The main object of the author is a comprehensive treatment of the History and Philosophy of the school. Mr. Sakhare traces the origin of the school to the 12th century A.D. The school has got a philosophy of its own and deals with the social and religious aspects also as practised amongst its followers. It is influenced both by Saivism and Śāktism. Both in theory and practice its views are very reactionary and revolt against the orthodox views and do not appear to believe even in the influence of the *Law of Karma*. Perhaps this was the reason why it could not spread far beyond the locality of its origin.

The author in his enthusiasm has gone far beyond the limits of his main theme, and so has been not much successful in his attempts. It was not at all necessary for him to go back to the old questions and discuss the much controversial topics of the ancient civilisation of the country in this very volume. If the author were serious enough to discuss such questions, he could have done it in a separate volume. Besides, some of the statements made therein are far from satisfactory and ought to have been more critically examined before being put before the public. As it is, the book is much confused and contains many things which need not have been there at all.

Next, I pass on to the *Nimbarka School of Vedānta* by myself. As far as I know, no attempt was ever made to write in English, as a matter of fact, in any language except Sanskrit, a comprehensive history of the school prior to this. The only book published in English is the *Doctrine of Nimbarka* in two volumes by Dr. Roma Bose (Chaudhari) which is nothing but an English translation, with some annotations, of the two direct and indirect commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* of Bādarāyana, known as the *Vedānta-Pārijata-Saurabha* and the *Vedānta-Kaustubha*. The third volume which was announced to contain a full philosophical exposition of Nimbarka's doctrines is still awaiting its publication. The book under review is an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of the school based on almost all the available texts in print. It is fully documented and is thus most authoritative.

The work of Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, named *Vallabhacharya—Life, Teachings and Movement* is perhaps the latest addition to the literature of the Vallabha School. The book is divided into four sections—Life of Vallabha—Teachings

of Vallabha—Movement of Vallabha and the Bhāgawatadharma in Gujarat. The exposition is quite popular and has not much of philosophy in it. What I mean is that no effort has been made in this book to go to the original texts as to bring out the philosophical doctrines of the school. Perhaps that was not even the object of the author. Though quite interesting, the book cannot be taken to be a scholarly representation of all the aspects of the school based on original sources. Then, we know that there is much scope for writing on the social and religious aspects of the school which also are not found in this book. To me the school of Vallabha appears to be, more or less, a living system which exists not only in the belief but is strictly adhered to in practice, and so it is necessary that a much more comprehensive study of the doctrines of the school should be presented to the scholarly world. I have been myself working on it for about a year or so and have collected all possible and necessary material and hope to present a volume to the scholarly world before long.

The Jaina Sadhus have been writing in Sanskrit for a pretty long time on Jaina thoughts. It is gratifying to find that they have lately begun to write in English also to popularise their thoughts. This will enable us to have more authentic books based on original sources and traditions of the *Sampradāya*. It is our first duty to preserve the traditions which alone can guide us like a torch in our scholarly pursuits to bring into light the hidden treasures of thoughts. It is because we have lost tradition in several branches of our literature that we are quite in the dark as to the correct interpretation of various important problems connected with them.

I am glad to mention in this connection the efforts made by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya of Ahmedabad. Under the common title *Sramana Bhagavān Mahāvīra* he has brought out four volumes. The first part of volume I deals with the twenty-six previous *Bhavas* (existences) of Mahāvīra after the realisation of *Samyakta* (right belief). The second volume contains an account of the twenty-seventh *Bhava* of Mahāvīra as *Vardhamāna Kumāra*. The third volume treats of *Ganadharavāda*, that is, the explanation of doubts by the eleven chief disciples of Mahāvīra namely, Indrabhūti and others. The fourth volume is named *Sthavirāvalī* which contains an exposition of the *sthaviras*, that is, the old and highly respected learned ascetics. All these works are well annotated, translated and explained. Every effort has been made to make these volumes useful and up-to-date. The

expositions though very lucid, interesting and informative, are sometimes more frivolous. To write much more than what is necessary seems to be a habit with the modern Jaina writers. For a scholarly work brevity of expression should always be adhered to.

Cosmology Old and New by Mr. G. R. Jain and published in the *J. L. Jaini Memorial Series*, contains a free English translation of the fifth chapter of the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvāti with ample notes. The author has not only taken great pains to explain the sutras but has also gone beyond the scope of his school to compare and contrast its doctrines with those of the other systems of Indian Philosophy. This sort of comparative study is, undoubtedly, very useful and desirable, but one should remain very careful against misinterpretation of thoughts. There are certain statements in this book which are quite misleading and confusing, and I am afraid, instead of doing any good to the beginners they may create prejudices in their mind.

A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas by Prof. H. R. Kapadia gives us the history of the Svetambara Jaina canon. The author has collected very good material from the original sources based on MSS. He has tried to emphasise more on the traditional aspect of the thought, and so he may not appear to be very critical in his judgment to the modernists. It is good that we should try to preserve our traditions, but at the same time we should not forget to make out clear distinction between traditions and history. There is no serious and systematic arrangement of the various aspects of the thought. With such an ample and original collection of material the author would have written a far more interesting and critical book on the subject.

Likewise, we have got a few modern works on Buddhism also to note here. There is the *Early Monistic Buddhism*, Vol. I by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt wherein questions like—what is not Buddhism, what is early (monistic) Buddhism, how a Buddhist should live, etc., have been discussed. The book is written more from the popular point of view than for the use of critical scholarship.

Then there is a collection of sporadic writings and lectures of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids which she has named *Way-farer's Words*, Vol. II. It contains an account of her own researches in early Buddhistic sources. She rightly criticises the various old and current views on Buddhism and holds that for the correct interpretation of Buddhist thoughts original Pali

records are still to be properly studied. Most of the interpretations of the Buddhist thoughts, holds she, have been disproved simply because they could not be supported by original texts. She goes even so far as to apply her argument to systems like Vedānta also. There is enough truth in what she has said. Indeed, working without consulting original texts is responsible for many a mistake in several other fields also.

The Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras is a very interesting book. The author in nine different chapters has expounded the ethical aspect of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of *Visistādvaita* by adopting, as he himself says, western methods of critical enquiry. The ethical stand-point of the various schools of Indian thought has been examined in the light of the western thought and a true valuation of the position of the Gītā has been made out. The author is a very good scholar of *Visistādvaita* school and has clear ideas about the different stand-points of almost all the schools. His treatment is quite lucid and unbiased.

The Progress of Indic Studies (1917-1942) published by the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in connection with its Silver Jubilee contains a brief survey of the progress made in Indian Philosophy by one of my students Dr. P. T. Raju of the Andhra University. The author gives us a very sketchy account of the work done in this field. The treatment, besides being quite unsatisfactory, is entirely misleading. It is strange that the author is so ignorant of the essential characteristics of Indian Philosophy. He has throughout misrepresented the Indian outlook and is not at all clear as to the high standard that Indian Philosophy has ever kept before it. One fails to understand how a philosophy, which deals with the ultimate Truth, can change with the change of the cultural surroundings. There are so many misleading remarks and sometimes quite incorrect, that it is not at all possible for me to refute them here. I will, however, certainly refer to one or two points which will be quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the subject. Every Sanskrit Pandit is never regarded as a philosopher. There are thousands of *Vaiyakaranas*, *Jyotisīs*, *Vaidikas*, and many others who never, even in their dreams, think of themselves as philosophers, although they are great Pandits. His assumption that for being a philosopher and for understanding the difficult Sanskrit texts training is needed in the European philosophy is entirely fantastic. You can very easily gather his ideas about

Indian Philosophy from the following lines which I quote from his essay. He says :

"It is true that, Sanskrit being a dead language, a good deal more knowledge of the language is required for the understanding of Sanskrit philosophical texts than of English for the understanding of English philosophy. But this admission does not imply that every Sanskrit scholar without the necessary training in philosophical thinking can be a philosopher. And training is needed not only in Sanskrit philosophy but also in the European. It will not do if one knows a little about Berkeley's *Principles* or Spinoza's *Substance*. A more systematic training is necessary before India can produce many philosophers who can rank with the greatest intellects of the West. Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western Philosophy is necessary."

Such being the standard of judgment of Dr. Raju, I think only half a dozen (or even less) scholars who have got thorough training in European philosophy, can deserve to be called Indian Philosophers, while Sankarāchārya, Ramanujāchārya, Vāchaspati Mishra, Shriharsa, Udayanāchārya, Dharmakirti, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and all those, who have done similar services to the cause of knowledge in India and are regarded by all as great philosophers of this country, do not deserve to be called philosophers, simply because they were never systematically trained in Western Philosophy. It is painful to hear and even pronounce any judgment on such remarks of Indian students. I am extremely sorry to have dealt with this at length, but I think it is very necessary for me to speak of it in this manner, so that no sane student of philosophy of any country should ever cherish such a wrong notion about Indian Philosophy in future....

Besides, some other works also have appeared during this period, and without discussing their merits I only mention them here: *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *Studies in Religion and Philosophy* by Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, *The Meaning of the Religious Forms* by Mr. Abinash Chandra Lahiri, *The Yoga of Kāthopaniṣad* by Shri Krishna Prem, *Lectures on Yoga and Vedānta* by Swami Shivananda, *Bhagavadgītā and Modern Philosophy* by S. C. Roy, etc.

Recently efforts have been made to write History of Indian Philosophy in Hindi. We have two such works before us worth mentioning—one by Dr. Nandakishora Devaraja and the other by Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Professor of this very University. The book of Pandit Upadhyaya is much more comprehensive and scholarly than that of Dr. Devaraja. It presents a very good reading to those who do

not know the subject and cannot read the standard works from the original sources. As these remove a long-felt desideratum in Hindi literature I welcome them, and hope that many more efforts will be made to produce better books in other modern languages.

Similar efforts have also been made in Maithili in recent times. The late MM. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha wrote a book on Sankara-Vedānta called *Vedānta-Dipaka*. It is very interesting and lucid in its exposition. Dr. Jha, as was his usual habit, has explained the whole system without confusing his readers with the intricacies of Vedānta. The book is written for popular use and not for any critical scholarship.

Likewise, Babu Ksemadhari Sinha, B.A., Vedantavinoda of Madhubani, has written a small book on Sankhya, named *Sāṅkhyakha-dyotikā* in Maithili. The author has followed the treatment of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* and has tried to give the substance of the entire school in this small book. His exposition is quite easy and lucid and is very interesting for general reading. Though not quite in agreement with the outlook of the author, I welcome such efforts simply because these are useful for those who would have remained quite ignorant of the subject without such books.

(To be continued)

INDIAN WOMEN IN SCIENCE In Memory of Late Bhava Sankar Datta

BY GAURI SANKAR DATTA

EVERY year educated Indian ladies after doing a considerable amount of scientific research in several laboratories throughout the length and breadth of this country read their papers before the Indian Science Congress. It is needless to say that they have received approbation and encouragement from eminent scientists and their papers are also published in several respectable foreign journals and periodicals. The following papers were read and discussed before the Indian Science Congress held at Delhi in the first week of January, 1944 :

In the Section of Mathematics and Statistics :

1. On Stirling's approximation Based on Fourier Transform. By Miss A. George, Trivandrum.

In the Section of Chemistry :

1. Electric Polarization of Binary Liquid Mixtures. By S. K. K. Jatkar and Mrs. Nagamani Kulkarni, Bangalore.

2. On the Constitution of Castelamarin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.

3. Synthesis of Analogues of Santonin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.

4. Pharmacological Study of Some Synthetic Lactones and Compounds Related to Santonin. By Miss K. D. Paranjape, N. L. Phalnikar, B. V. Bhide and K. S. Nargund, Poona.

In the Section of Botany :

1. Embryology of *Cupressus Funebris* (Endlicher). By Miss Mona Sircar and P. N. Mehra, Lahore.

2. Studies in Jute I. A few interesting observations in the root tips of nine types of jute. By Miss P. R. Parukutty, Calcutta.

In the Section of Zoology and Entomology :

1. Histology and Development of the Corpus Luteum in *Rhinobatus Granulatus Cuv.* By Miss Mary Samuel, Madras.

2. Effect of Vitamin-A Deficiency on the Female Reproductive System with Special Reference to Albini Rats. By Miss Mary Samuel, Madras.

In the Section of Anthropology and Archaeology :

1. Baradeo of the Gond. By Miss Durga N. Bhagvat, Bombay.

In the Section of Medical and Veterinary Sciences :

1. Interesting Organic Substances in Routine Precipitin Tests. By C. O. Karunakaran and Miss Victy Vedakkan, Trivandrum.

In the Section of Physiology :

1. Daily measurements of Basal Metabolism, Body Temperature and Pulse Rate During a Journey to the Tropics. My Miss Eleanor D. Mason, Madras.

In the Section of Psychology and Educational Science :

1. Psycho-music in War and After. By Mrs. Bani Chatterjee, Calcutta.

2. The Emergence of Natural Muscular Rhythm. By Miss Priti Kanjilal, Lucknow.

If the philanthropists and the charitably disposed aristocracy of the country come forward and endow special research scholarships and fellowships for the girl scholars of our country, we are confident many more will be able to show their merit in the respective spheres. We also appeal to the Government to set apart a round sum of money, to be utilised as stipends and scholarships for the women researchers and we believe our appeal will not go in vain.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PROGRESS OF INDIC STUDIES, 1917-1942 :
Edited by R. N. Dandekar, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. 1942. Price Rs. 8 exclusive of postage.

The Bhandarkar Institute worthily celebrated its Silver Jubilee by publishing this useful survey of Indological research. Most of the papers published are useful as compilation of recent data, excepting the article of P. T. Raju who, in his survey of Indian philosophy refers, mechanically, to lots of writers and book-makers on the subject but forgets to mention, even by name, Dr. Sir Brijendranath Seal, the Socrates of the modern Indian school, who prepared the ground for some of its future Platos and Aristotles. Dr. Dandekar's paper on Vedic Studies is as thorough as it is illuminating; and Dr. Unvala has supplemented the Editor's article by his able paper on Iranian Studies. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, a pioneer on Indian Linguistics, contributes a most valuable and suggestive paper, ably seconded by Dr. A. M. Ghatage who gave a brief sketch of Prakrit Studies. Dr. U. N. Ghoshal gave an exhaustive survey of publications on Greater India. But the chapters on Archaeology, and especially on South Indian Archaeology, appeared disappointing. A serious omission, owing to unforeseen circumstances, of a single paper on Islamic Studies, weakens the otherwise well-designed structure of the volume. But it deserves a place in all of the research libraries on Indology.

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH :
By Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 only.

Dr. Ghoshal, the worthy Secretary of the Greater India Society and Editor of its *Journal*, has given, in this volume, a comprehensive and commented survey of publications on Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia, Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa, Java, Bali, Borneo, Celebes, Sumatra, Malaya and Ceylon. The learned author deserves the gratitude of all those scholars who want to study the history of Indian civilisation, with its organic context of Asiatic culture. In Sir John Marshall's words, it might be said now that "to know Indian Art (and culture) in India alone, is to know but half its story." The complete history of our cultural heritage could only be written, if and when we would be in a position to correlate our Indic Studies with those on countries influencing and influenced by India. Dr. Ghoshal has given us a reliable and illuminating guide-book which should be consulted by all serious students of Indian history and culture. From the valuable Bibliography printed in Appendix, the students would get substantial help for further research.

The critical discussion of materials by the author, is very helpful and we recommend the book of Dr. Ghoshal to all the University and research institutes interested in Indology and Asiatic Culture.

INDIAN BOUQUET : *By Zeb-un-nisa Hamidullah. Published by Gulistan Publishing House, 48, Jhowtola Road, Calcutta. 1943.*

In these days of din and bustle one would forget that life ever renews itself through youth and songs. Amidst the horrors of starvation, India expresses her poetic soul nevertheless through the songs of her poetic children. And here we greet with joy the silver voice of a Muslim girl-poet. In this first book of hers, we read poems which make us feel that she is accustomed to lisp in verses from early years. Coming as she does from a cultured and liberal Muslim family she strikes the note of true democracy in her "Song of the Musselman." She gives us ballads of joy as well as lyrics of tears. Love naturally plays the dominant note in her youthful orchestration of sentiments; but she is fully alive to the sorrows and tragedies of life, testifying to the depth of her soul. Her "Voice of India"—poem would find sympathetic chord in many hearts.

O, Give us freedom !
Must we be
Forever chained,
In slavery ?

World-wide rings
The battle cry,
"To keep freedom,
We will die."

The book is printed with taste and illustrated with lively sketches.

KALIDAS NAG

SILVER JUBILEE VOLUME OF THE BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : *Poona. 1917-42. Pp. vi+686. Price not mentioned.*

This substantial volume fittingly commemorates the Silver Jubilee of an institution associated with one of the foremost Indologists of his generation. It consists of seventy papers covering a wide variety of topics bearing on different aspects of Indian history and culture. It is impossible in the course of a short review to notice all the important papers comprised in this work. But we may mention a few points. Under the branch of pre-history, we may refer to the suggestive paper of Father H. Heras, *Three-headed Animals in Mohenjodaro*, holding on the basis of his identification of two unique sculptures recently discovered at Raichur

(Nizam's Dominions) that "these monsters or at least some of them, were representations of demons or evil spirits." Under the head Vedic, mention may be made of *Rita in the Rigveda* by V. M. Apte, justifying the primary sense of the word to mean Zodiac. Other interesting papers are *Indra, the Representative of the Highest Physical Aspect of Nature* by V. A. Gadgill (criticising all existing theories of the God's nature as inadequate and identifying Him with *tejas*), *The Vedic Doctrine of the Worlds Above* by H. G. Narahari (concluding that the Vedic seers believed in a three-fold heaven, the lowest belonging to Yama, the middle to Savitri and Surya, and the highest to Vishnu, and last but not the least, *Divodasa Atithigva and Other Atithigvas* by H. D. Velankar (indicating four distinct Rigvedic kings called Atithigva of whom Divodasa was probably the first to be called by that name). More speculative is *Certain Vedic, Avestan and Greek Traditions and the Age of the Rigveda* by H. C. Seth (identifying a number of Rigvedic kings with those of Media, Persia and Lydia) as also *Indra and Ahalya* by R. Shama Sastri (allegorical explanation of a famous myth). Of great value for Smriti studies are *Manu-smriti* and *Sagotra Marriages* by K. B. Gajendragadkar (discussing a well-known text of Manu and its interpretation by Kulluka), *The Meaning of Acharyya* by P. V. Kane (combating the view that this term is used by Kautilya to mean his teacher) and lastly, *The Harmonising of Law with the Requirements of Economic Conditions according to the Ancient Indian Dharmasastras, Arthasastras and Grihyasutras* by Ludwill Sternbach, (illustrating his thesis by reference to the rules of interest, of fixation of prices, of laying out of irrigation work, etc.). Among valuable contributions to the study of classical literature, we may mention *Epic Questions (II)—Parva-samgraha Figures* by V. S. Sukthankar (discussing these figures for *Adhyayas* and *slokas*), and *Devi-Bhagavata or Bhagavati Purana* by S. N. Tadpatrikar (reconstruction of successive stages in the growth of the Devi-Bhagavata on the basis of two MSS. in the Bori collection). Under the head Archaeology, we have to notice the valuable paper of V. S. Agrawala, *Mahabharata Notes* (identifying with monumental illustrations the Prakara-vapra-kundala of Mbh. II. 101), M. R. Majumdar, *Iconography of Chandra and Chandrasekhara Images* (referring among others to a Paharpur terracotta), A. P. Karmarkar, *Some Nude Gods in Hindu Pantheon* (tracing the nude figures of Siva and Lakulisa, Balakrishna, Kama and Rati to the proto-Indians of the Indus Valley and the proto-Dravidian (?) Abhiras). Mention may be made in this connection of the editions of some inscriptions of no particular importance by Gaurisankar H. Ojha, M. G. Dikshit, Dasaratha Sharma, and Dines Chandra Sircar. An interesting contribution to Ancient Indian chronology is made by D. R. Mankad, *Manvantara-Chaturyuga Method* indicating that yugas were of equal length first of 1,000 years up to the days of Sumitra and then of 1,200 years at least up to the rise of the Guptas and the Chaturyuga of 40 years was taken as a king-unit in the Puranas. Under the division Religion and Mythology, we may mention *Historical Notices of the Lokayatas* by B. A. Saletore giving epigraphic evidence to prove that the Lokayatas were not a secret society of profane thinkers but a body of philosophers respected both by Hindus and Jainas for more than five centuries. Reference may also be made to *The Palace of Hiranyakasipu* by M. V. Vaidya (discussing the relation of the versions of the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa and the Puranas) and *The Origin of Narayana* by L. B. Keny (deriving the name of this deity from a combination of Dravidian words and suggesting that this Aryan god was the Supreme Being of Mohenjodaro). Interesting contributions

to Pali and Prakrit are made by P. V. Bapat, *Sankhakshita Brahma-cariya* and A. N. Upadhye, *Harisena's Dharma-pariksha in Apabhramsa*. Under the caption Literary History and Biography, we may specially notice *Govindaraja* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (giving an exhaustive study of the Ramayana commentator par excellence of South India), *The Dindima Poets of Mullaandram* by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (giving a biographical sketch of a South Indian family of Pandits hailing from Gauda according to tradition), *Nilakantha Chaturdhara* by P. K. Gode (giving the biography of a Mahabharata commentator whose grandson was patronised by Raja Shahi), *Malatimadhava-laghuvivavara* by N. A. Gore (giving some biographical notices of the commentator), *Bhupalavallabha* by S. L. Katre (critical notice of an astrological work finished in 1356 A. C. by a Maharashtra Brahman), *Sukha-prakase* by E. P. Radhakrishnan (biography of a writer of the early 18th century A.C.), *Anubhutisvarupacarya* by V. Raghavan (identifying a number of works of a South Indian grammarian and philosopher), and lastly, *Commentators of the Ramayana in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries* by P. P. S. Sastri. To the branch of general history great importance belongs to *Gangeyadeva of Tirabhukti* by V. V. Mirashi (correcting the reading and translation of a Ramayana colophon by Bendall and suggesting that this king was a Rastrakuta ruler of Mithila in the beginning of the 11th century). Of notable importance also for the study of Ancient Indian history are *The Home of the Satavahanas* by S. A. Joglekar (locating their original home around Karle and suggesting that they were called Andhras as belonging to the Andhra Valley in the Poona district), *The Vishvakurus and Sivalakura of the Kolhapur Coins* by N. Govind Pai (identifying the capital of these princes and suggesting that they were sons of three specific Satavahana kings). On the other hand, a highly speculative character belongs to D. S. Trivedi's paper *Sheet-anchor of Indian History* (suggesting that Alexander invaded India in the time of Chandragupta I, Seleucus was defeated by Samudragupta and Chandragupta II of the Gupta dynasty issued the so-called Piyadasi inscriptions). Coming down to later times, *The Imperial Mystics of Delhi* by S. R. Sarma, illustrates a little-known trait in the character of the Timurids from Babur to Aurangzeb, while *The Family-records of the Peshwa's Agents at Delhi* by G. M. Khare brings to light a valuable collection of documents recovered recently from the family archives of a Maharashtra Brahman family of Nasik. Other branches represented in this fine volume are Philology, Philosophy, Fine Arts and Avestan. Altogether we may take it as a very valuable contribution to the study of Indology and connected topics.

U. N. GHOSHAL

A STUDY OF THE INDIAN MONEY MARKET:
By Bimal C. Ghose. Published by Oxford University Press, 1943 (July). Pp. xii+205. Price not mentioned.

This little volume is right welcome as the first of its kind in India. We have been long waiting for books solely devoted to a study of our different money markets, both short and long. Mr. Ghose satisfies this need fairly ably and successfully, in spite of numerous difficulties well-known to workers in this field. He presents us here a comprehensive and critical study of the Indian money markets, with particular reference to conditions in the Calcutta money market. This study is divided into three parts. The first part is mostly a critical as well as descriptive account of the organised and the bazaar sections of the money market. The second part is devoted to the work of the Reserve Bank as the controller of credit and operations of the two sections

of the money market, specially in Calcutta. The third part deals with the long-term capital market. The book is thus likely to prove equally valuable both to the student and the general reader.

This book, the author explains in the Preface, was completed in August, 1941, except the last chapter: "it does not, therefore, incorporate changes, that have taken place since then." This omission is to be sadly regretted.

P. C. GHOSH

SCIENCE AND ETHICS: By Dr. C. H. Waddington, Sc. D. and others. Messrs. George Allen and Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.

The book represents a fairly exhaustive discussion of the relation between Science and Ethics from diverse points of view. Dr. Waddington opens the controversy with a clear and succinct statement of his thesis to the effect that the supposed harmful consequences of Freudian Psychology, Anthropology, Marxism and Logical positivism upon the general intellectual validity of Ethics are unjustifiable. Dr. Waddington agrees with them in their empirical method of ethical investigation but opposes their reduction of ethical results to secondary by-products. This he does on the basis of two assumptions, *viz.*, the super-ego and objective goodness of the direction of Evolution.

The origin of the super-ego is a controversial problem. Dr. Waddington seems to advocate a radically empirical derivation of the Super-ego. Mrs. Melanie Klein, however, lays emphasis on the importance of the impulses of the individual himself in the origin of the Super-ego and makes it plain that the origin of the Super-ego is more complicated than Dr. Waddington supposes. She says that the different stages of the Super-ego formation depends on the way in which the child conceives of its parents. Mrs. Klein also traces the evolution of the child's conception of good and evil. Dr. Karin Stephen notes her dissent from Dr. Waddington's explanation of the "other worldliness" of ethical compulsions as "the result of invasion of infantile solipsism by external reality." (Prof. Huxley, however, entertains it as suggestive and novel). She points out the looseness of Dr. Waddington's usage of the term Super-ego and rightly shows the relationship between the Super-ego, the Ego and Id. Again Dr. Stephen takes exception to Dr. Waddington's identification of the Super-ego with the good, which is manifestly wrong in the face of the neurotic and a large part of psychotic diseases being due to a dead-locking of the vital impulses of human beings with the primitive or diseased types of Super-ego. Here she joins issue with Prof. Huxley in suggesting "that the way towards good is to be looked for along the lines of releasing these energies from their grapplings through reason and still more by appropriate education and by opportunities for fuller life" with a mild warning to him lest "he may underestimate the difficulties with which we are faced."

Regarding Dr. Waddington's second fundamental issue that the direction of evolution is towards good, Dr. Stephen starts with what she calls her "present working hypothesis with regard to ethical problems," which is very like Dr. Waddington's. "Evil coincides roughly with neurosis and psychosis, i.e., with mental and moral disease and good with spiritual growth, health and sanity." The Super-ego is at first in conflict with the Ego, Id and Reality. But "as the Super-ego evolves and matures it changes radically. As it approaches the end of its development the now transformed Super-ego is then no longer at loggerheads with the Id, conflicting with it and stultifying it, but on the contrary falls more and more into harmonious alliance with it." This brings

both the Super-ego and Id "more closely into touch with reality and so approximates them more and more to the ego, whose function is to mediate between impulse-life and the external world so that satisfaction may become an actuality and the organisation can function to its fullest capacity." Dr. Waddington comments upon this commentary of Dr. Stephen as unjustifiably optimistic. But may it be noted that this is as realistic or optimistic as Dr. Waddington's assertion that the Direction of Evolution is good on its own account.

Dr. Waddington admits the difficulty raised by Miss Rothschild's first point in which she draws attention to the contribution made to man's ethical development by people who are themselves unbalanced and treats these cases as exceptions rather than proving the rule. Her second point as to the importance of the hereditary determination of our ethical standards, he regards as unconvincing.

In conclusion we appreciate Dr. Waddington's wisdom in selecting Psycho-analysis as the representative school of contemporary Psychology in determining the contribution of Science to Ethics. But this should not mean that other schools of Psychology have nothing to say over the problem.

PARESNATH BHATTACHARYYA

INDIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA: Edited by Jan Baros. Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta. 1948. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 7.

Eminent men and women in Asia and Europe have recorded their messages of goodwill and tribute in this delightfully illustrated volume commemorating the 25th anniversary of Czechoslovak National Day. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, President Benes and Mr. Duff Cooper have sent their greetings to Czechoslovaks in India, while Radhakrishnan, Lesny, Geoffrey Tyson, Benoy Sarkar, Arthur Moore and Karel Capek have dwelt on some aspect or other of Czechoslovakia's past struggles and achievements as well as her present sufferings. Others have drawn historical parallels between this brave, ambitious yet tormented nation and India where understanding of and sympathy for the land of Masaryk and Palacky, Smetana and Dvorak are deep and abiding. Cultural ties between these two peoples have found lively expression in the brush of Nicholas Roerich and Asit Halder and in the reminiscences of Uday Shankar. The enterprising Editor of this volume deserves congratulation for having succeeded in forging another link of cultural fellowship between the marching ahead of two struggling peoples towards national emancipation within the framework of a just and enduring international order.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

NYAYA THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE: By Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. 418.

The book bears the *imprimatur* of a learned and authoritative body of men, *viz.*, the University of Calcutta. As such, it is beyond cavil. Presumably it is a thesis for a doctorate and must have been carefully scrutinised and passed by experts in the line. When, however, it is submitted to the inexpert judgment of the lay critic of a Periodical, the intention perhaps is to find out how the general reader will take it. But it may be said at once that a Ph.D. Thesis is not an introduction to the subject and is not food for the mind of a tiro or a dilettante. It comes from the ripe pen of an erudite scholar and is material which only the advanced intellect can digest. Judged according to this standard, the book before us deserves praise.

There is one thing, however, which strikes the general reader of this University's publications. Its researches are mostly, if not exclusively, in antiquities. Research, of course, is searching for and bringing to light, things which were known to scholars at one time but have since been forgotten. As such, research is bound to look back into the past; and the more distant the past looked into, the more brilliant is the research. Of historical research, this is undoubtedly true. But must it be so in Philosophy also? Has not Philosophy any modern problems to face or any future ones to look into? Must the human mind only ruminate and never germinate? And is it too much to hope that this question will attract attention in quarters entitled to consider it?

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

A TRIP TO PAKISTAN: By Yusuf Meherally. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 133. Price Rs. 5-8.

The title of the book is both misleading and just. Pakistan in all its variants claims both the Punjab, Sind, Frontier Province and Kashmir; and Bengal. A trip to Pakistan should not therefore confine itself to one of its component parts alone. But as the Punjab is the home and the birth-place of the Pakistan idea it is just and appropriate that the author should describe his experiences of the trip to the Punjab, when he was gaoled early in 1942 as a trip to Pakistan. It is frankly a political satire and is a refutation of the complaint that we Indians take our politics too seriously. Written in an entirely new and attractive style it promises to be one of the most discussed books of the year.

Instead of placing ourselves between the reader and the author, the best service that we can do to him is to let the author speak direct. As we have no space for making lengthy extracts, we give below only two—the author's description of the Pakistan Muslim League and Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha. They illustrate the author's method and are typical of his shrewd observations:

(1) "The President of the Pakistan Muslim League is the Nawab Saheb of Mamdot—a man of great tact and wealth. His role has been to keep the road that leads from the residence of the Qaid-e-Azam to that of the Qaid-e-Pakistan in a state of good repair."

"A first class engineering job, without the least doubt. And who," I asked, "is the head of the Lahore Muslim League?"

"Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan," was the reply. A very rich and enthusiastic young person. Next there is Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ramzan, ex-General Secretary of the Pakistan Muslim League.

"So two Nawabs and a Khan Bahadur," I remarked, "lead the procession of Muslim League celebrities in Pakistan? This is splendid. In other countries of the West, the controversy between the advocates of Heredity and Environment has been raging fast and furious with the advantage going to the environmentalists. I am encouraged to find that in Pakistan at least, Heredity has won hands down, and that the ties of blood and state still abide. From a strictly scientific point of view, I am interested in particulars about aristocratic lineage and social position. Pray, throw some light, if you can, on these aspects also."

"The Nawab Saheb of Mamdot retired after distinguished service in the Nizam State; Nawabzada Rashid Ali Khan is the son of the late Sir Zulfikar Ali Khan; Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ramzan retired as the Deputy Postmaster-General of Pakistan. One of his sons is in the Indian Police Service and is a Superintendent in the C. I. D., Lahore, while another is in the Provincial Civil Service."

"Many thanks indeed for these illuminating particulars. But who looks after the office, the propaganda department and the volunteers?"

"The office Secretary of the Lahore League," continued my friend, "is Khwaja Abdul Gani, a very sincere and respected worker; the Propaganda Secretary is Mr. Inayatulla Khan, an ex-Professor and one time a believing Christian, who subsequently embraced Islam. He has travelled to the Muslim League via the Ahrars and the Ittehad-e-Millat and is an effective speaker."

The Salar-i-Azam of the Volunteers is Mian Ferozdin Ahmed, a powerful mass speaker, full of aggressive push, which often sets many complications rolling. In the Khilafat days, he was sentenced to life transportation for distributing the Fatwas of the Jamait-ul-ulema among the troops, but the Montford Reforms brought amnesty; in the Shahidgunj agitation he called Governor Emerson "Amarsing"; later spent several months in the internment.

Men like Mian Ferozdin among the Muslims and Beli Shah among the Hindus are fiercely adored and equally fiercely condemned. They have been denounced times without number as goondas, mischief-makers, communists; and hailed equally loudly as saviours, plucky organisers and protectors of religion! Two colourful men undoubtedly, among the most social in Pakistan and as it were essentially the product of and typifying the present disturbed times.

(2) At last the Hindu Mahasabha.

I learnt that Raja Narendra Nath, Bhai Parmanand and Sir Gocalchand Narang are the high spots of the Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha. Other prominent persons include Rai Bahadur Mukundal Puri, Captain Keshub Chunder and Rai Bahadur Gopaldas. This pageant of titles, needless to say, impressed me greatly. To this list may be conveniently added the name of the veteran Professor Gulshan Rai, restlessly ready with intellectual arguments in support of the Mahasabha position.

The President of the Pakistan Hindu Mahasabha, I had imagined to be some sort of a fierce superman, clad in flowing saffron robes, standing on a tiger skin, Gita in one hand and sword in the other, perpetually dreaming of *Hindu pad padshahi*. What was my surprise then to discover that Raja Narendra Nath was an old type of noble aristocrat, gentle as a lamb, polite as a courtier, amiable like your own grandfather and a great devotee of Urdu and Persian poetry. No one responsible, associates his name with aggressive communalism. Sir Sikandar called him *Chacha* (Uncle). He has indeed remarkably few personal opponents.

It is even said that during his period of Government service—he retired many years ago as the Commissioner of a Division—the Hindus frequently branded him as pro-Muslim. He has lived to see the tables strongly turned against him, without getting ruffled. When Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. Jinnah arrived at a draft of a communal settlement, some years ago, Raja Narendra Nath was the only prominent Mahasabhaite to accept the document. Owing to certain differences with his "nephew"—the Pakistan Premier, he has resigned from Parliament, though still his two favourite hobbies are politics and poetry.

Bhai Parmanand's life has been an essay in sacrifice, the latter part of the essay vivified by a militant identification with communalism. Its beginning was thrilling—revolutionary activity, sentence of death, commutation to penal servitude for life, the horrors of jail life in the Andamans—release, Chancellorship of the National University, fame as a scholar of history. Then came a

swift drift to communalism, election to the Central Assembly, bitterness born of ineffectiveness and isolation from the masses, a sense of frustration on seeing the Hindus troop out of the Hindu Sabha and rally to the cosmopolitan banner of the Congress. This helplessness found expression in hysterical denunciation, which brought only the reputation of a crank. The one-time scholar of history forgot that it is not easy to march against the current of history. His motto is : Never agree with anybody. Even Mr. Savarkar is not excluded from its impartial operation....

The price of the book, perhaps justified by the present-day high prices, seems to be high.

J. M. DATTA

GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT GLORY : By Prof. K. N. Vaswani, M.A., LLB. Published by Kitab Mahal, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 272. Price Rs. 5.

This is a book of eighteen chapters containing essays on ancient history of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Chaldea, Persia, China, India, Crete, Greece and Rome. The stories close with 476 A.D.—the fall of the Roman Empire. First chapter deals with the meaning and philosophy of history and the second gives an account of the world before the dawn of history. The last three chapters survey mankind through ages and take a stock of the lessons of history so far as the ancient world is concerned and finally the author discusses the significance of civilization as is revealed through human progress in the East, as well as, in the West. The author believes in fraternity of races and nations for which poets and philosophers sang and preached and warriors and conquerors fought and perished.

The author claims no originality. The book as an introductory study will be suitable to the undergraduates of the Indian Universities and the general readers will also find it interesting and useful.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

RABINDRA-GRANTHA-PARICHAYA : By Brajenra Nath Banerji. Sahitya Niketan, Calcutta. 1944. 2nd and enlarged edition. Pp. 106. Price annas ten.

It is no wonder that this book has gone into a second edition in only one year's time, for it is a handbook on the Bibliography of our great poet's works in prose and verse, which every student of Tagore's genius finds indispensable. The second edition, by embodying many new facts and correcting old errors or clearing doubtful points, has acquired an independent value of its own. The writer's relentless pursuit of the minutest truth about Tagore's writings and his accurate and methodical presentation of the fruits of his research, are truly admirable.

JADUNATH SARKAR

VAIDESHIKI : By Sunitikumar Chattopadhyaya. The Bengal Publishers, Calcutta. 1943. Price Rs. 2-8 only.

Our Bengali literature has already been enriched by translations and adaptations from English, French, German, Italian, etc., but so far, little attention has been paid to the myths and legends of other nations of Asia and Europe. Dr. Chatterji is a pioneer of comparative philology and so naturally felt the urgent need of expanding our cultural outlook as he has done by publishing the volume under review. His first story *Derdrin* is from old Irish and *Brunhild* is from Teutonic sources. There is a paper on Mexican Renaissance and another on the culture of the Yoruba and the Negroes of Africa. The rest of the articles are devoted to the Arabian Nights, Tibetan Kesar Saga, Chinese divinities

and Burmese Kyanzitha. Dr. Chatterji with his habitual enthusiasm, makes those countries and peoples live again in our soul. He has thus rendered signal service to our literature and we recommend his *Vaideshiki* to all lovers of literature.

KALIDAS NAG

TELUGU

ANDHRA JYOTI : By Dr. Gullapalli Narayana-murti, Anakapalle, Vizagapatam Dt. Price annas ten.

Here is a drama that is quite out of the ordinary. Its object is to secure a separate province for the Andhras through social reconstruction and elevation of the masses. Skilful blending of the materials, variety, tempo, topical interest, and clever characterisation mark it as a topping entertainment. The character of Karma-vir is a superb creation which rapidly grows into life.

The style is quite apt and adds directness and sparkle to the dialogue. Yet, a little pruning, here and there, would have made the play compact.

VIRAH : By Mokkapatni Krishnamurti. Navya Sahitya Parishad, Guntur. Price annas four.

Sweet effusions from the pen of a pining Romeo deficient in Vitamin D. Mostly soulful and below the weather. As we are not in conspiracy with Cupid, we are apt to say : "After all, women are women." We can only advise, as Noel Coward did :

"I fully realise your romantic soul,
But you must utilise a little self-control."

A. K. ROW

GUJARATI

KHANDERNO ZARUKHO : By Bhagirath Mehta. Printed at the Swadeshi Printing Press, Ranpur. 1942. Pp. 19. Price annas three.

The title means the Balcony of a Ruin and the idea underlying the collection of the verses composed by Mr. Mehta seems to describe the sights seen from the Balcony of that ruin by the composer. Verses on the Suez Canal arrest one's attention and so do the prose-like verses on the experiences of Suburban Railway travellers. There is promise behind these early attempts.

MHARI CUTCHI YATRA : By Muniraj Shri Vidya Vijayji. Printed at the Raichura G. J. Printing Works, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 307. Unpriced.

Muni Shri Vidya Vijayji is in the habit of writing in details about the places where he passes his monsoon period. After Sind comes Cutch. Besides historical information, the book under notice narrates the various social activities to which the Muniji devoted himself during his stay there and the high regard in which he was held by the prince and the peasant. The language in which he has written his experiences is simple, such as it should be for this kind of work.

RIGVED KALNAN JIVAN ANE SANSKRATI : By Prof. V. K. Vaidya, Surat. Printed at the Anand Press, Bhavnagar. 1942. Paper cover. Pp. 244. Price Rs. 2.

A perusal only of the contents of the fifteen chapters which form the bulk of the book would convince the reader as to how thorough and wide has been the study of his subject by Prof. Vaidya. Life and Civilization during Vedic times have been described by writers in other languages, but in Gujarati this is the first attempt of its kind and it gives us a vivid picture of the state of society in those remotest days. He has examined his subjects critically and quoted chapter and verse in support of his opinion. It is a valuable contribution to literature.

K. M. J.

THE AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

By PRAKASH CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.

Allahabad University

THE AGRICULTURAL PROSPERITY

IT is an irony of fate that when the economic devices and peculiar methods of War Finance of the British and the Indian Governments began to bring a topsy-turvydom of our whole economic structure with the consequent result of hunger and death for the millions, the authority would visualise the light of prosperity in our country, which reached its climax when Mr. Leopold S. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, unhesitatingly declared that India was "prosperous." Our Finance Member also played his own part when he took an opportunity to speak of the peasant's prosperity in his Budget speech of 1943. On the basis of this alleged rural prosperity, our agriculturists have been made the targets to carry on their deflationary campaign by the authority. Contributions from the peasantry have been enforced and in some places exaction of rent in kind from the cultivators is also not unknown. But the Bengal Famine has given a rude shock to Sir Jeremy's impression of rural wealth and the mounting toll of human lives due to prolonged starvation has exploded the *Ameryan* conception of prosperity. The sample survey of destitutes in the Calcutta streets made by the Department of Anthropology of Calcutta University reveals that 72.7 per cent of the sufferers belong to the agricultural classes, both landed and landless. What is true of Bengal is a *fortiori* true of the rest of India. The whole fact is that it is befitting only for a classical economist of the bygone days to conclude boon and prosperity from an immediate sign of high prices. According to the modern doctrine, we should look more to the costs-prices equilibrium for an economic stability. Along with the high prices of the agricultural commodities, the cost of productive materials and also the cost of necessities of the peasants have increased to a far greater extent, and thus the costs have more than followed the soaring prices during this so-called War-boom. Under inflation, the poor become poorer and the rich richer, and as such, there is nothing to wonder if our peasants suffer most. Hence this unsettled dogma of a rise in the purchasing power of the agriculturists is a mere myth.*

On the basis of this alleged surplus purchasing power at the disposal of the agriculturists, there has recently been a move from the Central Government for the introduction of taxation on agricultural incomes in the provinces as an anti-inflationary measure. Among the States, Travancore has taken the lead in introducing such a tax. Assam and Bihar have already taken resort to it. It is now learnt that Madras and the Central Provinces have agreed to fall in line with the above two provinces. As Bombay is bearing the brunt of the Excess Profit and other income-taxes, it is reluctant to the introduction of the agricultural tax. The Punjab and Sind are opposing vehemently such a tax and persuasions are proceeding from Delhi either to levy this tax or to adopt such other deflationary measures in those provinces. A bill for such a tax which was introduced in the Bengal Legislative Assembly in September last was referred to a Select Committee which has recently submitted their report, and the Bill is now awaiting the sanction of the Bengal Legislature, which is expected to meet in early February, 1944. The subject-matter of this paper is the discussion of this tax as proposed for Bengal.

THE AGRICULTURAL INCOME-TAX

The old and the clumsy controversy that whether land revenue is a tax or rent, or *tax in rem* or a *tax in personem* is beyond our scope here. For the sake of equity and justice our aim is towards progressive taxation and we are in consonance to increase the revenue of the Province through such levy whenever the time and the object become visible. Nor do we even think that a tax on agricultural incomes will be a downright violation of the terms of the Permanent Settlement and in fact, agricultural incomes were taxed from 1860 to 1865 and then again from 1869 to 1873. For the sake of expanding the sources of provincial revenue, Assam and Bihar have already taken resort to the agricultural income-tax in their respective provinces,—Assam in 1939 and Bihar in 1938. The exemption limit in Bihar is much higher than that in Assam. In the former case it is Rs. 5,000/-, whereas in the latter Province, it is Rs. 1,500/-. The proposed Bill in Bengal has followed Assam, so far as the exemption limit is concerned. The schedule of the rates of taxation for different incomes in these two provinces are given below :

* In this connection, a reference may be made to my article, "G. D. Birla and the Commodity Inflation," *The Modern Review*, November, 1943.

	Bengal (In the Rupee)	Assam
(1) On the first Rs. 1,500 of total income	Nil	Nil
(2) On the next Rs. 3,500 of total income	0-0-9	0-0-9
(3) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income	0-1-0	0-1-3
(4) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income	0-1-6	0-2-0
(5) On the next Rs. 5,000 of total income	0-2-0	0-2-6
(6) On the next balance of total income	0-2-6	0-2-6

It will be seen that though the exemption limit is the same, the rate is generally higher in Assam than in Bengal, for the maximum of annas $2\frac{1}{2}$ is payable on the incomes above Rs. 15,000 in Assam, whereas in Bengal the same rate has been fixed up for incomes above Rs. 20,000. In Bihar, however, the burden of the tax is far lighter than both of these provinces. Not only that incomes below Rs. 5,000 have been exempted there, but the rates on the higher slabs are also comparatively lower. But when compared with the rates of taxation imposed by the latest budget of the progressive State of Travancore, it is found that burden in all these three provinces far exceeds the burden of taxation in that State. The limit of exemption in Travancore is the same as in Bihar, but the rates for other grades of incomes are far lower than those in the three provinces. In that State the maximum rate is 20 pies which makes a gulf of difference when compared with that of 30 pies in the provinces. It is inconceivable, why in Bengal the rates proposed should be so high and the exemption limit so low as even to surpass the burden as it is in her neighbouring Province of Bihar, and this again at the time when there has been an enormous increase in the cost of living of the agriculturist, as well as of the people at large, mainly due to the evil effects of inflation. The consequent result will be a regression of the tax system and a heavy pressure on that larger portion of the middle class who depends mainly on incomes from land and who is also an important element of the present-day society. This class is already in a state of severe hardships.

To take credit of their endeavour to combat inflation, some provinces have shown a little over-enthusiasm in adopting a few deflationary measures within their own jurisdictions. Under the spur of such anti-inflationary zeal, the Government of Bengal might have also thought that their Bill for agricultural income-tax when effective, would cut out one of the feet of this inflationary *Dragon* which has come into existence owing to the deliberate blunder on the part of the Central Government. It is better if the Bengal Government realise that their weapon is simply a toy-weapon to fight this fearful Dragon. The yield of this tax in the two pro-

vinces where it is already in existence has proved to be so negligible and disappointing that it is not even adequate to foster any sort of welfare or public work. The following table gives the yield of the tax in the provinces of Bihar and Assam for the last four years :

Years	Bihar	Assam
1939-40	Rs. 5.80 lakhs	Rs. 83.00 thousand
1940-41	Rs. 14.90 "	Rs. 39.20 lakhs
1941-42	Rs. 17.06 "	Rs. 27.12 "
1942-43 (Revised)	Rs. 17.65 "	Rs. 27.00 "
1943-44 (Budget)	Rs. 17.65 "	Rs. 27.00 "

For Bengal, however, we have not yet got any estimate. But the Finance Minister's version reveals that the tax will not be productive before 1944-45 and our impression, in the light of the above figures, is that it will not even be very productive after that year. Are these not mere drops in the ocean to combat inflation, especially, when we realise that more than rupees 600 crores of unnecessary currency have already come into the market from the *printing press*? The probable yield is not even sufficient to meet the huge deficits of Rs. $7\frac{1}{2}$ crores (which is likely to increase up to Rs. 14 crores) in the Bengal Budget for the current year. Moreover, why the Government should be worried of their deficits and think of balancing the budget at such a critical juncture and emergency? It is their Famine Budget and they should be ready to spend loosely as much as is necessary, for now is the question of life and death before the whole Province. From this point of view, we do not mind if the deficits run up to Rs. 20, Rs. 25 or even up to Rs. 30 crores. For the present, however, the Government of Bengal may meet the expenditures by borrowing from the Central Government, by floating loans themselves and lastly by sales of Provincial Treasury Bills (to this the Government have already taken resort). To have a balanced budget in the midst of hunger and starvation is not only an obnoxious sign of *haute finance* but a self-deception too; and hence this sort of Gladstonian prudence should be set aside in the era of Keynesian unorthodoxy.

There is another side of the problem. It is desirable that the proceeds of this tax should be spent for the welfare of the agriculturists, but the Government have not yet disclosed the purpose for which the tax is to be used. We become more doubtful of it when we find that the yield from jute sales tax and general sales tax was not spent for national and social building services.

The conception of the agricultural prosperity, on which is based the truth of the

Agricultural Income-Tax, is simply a myth. If, in spite of this fact, the Government of Bengal want such a tax to be introduced, they should at least raise the limit of exemption to Rs. 10,000 or above, and really speaking, the value of this sum is not more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ thousands according to the pre-war prices.* Leaving aside the rent-tax controversy, even the argument that the other classes having lower incomes have to pay the general income-tax, does not seem to be very sound in this case. Apart from the benefit of security and steadiness of their incomes, these classes enjoy at present the benefits of dearness allowances, rations at controlled rates, cheap grainshops and cheap cloth. Not a single of these, surely, reaches the agriculturist. Further, the landlords in the Permanently Settled areas have got certain social, religious and ceremonial obligations to be observed throughout the course of a year, thus making them liable to heavy expenditure, which none of the salaried class is ever to incur. Herein lies the most important distinction between a zamindar and a rich man of any other class. The zamindars are demanding legislative and other measures to facilitate them in their collection of rents from the tenants

as pre-requisites of their ability to pay the tax, and ultimately they may shift the burden of the tax on the peasant, which will lead to the coercion of the famished agriculturists, particularly at a time when the whole agricultural operation has been thrown out of gear. The last depression dragged the agricultural countries all over the world headlong towards bankruptcy, and Bengal being predominantly agricultural suffered most. Along with the peasantry many of the zamindars were totally ruined and some of these landed aristocrats have actually turned into *landed* proletariates during this unexempted and historic depression. The various debt legislations carried out during the depth of the depression to relieve the agriculturists from the grip of the dead hand of usury have entailed more evils than the expected good. The proposed agricultural income-tax will put an additional burden on those people who are already over-burdened.

A horrible man-made and artificial famine unprecedented in the living memory has stalked the whole province and though the crisis has abated a little, the danger is not yet over. The food crisis is being followed by a medical crisis. Even during famines of the bygone days, remission of land revenue was the custom; but in the midst of an incomparable crisis, we are, on the other hand, threatened today with the introduction of a Tax on the peasants !

BENGAL, 1943

BY CYRIL MODAK

Land ! where every maiden singing sent love-laden

Songs to greet the dawn and eve,
Swinging silver censers wives were sweet
dispensers

Of those boons divine that leave
Clinging hope, desire singing, ringing, bringing
Heaven to earth so none may grieve !.....

Skeletons now call
In Bengal !

Village after village flying from the pillage
Of the ghoulish hordes of Death,
Flying torn asunder, flying from the plunder
Of the ghoulish hordes of Death,
Flying panic-stricken, flying, crying, lying
Hunger-stricken, choked for breath,...

Skeletons now call
In Bengal !

Child and milkless mother, clasping helpless brother,

Bloodless, fleshless, nerveless lie,
Clasping bride and lover, clasping to recover
Breath enough to say "Goodbye !"

Gasping hunger-stricken, clasping, grasping,
gasping,

Choked with thirst and doomed to die,...

Skeletons now call
In Bengal !

Victims luckless, friendless, bearing torture
endless,

Trapped by demons, gods and men,
Bearing famish'd anguish, daring thus to languish
In that blood-drunk jackals' den,

Tearing child from mother, daring, staring,
tearing

Hunger-haunted, hapless men,....

Skeletons now call
In Bengal !

The Twentieth Century

AMERICA'S WINDING FURROWS FOR VICTORY

By BLISS ISELY

THE American Farmers, after fighting a battle against soil erosion for three centuries, are commencing to turn the tide toward victory on about 1,000,000 of the 6,096,799 farmsteads.

Visitors to the rural districts can recognize the farms where victory is on the make, for there the fields are tilled in winding rows that follow the contour lines of the terrain. A hundred different practices are involved in soil conservation, but the most valuable and also the most noticeable is contour tillage. This practice is making headway in 846 districts, of which 106 have been formed within the last year. While the areas of conservation districts are established by the co-operating farmers themselves, the majority follow county boundary lines. Since there are 3,070 counties in the United States, it will be seen that the work of saving the nation's most valuable resource—the land—is gaining headway over almost one-fourth of the country.

It must be remembered, however, that the formation of a district is only the beginning. Even after a district is organized, not all of the farmers will join in the movement, and even after a farmer decides to adopt soil-conservation practices, he needs about five years' time to convert his land from the traditional straight-row cultivation to contour tillage.

Since 1935, when Congress created the United States Soil Conservation Service, of which Hugh H. Bennett is chief, 42 states have passed acts enabling farmers to organize conservation districts. Districts are organized by elections and an overwhelming majority—usually two-thirds and sometimes three-fourths—of the farmers within the proposed district must vote for it before it becomes effective. After it is formed, they elect a board of directors, which make rules subject to the approval of the majority in the district at annual meetings. The United States Soil Conservation Service then sends a district conservator to help the farmers with their problems. His work is educational and advisory. Usually he is a graduate of the agricultural college of the state where he serves. He not only must be satisfactory to the farmers but also to a state conservation commission.

The Federal Government must pass on his qualifications as to ability and it also pays his salary.

While soil conservation district work is new, results are astonishingly good. Now that the people of the United States are facing the most serious food and clothing limitation in their experience, the fact that food and fibre production is even slightly increasing on a million farms is of consequence.

By comparing crop yields on contour-tilled fields with fields listed in straight furrows the value of the new methods can be measured. As an example there is A. N. Tiffin in the New Mexico District. Not content with merely listing his fields on the contour, he terraced and listed his cattle range in the same manner. It took about two years for the grass to recarpet the furrows completely, but his cattle now have 50 per cent more pasture to eat on the same acreage, which means that he is able to produce 50 per cent more stock. Another farmer listed his wheat field and increased his yield by 30 per cent. Furthermore, it was better wheat. Dairy farmers of Wisconsin and Illinois report that the new practice has increased their grain and grass yields so that they can provide more milk, ice cream, butter and cheese.

The prize report is from the state of Texas, where the owners of 174 farms comprising 34,000 acres and including every rod in a single creek valley, banded together in 1935 to form a soil conservation district on their own account prior to the passage of an enabling act by the Texas Legislature. Today, a visitor can stand on a hill overlooking the valley and will see fields of cotton in winding strips alternating with strips of corn and grass and other vegetation, all laid out on contour lines by a surveyor's level.

This has increased corn yield by four and a half bushels to the acre, or about 14 per cent, and cotton yield by 70 pounds of lint to the acre, or about 25 per cent. Pastures are growing approximately 20 per cent more grass. Wells that had gone dry are providing water for man and livestock once more, and the springs that had been clogged shut with mud are bubbling up to feed the creek with clear water that runs constant the year around, instead of running muddy after rains and dwindling to a trickle in dry seasons.

And how does the mere winding of furrows work such a conjuring trick?

When furrows are listed straight, they must follow the directions wherever they lead, whether up or down hill. Each down-hill furrow forms a channel along which water may speed from a field. The straighter the channel, the faster the water dashes along it. It is a law of physics that if the speed of water is doubled, it can carry four times as much mud in solution. This means therefore that speeding water dashing down a straight furrow tends to carry off the top soil in the form of dissolved mud. It takes at least 400 years, so soil scientists tell us, to build one inch of topsoil by the natural process of growing leguminous crops. It takes only a few years to carry away an inch of top soil through erosion. The water slides it off in such thin sheets that even the farmer cannot see its disappearance. Since the average top soil on the uplands of America is only from five to seven inches deep, it can be seen that the loss of one inch in ten years, while not noticeable to the eye, can destroy the best upland farm in only 70 years.

Nature protected the fertility of its land with grass and forest growth, while the plow destroys this cover. In Europe, where farmers grow small grains that are seeded broadcast instead of planted in rows and where much of the land is in pasture, the loss has not been so severe as in America. In China and India where many of the crops are grown in terraced fields, the same land has been cultivated for 3,000 years without loss of fertility. The addition of

fertilizer and rotation with leguminous crops can repair losses caused by the growing of grain crops, which impair fertility.

By contour tillage, the water is held in the furrow so that it cannot remove the rich top soil. Further, water held on the ground soaks downward so that it can nourish the roots of plants, while the surplus percolates to bedrock and feeds springs or replenishes wells. On the High Plains, furrows are listed on a dead level broadside to the slope of the hill and no water is allowed to escape. Even with eight inches of rain, good crops have been produced on the High Plains by this practice.

In the eastern states, where the soil is not thick enough to absorb all of the rain that falls and where the rain sometimes totals 60 inches a year, the furrows are listed slightly at a slant from the contour. The excess water empties from the ends of the furrows over a grassy meadow prepared in advance.

Hugh H. Bennett, chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, points out that soil conservation has a by-product. If water can be kept on the farms or if it can be detained in its rush from the land to the streams, the severity of floods can be reduced. Since floods cost the U. S. vast sums every year, the small amount of money appropriated by Congress to pay the salaries of district soil conservationists will be amply repaid.

Courtesy : USOWI

SMUGGLERS OF THE STORE HOUSE

By T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A.

WAR is a great consumer of national energy. One of the most vital energy-supplying agencies is food. Therefore, if a nation's condition of food supply is maintained sound during wartime, that nation can to an appreciable extent do much not only in the alleviation of hunger pangs but also in the successful prosecution of war. The grow more food campaign of which we hear so much is one based upon the above fact. In India, in order to increase the present food supply attempts are being made in various directions. Various conferences have been held and committees organised to tackle with the food problem.

The measures adopted for the enhancement of food supply can be broadly grouped under the following two heads :

(a) Increasing the quantity and quality of crops by wider and more improved farming and harvesting.
 (b) By saving the quantities that are lost through pest infestation.

The province of this article is to review briefly the seriousness of insect infestation on stored-up grains and the popular methods employed for controlling the pests.

The more important food grains and cereals that are stored are rice, wheat, bajri, joar, grams and dals of different kinds. Unless properly stored and necessary preventive measures taken none of these stores can escape from the attack of insects. Grains and cereals are not only partly eaten but also partly ground to useless dust by these pests. It has been roughly calculated by agricultural experts that the quantities of

stored-up grains thus lost annually amount to 2½% and more. With this 2½%, if saved from infestation, more than a million human beings can be fed for a year. Store-house pest therefore is a serious problem. Entomologists in consultation with Biochemists are straining every nerve in devising ways and means for the extermination of these insect-fifth-columnists. Even in normal peace times many scientists have directed their researches to this end. The commencement of the Grow More Food Campaign has given a fresh impetus to their activities.

There are more than 40 varieties of insects that attack stored-up grains and foodstuffs. They are generally termed 'Weevil.' Weevils are beetles with a prominent snout or beak which enables them to pierce the grains. Some grain pests are not weevils at all but belong to the moth group.

With few exceptions the weevils complete their life cycle in the grain. The life cycle consists of four stages : (1) the egg, (2) the larva (caterpillar), (3) pupa and (4) the adult. The moths also pass through similar stages in their life history. In the case of weevil pests both the larvae and the adults are injurious to the grains whereas in the case of moths the larvae alone are harmful. The small wormlike organisms and the powdery silky clots that one comes across in stored-up grains and flour are really not worms but the larvae and the pupae of the weevils and moths.

There are many who believe that the weevils are spontaneously generated in stocked grains. But scientists know there is no such thing as spontaneous generation. A fresh stock if carefully preserved and protected from the outside weevils (in any stage) entering it, the new stock will never develop a weevil population of its own within. It should be understood that the weevils are very prolific breeders and lay a large number of eggs at very short intervals propagating their species by millions. The eggs and larvae are very minute in size and from an infested stock a few eggs or larvae are unknowingly transferred to an uninfested fresh stock through some agencies (such as the hands of the person who handles both the stocks or the measure used for both the stocks) the young ones in the fresh stock develop in no time and in a few days multiply in such large numbers that the whole surface layer of the grains is covered by them. This sudden appearance of such large numbers must have been the reason for the belief that weevils occur spontaneously.

Owing to the facts that once these pests enter the stores they commence to attack the

grain and multiply by leaps and bounds, that in a short time they render the stores useless and it is very difficult to retrieve the good grains from the infested and that complete rounding up and elimination of these enemies by ordinary remedial measures is next to impossibility, the most prudent and effective step with regard to these insects is to adopt the defensive measure of prevention.

The following are in short the more popular and useful preventive methods in vogue :

1. To see the grains that are to be stored are properly dried and free from moisture prior to their being put in the granary. Moisture is a favourable environment to the pests and should be avoided as far as possible.

2. Mixing the grains with ashes or chemicals like copper sulphate or a small quantity of Mercury (the latter two in consultation with experts). These methods avoid the pests. It should however be borne in mind that the grains are to be thoroughly washed before use.

3. A small quantity of castor oil smeared uniformly over the grains and cereals before storing serves as a good preventive.

4. Common salt, turmeric powder, the leathery husks of cashew nuts, dry leaves of *Ocimum sanctum* (Tulsi) or Margosa (Neem)—these if mixed with the stores are said to prevent pests.

5. With regard to unbroken grams rubbing them with a paste of fine red clay and drying before storing is also a good method.

6. Storing only in dry and clean containers.

The last mentioned measure is the most essential and effective so far as prevention of pests is concerned. But it is regrettable to notice that more due to ignorance than indifference necessary care is not being exercised mostly by the laymen store-keepers and ryots in the selection and employment of proper containers and in maintaining them clean and dry.

As a rule grains and cereals are preserved in small quantities in tin or earthenware bins as in the houses and shops of retail dealers.

Larger quantities are stored in huge bamboo baskets smeared with cow-dung or large wooden boxes.

Bulk preservation is done in underground cellars in loose heaps or in gunny bags in godowns.

All the above type of containers are of course quite satisfactory but the danger comes from the neglect in cleaning and making them perfect before storing. Especially with regard to the storage in large quantities, the containers should be examined well before being filled. The baskets should be well smeared with cow-dung and dried in the sun to avoid moisture. The wooden boxes should have no interspaces and should possess tight-fitting lids. Before filling, the inside may be washed with a solution of carbolic acid or phenyle in water and dried. If

these preliminary although simple measures are not taken there can be the likelihood of the minute larvae of pests hiding in the crevices and corners.

Regarding bulk preservation in underground cellars there is a wrong yet diehard view that darkness is a preventive against pests and the rooms should be kept completely closed and dark. Experiment however has proved that the reverse is true. Weevils and moths are nocturnal in their habits and they prefer darkness to light. Well-ventilated cellars are decidedly better than dingy ones. Before storing the grains in the cellars the first point to remember is to see that the floor, the corners and the walls are carefully cleaned and that they have no cracks and crevices to allow the pests to hide. Even the smallest hole and crevice should be filled in and closed with lime or cement mortar. Examination of the stores from time to time, fumigation of the cellar at intervals are all measures that go a long way in preventing the pests.

In this connection it will not be out of place to bring to the notice of the public that cement concrete has proved to be a very useful material for the manufacture of ideal store-houses and granaries. I understand that the Concrete Association of India have published various

pamphlets with suitable illustrations and details regarding the construction of concrete granaries and store-houses. Containers made of cement concrete are permanent in life, decent in appearance, easily cleansable and dry. Apart from these they are also fire-proof and impervious to white ants and rats.

With regard to the grains already infested the best remedial measure will be to dry them in the sun as sunlight kills the pests and their larvae. Insecticide sprays are also found to be useful.

Knowing that the weevil once entering the store will have the whole possession in a short time, preventive measures in the initial stages although they cost nothing are worth much. In the interests of human welfare therefore it is urged that every store-keeper should see that their stores are not purloined by the pests. Such a care taken at the granary will certainly serve to relieve a large number of hungry masses. As grow more food schemes loom large in the modern horizon it is imperative that knowledge of the importance of proper storage of grains should be imparted to the remotest parts of the country in order to fructify the aims of these schemes and to conserve more food supply for the welfare of the nation and humanity at large.

THE PORAJA

By L. N. SAHU, M.A., M.R.A.S.B.,
Servants of India Society, Cuttack

THE Porajas (91,000) live in the district of Koraput. Most of them are Oriya-speaking. There are different kinds of Porajas namely :

1. Barang Jodia. They eat beef. The left arms of their women are covered with a dozen or more of brass bracelets.

2. Pengu poraja. They talk their own language. A section of it eats buffalo-meat; the other section does not.

3. Kandha poraja. They speak the Kandha language and eat beef.

4. Parangi poraja. They are a section of the Gadabas and speak their language.

5. Bonda, Nanda or Langala poraja. They are a section of the Gadabas and speak the Gadaba language.

6. Tagara poraja. They are a division of the Koyas and talk Koya.

7. Dur poraja. They speak Oriya.

From a description of the different kinds of

Poraja we find that the word Poraja is a generic term. Those who come to till the soil become porajas. Raja and poraja means the king and his subjects. So the word poraja actually means a subject who comes to till the soil and live under a king. In the Koraput district it seems the Kandhas who generally inhabit Bissumkatack, Rayaghada, and Gumpur Taluks, come to Jeypore, and Malkanagiri sides in search of fresh fields and cultivation. Thus the Kandha poraja is one who is originally a Kandha but has been assimilated into the generic name of Poraja. Similarly the Gadabas who are changing themselves through a process of social uplift, called themselves Bonda or Nanda or Langala porajas. We also see that the Parangi porajas who are a section of the Gadabas have been styled as porajas now. They however speak their own language. The Dur poraja means one who has come from a distance. This kind

of poraja speaks Oriya. Thus the name Poraja includes various classes and stands for a generic name.

The Porajas are divided into twelve tribes, and each tribe is called after the region in which that tribe lives. The Porajas have their Dhangra and Dhangidighar, that is, dormitories meant for sleeping of all unmarried boys at one place and of all unmarried girls at another place.

NAMING

These porajas take their names after the days of the week. Take for instance a child who is born on Monday will be called Soma and the female child will be called Somi. Similarly a child born on Sunday is either Aita or Aiti; one born on Tuesday will be called Mangala or Mangli; also called Angra or Angiri (refer Anga-rako Kuja Bhaumo). Born on Wednesday the child will be called Buda for both male or female child, one born on Thursday will be called Guru. If a female, it will be guri or also gurubari. There is another name for the child born on Thursday. It is Birsa for both male and female. The word Birsa has come from the word Brihaspati. One born on Saturday will be Sonia for male and Sonni for female. The Poraja uses the word Pheni or Hani for the word Pani. He aspirates the letter p. and makes it ph. Sometime again he drops the p sound and keeps the h sound, thus the word Pani becomes either Phani or Hani.

MARRIAGE

In Poraja marriage the bride goes to the bridegroom's house. Two poles are fixed and a pumpkin is suspended from a string from the two poles. When the bride's party comes, it cuts the pumpkin. Afterwards the bride wears a new cloth and then drinking and dancing goes on. On the second day, there is a caste feast.

BURIAL RITES

On the death of a person, the Poraja after disposing of the dead body, puts a stone in the village and a piece of cloth is hung near the stone. The Disari draws three pictures of Yama, Sani, and Bhuta (Spirits). He puts three grains of rice on the pictures and then covers the whole thing with a pot. Then the Disari shows himself to be possessed by the spirit and he afterwards breaks the pot.

CHARACTERISTICS AND CUSTOMS

The porajas are cheerful, friendly fellows. They are amenable to reason. The Gadabas are mostly sullen, shy and obstinate. The head

man of the Poraja is called either Jani or Muduli. The Bonda porajas are the most primitive. Their women as well as their men are all almost naked. The Bonda is known to commit murders at the slightest provocation. Thus for instance if the father discovers that in the house his liquor which was in the gourd pot has been drunk off by his son, then immediately he may kill him. So also the son may kill the father.

WOMENFOLK

The women do not wear any cloth except a little on the middle of their body. Even that is so insufficient that they cannot sit with it properly. When asked, why they do not wear any cloth, they say the curse of Sita Devi forbids them to wear any cloth. Once while Sita was bathing and had not much cloth on her body, some Bonda poraja women saw her in that condition. So Sita cursed them saying that they must never wear cloth more than what she was wearing then. Since that day the Bonda poraja women have been almost naked. They shave their heads and do not keep any tuft of hair. They however put on a bamboo circle round their head. As for covering their breasts, they do nothing but wear some beads. The Bonda porajas are highly inflammable. The Servants of India Society have for the last four years posted a worker among them at Pandragram near Matila in Malkanagiri Taluk. Some reforms have been brought about among them. Twenty-five pieces of cloth were accepted by the young women who have begun to wear cloth only recently. Some young men and women have given up taking beef but the old people have not been able to get over the old habit. The children in the school that has been started for them by the Servants of India Society have begun to wear shirts and shorts. They have been taught to recite Slokas from the Gita. Heaven knows when these people will be brought to the level of ordinary men in our society.

BONDA PORAJA

The Bonda porajas live in the *Jangoro Muttah* which is about 20 square miles in area, $8 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. One can go on foot from Duduma to Jangoro Muttah or can climb up the hill at Mundiguda or Pandraguda. The scenery is beautiful because of undulations but devoid of beauty on account of the trees having been removed by Podu cultivation. Upon the hills there are about 20 villages on the Jangoro Muttah where 2000 to 3000 Bonda Porajas live.

Their daily life during the rains is that they get up early in the morning and prepare their food and go up the hills for cultivation. They grow Mandia, a little paddy, etc. The whole of the summer they live on Solopo drink. There is no work to be done on the hills during the summer. The whole lot of men and women drink, drink and drink. They use only a small loin-cloth, the men wearing a head-dress. The females however shave their heads and cover their breasts with beads. They dance and sing all their life. They are a sort of timid people except when they are drunk. They hesitate to come near a stranger but once confidence is created in them they gather around. A gramophone when keyed up and revolves, attracts them very much. They are short in stature. Recently the *Dombs* have gone to these places and have begun trading with them. They are thus being brought under the influence of the *Dombs*. They have absolutely no education. Their 'Dhangidi Ghar' or sleeping dormitories are still existent and their marriage is interesting in so far as when a young man wants to marry

a girl, he presents her with some ornaments. If she accepts the ornaments then regular marriage procedure is gone through. The test is very hard. The bridegroom has to bear the singeing of his body by the bride who with a live coal touches it.

The Porajas are more intelligent than the Kandha. But the Kandha houses are better than the poraja Kudia (hut). The Porajas build their houses indiscriminately, but the Kandhas do it in order.

MORALITY

As regards sexual morality it seems that the poraja women are not so strict as the Kandhas. The porajas are also dirty. Those porajas who have come in contact with the people of the plains have become a little cleaner but unfortunately they have become a little less moral. They cannot be said to be in any way superior to the Kandhas. The Bonda Porajas were not raising many vegetables but now they have taken to raising brinjals and other vegetables.

MAGIC

By P. C. SORCAR

MAGIC is the most ancient of all arts. Out of the dim records of ancient days have come stories of wonder workers who were held in high esteem as mighty magicians and performers of the miraculous. Magic flourished through the middle ages. The secrets of antiquity were preserved, and those who knew them used them to great advantage. Wizards, alchemists and necromancers were looked upon with awe, and they surrounded themselves with an atmosphere of mystery that commanded respect and greatly magnified their importance. The mysterious intrigues everyone. The lure of mystery is instinctive; we can no more erase it than we can remove the sense of self-preservation. Mystery makes the baby grope for the moon, the astronomer aim his telescope at the stars and the explorer go forth to remote lands. Not only are we captivated or awed by the mysterious, but we are possessed of an inherent flair to mystify. Children have 'secrets' often for no other reason than to stir curiosity among other children. Adults hint things about so and so and this and that, when as a matter of fact they could as well be explicit. Many a physician

makes his diagnosis in weird technical terms when he could as well use language his patient would understand. But the learned practitioner is in one respect counterpart of persons less erudite—he likes to mystify. Probably he would not admit this; possibly he is not conscious of it, but it is so. The magician is perfectly frank about his desire to mystify. He loves to probe the unexplained and to do the 'unexplainable.' He is the perfectly honest disciple of a fundamental instinct.

There has been magic ever since there have been people with minds to be fooled. But the real early magic was mixed with the work of priesthood and the medicine-men. It was shown to make the impressed spectators give power to the performer.

From the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* we find that

"Magic has its name from the Magi, the hereditary caste of priests among the ancient Persians, thought to be of Median origin. Among the Magi the interpretation of dreams was practised, as appears from the story of the birth of Cyrus (*Herodotus*, I. 107); later writers describe them in both a sacerdotal and magical capacity. Lucian (*Makrob*, 4) calling them a prophetic class and

devoted to gods, while Cicero (*De Devinatione*, i, 23, 41) writes of them as wise men and diviners. . . . In the New Testament soothsaying and sorcery are so designated (*Acts viii 9, xiii 6*); while the astrologers who divine the birth of the king of the Jews by the appearance of a star in the East are called Magi (*Mattii ii.*)

If we consult *Words and Their Ways in English Speech* (Greenough and Kittredge), and *Rogel's Thesaurus* (Mawson) we find that Magic is derived from the Persian Magi or "wise men" and is plural, the singular being "magus." The term magus is very seldom used and the moderners generally use 'magic' as singular and 'magics' as its plural form. Magic is the art of the Persian Magi, a class of wizard-priests. Wizard is properly a "wise man" (Milton calls the Three Magi "the star-led wizards"), it is "wise—" with the suffix—ard or —art. Witch (originally of common gender) seems also to mean "a wise man," and to be connected with the root seen in "wit" (knowledge). The word conjurer is often used for magician. Conjuror is a similar word from the Latin, con (intensive) and juro, "to swear"; to conjure is to properly pronounce the name of a god in such a way as to gain his assistance.

In tracing back the history of Egyptian Magic, the secrets of the 'miracles' then recorded are revealed by a study of the modern survivals of these very tricks of magic. And so we come to the oldest recorded story of magic—the seance of the Egyptian wizard Tchatcha-em-ankh, which was presented in the court of King Khufu, in the year 3766 B.C. It was the custom of these ancient sorcerers to keep their methods secret from the rulers, who believed in the "miracles" just as did the populace. The pharaohs with their wordly power, and the magicians with their "supernatural" wonders, united in the common purpose of keeping the people in submission. Yet the priests and the rulers secretly feared each other.

In the Westcar papyrus, which dates back to 1550 B.C., and is now preserved in the British Museum, a full description is given of this early performance, with a comparison of the exhibitions of later wizards. One of the most ancient feats is the one in which the magician looked towards a ferocious lion and captivated the powerful beast at once. The papyrus, in speaking of the wizard's accomplishment, states: "He knoweth how to make a lion follow him as if led by a rope." Deda, a later Egyptian magician, presented experiments of this nature with a duck, a goose, and an ox; but he did not duplicate the performance of Tchatcha-em-ankh.

The Westcar papyrus also stated that the magician "knoweth how to bind on a head which hath been cut off." This was introduced as evidence in a legal controversy over the modern illusion of "Sawing a Woman in Half," being offered as proof that the secret was known nearly 6000 years ago!

When Xerxes, King of Persia, started on his conquest of the world, one of his first objectives was the kingdom of Assyria, which lay between Persia and Greece. The armies of Xerxes soon defeated the Assyrians, and Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, fell into the hands of the Persians. In one of the palaces of Nineveh the Persians found a costly tomb, the resting place of Belus, an Assyrian King. Within the tomb the body of Belus was found, preserved in a coffin partly filled with oil. Upon the coffin was an inscription reading: "Woe unto him who violates this tomb and does not complete the filling of it." This ominous message preyed upon the mind of Xerxes, and he ordered that the coffin be filled with oil. The soldiers tried their best but could not fill the tank. No one will ever know the name of the Assyrian magician who constructed the tomb on siphon system. Another of the most remarkable of all the temple marvels was the Miraculous Altar, mentioned by several ancient writers and explained by Heron of Alexandria, more than 2000 years ago. It was used in Grecian and Roman temples and evidently had its origin in Egypt. In the middle ages Benvenuto Cellini, a famous Italian sculptor, exposed many secrets of the wizard priests. In the *Annual Register* of London, published in 1772, there appeared an account of a phenomenal feat that had been performed, and for which no plausible explanation could be offered. Before this Cagliostro created sensation throughout the whole of Europe with his magic. Historians call him (Count of Cagliostro) as "the last of the magicians." In the *History of Magic* he is stated to have built his reputation upon two declining sciences—astrology, the forerunner of astronomy; and alchemy, the predecessor of chemistry.

An Account of the Beginnings of the Art of Magic states that the magicians were dressed in costumes as unusual as they could devise in order to seem as unlike ordinary people as possible, for magicians then were thought to have some mysterious power. This power to work magic was supposed to be due to some business arrangement with the devil. Even today, strange as it may seem, it is possible to find people with the silly belief that no man can perform magic

by skill alone, and that all magicians are possessed of supernormal power. In the old days it was thought good business to dress in weird clothes and mumble incomprehensible words to encourage the spectators' belief in the magician's satanic connection. One magician recommended the following : "Droch myroch, and senaroth betu baroch attimarothe, rounsee, farounsee, hey passe passe."

From the above it is clear that magic was practised by the wizard priests mainly for political reasons. A most thoroughgoing and dramatic proof is that of Robert Houdin in 1856 A.D. Robert Houdin, the famous 'Magician of France' was asked by the French Government to use his talent to strengthen the country's position in Algeria, where the natives had never ceased making trouble from the day the French took possession of the country. The Algerians were encouraged in this by their priest-magicians, who claimed that their magic coupled with continuous fighting would shortly drive the French from the country. The French Government sent Houdin to Algeria to prove to the people that the French had not only more powerful armies but magicians who were infinitely better than native ones. For his work there Houdin devised several special feats, which to the natives seemed possible only if Houdin could perform true miracles. His trip as special Ambassador Magician was completely successful; when the native magicians were shown to have inferior miracles, the Algerians gave up their continual fighting.

If we look back to the history of magic in India, we find that from time immemorial foreigners look upon this country as the land of Magic and the supernatural, abounding with fakirs and miracle men who present mysteries which are beyond the power of any man to explain ! There is a belief that magic was practised in the Court of Lord Indra and hence it is known as *Indra Jal*. Others contend that Rajah Bhoj was a great master of this art and hence it is known as *Bhoj-Baji* or *Bhoj Vidya*. This dates back to several centuries before Christ, contemporary to the Hindu Ruler *Vikramaditya*. Rani Bhanumati, an able and talented daughter of Rajah Bhoj, was also very efficient in this art and hence it is known as *Bhanumati Khel* or play of Bhanumati. Hypnotism and mesmerism have long since been known to the Indians under the name *Sammohan Vidya*. It is the key to the occult science. There was a time when this was the monopoly of the Eastern *Yogis*, whose mysterious hypnotic feats made them famous all over the civilized world.

Those who are acquainted with the books on Indian Yogic culture or Tantras will find the reference in many occasions. In the Tantra Sastra there are branches—Maran, Uchatan, Bashikaran, etc. Hypnotism belongs to the *Bashikaran* group. Then among the eight *Siddhis* of *Yoga*, namely; *Anima*, *Laghima*, etc., hypnotism belongs to *Vasitwa Siddhi*. This Sanskrit term *Vasitwa* or *Bashikaran* means "keeping under influence." Magic itself belongs to *Indrajal Tantra* of the Atharva Veda.

With the dawn of the modern age of science and civilization the art of magic has experienced a thorough change. We are living in a truly magical age. Scientists have made the wonderful stories of the past the realities of our own time. In the *Arabian Nights* the brave prince flew to the rescue of his lady fair on the back of a magical flying horse. Today the prince would use an aeroplane and arrive much quicker. If the famous magicians of the past could rise from their graves, they probably would again fall dead of astonishment at our daily commonplaces. To them the telephone, the radio, and countless other appliances would seem miraculous indeed. Professor Hoffman has rightly observed :

"And while Time has been flying, Magic has not lagged behind. The Art of Deception, like other arts, has made vast strides during the last quarter of the dead century. Indeed, probably at no time in the world's history has so much thought and ingenuity been brought to bear upon this subject. New and brilliant illusions have been devised, new sleights and improved methods have been invented, and old tricks have been so rejuvenated as to be practically new."

Men like ex-King Edward VIII, Lord Ampthill (former Viceroy of India)* are lending their prestige to dignify the ancient and honourable art of humbuggery. New crops of magicians spring up each season, most of them to be harvested into local clubs and national societies. In the colleges and universities, men of trained intelligence are bringing fine minds to their hobby, enriching it with cleverness, ingenuity, and imaginative touches. In fact, it seems today that we are coming upon a renaissance of this delightful entertainment.

* Noted men in the west are magically inclined. Among them the Duke of Windsor possesses magical works of rare value and an amateur magician, Lord Ampthill, formerly acting Viceroy of India and President, London Magic Circle. Ex-King Amanullah of Afghanistan, Prof. Hoffman, M.A., a London Barrister, Frederick Montague, late Member of British Parliament, Dr. A. M. Wilson, M. D., President, Medical University, Cincinnati, Dr. H. Tarbell, B.Sc., M.D., Chicago and others are worth mentioning.

DYSPEPSIA

DYSPEPSIA is a common term used to indicate various types of indigestion common amongst the young adults or persons of advanced years, specially in those leading sedentary lives, often with over-eating or insufficient and deficient food. Badly cooked meals, hurried eating and running for schools, colleges and offices, to be at once engaged in quiet mental work, definitely prove a set-back in the normal physiological process of digestion and assimilation. The usual type is a dyspepsia with acidity, either with the meals or soon after or else acidity some 3, 4 or 5 hours after, associated with wind (borborygmi), heaviness, constipation and loss of appetite, bad dreamy sleep and a bad morning with insipid rotten taste in the mouth, and sometimes eructations of gas and bad-smelling acidic fluid in the mouth. This class of dyspeptics are hypotonic and 'hypo-acidic' with less acid-enzyme secretion in the stomach. Food remains longer inside the stomach resulting in indigestion, stasis and bacterial fermentation and putrefaction in the lower bowels.

The less common type is the hyper-acidic type of ulcer diathesis. Due to some abnormal anatomy of stomach of these subjects, there is excess secretion of hydrochloric acid and there is an acidic taste in the mouth off and on and with the advent of food there is often welling up of acidic fluid, making even the teeth sour, at times a burning sensation or else vomiting out during feeds or soon after. These subjects usually develop chronic gastritis, gastric or peptic ulcer or duodenal ulcer. Patients usually drink much or take alkalies as sodi-bicarb or chalk powder to bring down the acidity, there is dilution or inactivation of the digestive enzymes and nature again provides hypermotility of the stomach in them so that the food is hurried down before digestive process could be complete inside the stomach. At the next pouch of duodenum the principal digestive secretion comes from the pancreas which is alkaline in reaction. Acidic staff would neutralise the alkalinity and make the pancreatic enzymes inactive, and the result would be indigestion and in many of these subjects there is often bouts of diarrhoea of definite acid smelling fluids-complaints of wind, tightness and loss of appetite.

Hypotonic Hypo-acidic dyspepsia is often

found in convalescence after other diseases, in prolonged chronic infection of Tuberculosis, in mothers after child-birth and during lactation and in fact in any debilitating condition where the general health is below normal. Chronic Malnutrition and chronic avitaminosis are evident in both the types of the dyspeptics. To correct hypotonic dyspepsia, besides dealing with the causative factors, the first thing is to correct the stomach digestion by substitution therapy—meaning supplying of the Acid Hydrochlor dil. and the enzyme, Pepsin (Bi-Glycerine Acid Pepsin). Addition of a few drops of Tinct. Nux Vom would be of distinct advantage. Bi-Diastage or Bi-Diastase Comp. taken 2 or 3 hours after the feeds would materially aid digestion both in the stomach as well as in the intestines. Once the digestion in the first chamber is corrected, digestion would automatically improve in the subsequent chambers.

In hyper-acidic subjects it is essential to keep down the acidity by frequent ingestion of alkalies and to try to prevent excessive acid secretion by such drugs as Tinct. Belladonna or a mixture of Belladonna and opium (Tr. Belladonna, m. v and Tinc. Opium m. i, 3 or 4 times daily). Alkalies should be such as would not produce gas (CO₂). Thus carbonates and bicarbonates should be avoided. Antacids of the least irritating type are the best such as aluminium hydroxide (BI-ALKALINA) or Magnesium Hydroxide (Bi-Milk of Magnesia). Alkalies combined with digestive enzymes would unquestionably be the ideal, as the alkalies would keep down the acidity, maintain the normal pH and the enzymes would supplement and complete the digestion. BI-ALKAZYME is such an ideal preparation and has been a boon to hundreds of subjects in pre-ulcer stage or with definite ulcer in the stomach or duodenum. Hyper-acidity leads to chronic gastritis, damage to the mucous membranes and acid again produces erosion and ulcers are formed. In these subjects the first principle is to keep down the acidity either by drugs or by frequent alkaline drinks or even by frequent drink of milk, potent with natural alkalies. Bengal Immunity will be glad to supply further informations on the subject.

MEDICINAL ASPECTS OF EMULSION

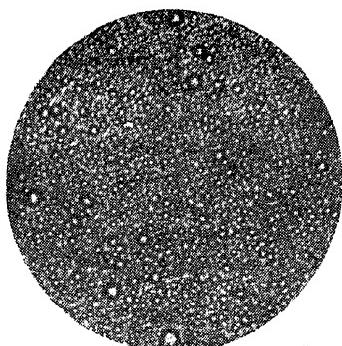
WHENEVER one thinks over the utility of an emulsion as a food or as a medicine, the question of milk at once arises, as Milk is Nature's finest example of an emulsion that is not only the best food available but affords various products for medicinal requirements also. Another food of importance is Egg—the yolk of which is again a most efficient edible emulsifying agent. Thus, it seems that emulsions and emulsification are of fundamental importance to human biology in health and disease.

The digestion and absorption of our food, particularly of fats, and absorption of some of the endocrine secretions, and of various bacterial toxins that cause many diseases, are often due to the occurrence and formation of finely divided emulsions in the system. Some emulsions by their antiseptic properties and their soothing lubricating effects upon the intestinal mucous membranes, may aid in the elimination of toxic substances excreted during an acute febrile stage. They may, by their stimulating effect upon the absorptive functions, further increase the assimilation of nutritive material, improve the appetite, lower the digestive disturbance and finally enrich the blood in all respects. By promoting the absorption of various medicinal adjuvants and releasing them at suitable points, they may again relieve the cough and facilitate expectoration. This type of emulsion would thus be valuable in gastro-intestinal and respiratory disorder as well as in the treatment of patients during their convalescent period after illness. In PETROMULSION one finds all the above characteristics. Moreover, being extremely palatable and being easily tolerated even to the delicate stomach, it is suitable for everybody including children and convalescent patients in their normal processes of digestion, assimilation and nutrition.

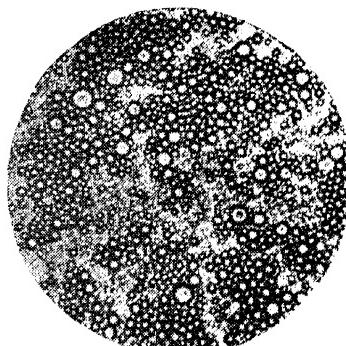
Then, again, conditions may arise just as during pregnancy, or in patients suffering from an arthritic or gouty diathesis, where an emulsion that would exert no side effect, cause no irritation, or upset the digestion, would be the ideal for regular and complete bowel evacuation. This should be one that mixes thoroughly with faeces, making them soft, plastic and easily movable. In BI-Agar-Oil one would find a suitable type of an emulsion made from a selected variety of medicinal oil emulsified by the aid of an agar-agar of proper grade.

Not only in disease, but in the proper maintenance of the normal function of our body, and to gain resistance against various infections we require certain vitamins, particularly A and D. Nature has offered us marine liver oil rich in these vitamins. It is not yet known how fishes synthesize the above important nutritional products in their liver. The oil further contains a fairly high percentage of fatty acid that is again essential for fat deficiency disease, and as such the whole oil is of considerable importance as a food. But many cannot tolerate this vitaminized oil as it is. When, however, this is highly dispersed in the form of an emulsion, as is being done in B. I. EMULSION OF COD LIVER OIL, this natural product offers a palatable food for promoting growth, increasing appetite, preventing rickets and safeguarding eye afflictions, etc.

It requires a high technique so that an oily product may be emulsified to a creamy-like substance suitable for ingestion in times of need and necessity. The selection of a grade of oil and the emulsifying agent, the choice of emulsifying machines—homogenizer, colloid mill—and the controlling processes in the various steps, are at root of perfection of different emulsions such as PETROMULSION, BI-AGAR-OIL and B.I. EMULSION OF COD LIVER OIL that are being daily produced in the laboratory of Bengal Immunity, Calcutta. The figures annexed tend to indicate the superiority of B. I. emulsion as mentioned above.



Petromulsion (B.I.)
(thousand times magnified)



Petromulsion Emulsion (Foreign)
(thousand times magnified)



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Famine in Bengal

Rev. H. C. Long writes in *The National Christian Council Review*:

The varied conjectures and questions appearing in the newspapers as to the cause of the famine indicate that a few lines on that subject may not be misplaced. Some have even expressed doubt as to whether there was a famine at all because, forsooth, they went to a famine area and got plenty to eat. Such profound ignorance of the vast gap between the purchasing power of the higher ranks of society and the landless labourer scarcely deserve an answer. But there are several definitely contributing causes to the famine, which have been pointed out at various times.

In a country where millions live ordinarily on the verge of starvation, any event which disturbs the economic balance of the market is likely to throw large numbers into dire distress.

Even though all supplies for foreign troops were imported, the induction of hundreds of thousands of young Indians into the army must have contributed to the food shortage; for ordinarily they would have been on semi-starvation rations for several months each year in their own villages, but to keep them fit for the strenuous life of the army they must be fed well and regularly. The loss of Burma cut off a great food reservoir on which various provinces of India used to draw if anything happened to local crops. Then, too, the shifting of coolie labour to places where construction projects were under way for the war effort, and the high wages paid (for they too must eat well), all tended to draw out the all too meagre food reserves of the country districts.

Then came the cyclone of October 16, 1942.

The story of the devastation wrought is too well-known to need repeating. Obviously the almost universal destruction of crops within that area would produce a very acute food shortage. But the question will be asked: How could the destruction of most of the food of two sub-divisions with a population of only a million and a quarter, or about 2½ per cent. of the total population of Bengal, contribute much to the general famine conditions? We shall refer to that again shortly.

Pests as well as wind and flood contributed to the actual destruction of paddy.

We have connections with 150 teachers scattered over an area in this district, occupied by more than a million people; and almost all reports from them indicated extensive crop failure due to fungus or insects. Other information was that the blight extended from Burdwan on the north to south of Balasore, Orissa, (about 200 miles), and from the western border of this district to Ghatal (50 miles). The manager of a big zamindary company in this area said that he thought the crop to be "about three annas to the rupee." Letters in

January, 1943, from such widely separated places as Dinajpur and Mymensingh told of a partial crop failure in their vicinities. The district agricultural officer expressed the opinion that pests had seriously affected the crops in many areas of Bengal.

Had the Government taken the trouble to require information from all agricultural officers throughout Bengal as to crop conditions late in 1942, or even early in 1943, it is likely they would have been in a position to take positive steps to meet the emergency much earlier.

But so far as I know, the Government has never informed the public as to the extent of the destruction by pests, if indeed they themselves have the information.

Fear is a factor in producing famine conditions. When people find that prices are rising, as they are bound to do when there is a shortage, those who are far-sighted and have money begin to lay in stock while the price is still comparatively low. Again the merchants raise the price; and shortly there is something like a panic, pushing the price ever upward.

And then there was the factor of greed, all too well-known.

Russia

The New Review observes :

During the last month (January), the Red Army's diary recorded an outstanding series of advances. The Nazis have been outgeneralled, outmanoeuvred and out-fought. They had in December last brought the dangerous bulging of the Kiev front to a standstill; their temporary success was of little import as they had dealt only with a rushing vanguard. After a short respite, the Russians, having first made a diversion in front of Nevel and Vitebsk and in the Dnieper bend, resumed their main offensive west of Kiev. They soon broke through the Nazi defences and made for the Polish frontier, swallowing, in their ever enlarging bulge, Korosten in the north and Berdichev in the south. Subsidiary and successful operations against Zhlobin and Mozyr and later around Leningrad as well as renewed pressure at the key-points in the Dnieper bend completed their victory which stands out as a strategic masterpiece.

The Russian High Command hit on the weak spot in the Nazi front : the sector of the Pripet Marshes.

At the point they severed the connection between the northern and southern German groups of armies; they then turned south-west to bend the southern segment against the Carpathians and the Black Sea, and even forced back the northern segment in the direction of the Baltic shore. The manoeuvre was classical and Marshal Vasilevsky as well as Shaposhnikov is a disciple of Clausewitz who reduces all strategic methods of finishing an army to two types : breaking through at

two distant points and encircling the segment in between; cutting through at one point and forcing one segment against a natural obstacle. Hence, the Russian plan is no innovation; what is remarkable is the scale of the manoeuvre. It dwarfs any similar attempt in the past, f. i. the Ludendorff's offensive of March, 1918, when he dreamed of breaking through at Amiens and swerving the Allied line against the Channel, or even the Nazi manoeuvre against the Flanders groups of Allied armies in May, 1940.

Information at the time of writing is insufficient to make out with which sector, northern or southern, the Russian High Command has decided to deal first. The more important is evidently the southern sector which twists and turns in the Dnieper bend.

It is too late for the Nazi forces to disentangle themselves from their positions, but they will put up the most ferocious resistance. The Russian flank is well protected in the north by the Pripet Marshes, and the advance into Poland reaches far enough to turn any defensive position the Nazis might take behind the Bug or the Dniester. The success of the manoeuvre turns round the battle for the Odessa-Warsaw railway which is the last rail communication with the Nazi general supply bases. The fight for Vinnitsa recalls the Middle Don offensive which completed the encircling of the Nazi divisions in front of Stalingrad. With their obstinate clinging to established positions, the Nazi High Command may well suffer another disaster; but, even if they avoid a second Stalingrad-like defeat, they can only postpone defeat. What is fatal for them is the lengthening of the front week by week without any facility of reducing it to an appreciable extent. Taking as a theoretical yardstick the ratio of one division to ten miles of the line, one can calculate the growing strain on the Nazi forces and the drain on their general reserves. With initiative and numerical superiority on the Russian side, only a tremendous superiority in fire-power could avert the Nazi continuous retreat and unavoidable defeat.

On the other hand, it must not be lost sight of that by retreating, the Germans develop the advantage of shorter organised lines of communication whilst the Russians have to lengthen and reorganise their own. Again the Germans keep the relative benefits of inner lines. These advantages, however, are counter-balanced by an increasing danger from the air as cross-bombing by shuttle can now be organised between Britain, Russia and southern Italy.

What Kind of Place Is Teheran ?

Teheran, the capital of Iran and reputed meeting place of Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt, is an important link in the Allied supply line to Russia.

Teheran is situated 70 miles south of the Russian border about one-tenth of the way from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf, about 1,500 air miles southwest of Moscow and 1,150 air miles from Cairo—near where Roosevelt, Chiang Kai-shek and Churchill met from November 22 to November 26 for the purpose of drawing up a blueprint for future Allied operations.

Once a city of camel caravans, peacocks and oriental bazaars, ancient Teheran has been converted by the war into a modern transport centre through which passenger and truck conveys of American-made tractors, tanks, locomotives and other equipment for the Red Army. Planes roar overhead on the ferry route to Russia.

Some 700 miles south of Teheran, at the Persian Gulf terminus of the Allied supply route, American and British engineers supervise modern conveyor belts unloading Liberty Ships which carry Soviet-bound cargoes across the Mediterranean. Soviet airmen ferry American and British planes to Russia after they have been speedily assembled at the terminus.

Teheran covers seven and one-half square miles and has a population of 760,000. Teheran is always warm, but in the summer time it is one of the hottest places in the world with a temperature which frequently reaches 120° Fahrenheit.

Iran declared war against Germany and formally became one of the United Nations on September 9, 1943.—*The Indian Readers' Digest.*

The Red Army

In an article in *The Indian Review*, Dr. Mahmud Husain describes the origin and early development of the Red Army whose fighting qualities have won the admiration of friend and foe alike :

The first soldiers of the Bolshevik Revolution consisted of Red Guards. From the very beginning, the leaders of the Revolution recognized that Russia must have a regular army. The old army was in a state of disintegration. The creation of a new army, which would defend the new order, could not be postponed for long. Conscription was not considered advisable at this stage as the Russian people were sick of war and the Bolsheviks had all along been promising peace. The new army could therefore be only raised on a voluntary basis.

The conditions of recruiting were laid down in a Soviet decree published in January, 1918, and within two and a half months more than 100,000 recruits were enlisted.

But as a fighting force this army was no good. Its efficiency was below the average. All sorts of uniforms were put on by its members; some even wore civilian clothes. This was perhaps not so important. What was really bad was that the soldiers lacked proper discipline. They did not receive even the most elementary military training and were distinguished by complete lack of organization. The soldiers behaved exactly in the way as if they were workers in a factory. They held meetings, questioned the validity and suitability of the orders from above and made all sorts of demands with regard to food and clothing and pay.

Many bandits and criminals also joined the Red Army. No wonder, whenever opportunity arose they took to looting and plundering. Their behaviour was making the Soviet Government itself unpopular in Russia. These forces might be useful against the anti-Soviet Russian troops but against the regular armies of the Germans in the Ukraine and the Czechs in Siberia, they were totally helpless.

A radical reform of the army was necessary if the Soviet regime was to succeed against its powerful enemies, external and internal.

The Bolshevik leaders, especially Trotzky, the War Commissar, were not blind to the weakness of their army. They recognized that Soviet Russia should possess first-class armed forces organized on the principles of modern warfare. But these could be built up

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only with the co-operation of military experts. Trotzky took up this question of reorganization in all seriousness. He succeeded in creating a new army. To begin with, on March 1st, 1918, a Supreme War Council was created. This was followed by the establishment in April, 1918, of territorial commissariats in the provinces, districts and towns which were responsible for the military training of the people. Then, by a decree of April 22, conscription was introduced for all workers and peasants of 18 to 40 years of age. The propertied classes were excluded although they could be made use of for difficult and dirty non-combatant tasks in the rear. The practice of electing officers was abolished and strict obedience was enforced. With the stabilization of the Soviet regime the principle of conscription was extended to the whole population, although the formerly well-to-do classes were still forbidden to bear arms.

The Red Army on August 1st, 1918, numbered 331,000, but the number increased to 800,000 by the end of the year.

This army, however, was too small for the tasks ahead. And Lenin decided to have an army of 3 million. This figure was reached by January, 1920. The number went on increasing until by the end of 1920 it came to 54 million. But the army still suffered from shortage of arms and equipment. Large-scale desertions were not uncommon. Even more serious was the problem of getting politically reliable officers. Trotzky thought that the Soviet Army could not do without the old officers and this view was ultimately accepted. Weapons of propaganda and terrorism were employed to ensure the loyalty of the officers who numbered about fifty thousand.

Apart from officers of the old army the Red Army included a large number of graduates who came out of the Soviet military schools. Many of them distinguish-

ed themselves, particularly in the later stages of the civil war.

Surgery Enters the Ice Age
Barclay Moon Newman writes in *The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health*:

Man's ancient enemy, cold, is now science's chief tool in a number of remarkable new techniques, including shockless, drugless, painless surgery. A medical journal calls cold "one of the most fertile fields open to modern medicine."

If physicians weren't making friends with ice, James W. probably would not have lived. James was eighty-three, and his circulation was poor. He stubbed his toe severely, and it turned black with gangrene. At New York's City Hospital on Welfare Island, it was decided that his leg would have to come off.

James was lucky in his hospital, because it was there that Dr. Lyman Weeks Crossman and his associates had worked out a routine of shockless ice surgery for just such cases. His leg, bound with a tourniquet, was packed in cracked ice for one hour. Then his ears were plugged with cotton and a screen was placed in front of him, so that he could neither hear nor see the operation that was taking away his foot and ankle. No anaesthetic was given—the numbing effect of the ice was enough. Throughout the operation he was in good spirits. Soon after it he ate a hearty lunch. There was no nausea, and—most important of all—no shock. Recovery was rapid anduneventful.

In Oak Park, Illinois, Dr. Robert T. McElvenny was called to help a man whose legs had been cut off at the knee by a train. Dr. McElvenny found him nearly bled out and in profound shock. In spite of transfusion and sulfanilamide, so much dirt had been ground into the ragged stumps that within twenty-four

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hours the wounds began to fester. Then pneumonia developed. The poor fellow seemed a candidate, not for medical history, but for the undertaker.

Dr. McElvenny packed the torn flesh in ice. Pain ceased within an hour. Soon after, the foul discharge stopped; the man came out of delirium; blood pressure rose to normal. Three days later an operation to trim and close the wounds was possible; five days later the patient was sitting up in bed smoking a pipe.

The reason for the effectiveness of ice is that cold slows down all the processes of life. In any operation, the shock produced by the body's own poisons is one of the chief dangers. But when a part of the body is thoroughly chilled, it produces less of these toxic substances. Cold also inhibits the spread of bacteria through an infected wound.

Arab Nationalism

In the course of his article in *The Hindustan Review* L. M. Laxminaran observes :

No student of world history can ignore the problem of 50 millions of Arabs spread over North Africa and the Near East which is the land of the basic civilization of the world.

There is not a single aspect of human progress, whether in science, learning, philosophy, art or literature, which has not received its share of contribution from the Arabs. The introduction of paper, by facilitating printing, revolutionised the "community of obedience" into a "community of will." The growth of universities at Basra, Kufa, Baghdad, Cairo and Cordoba, the teachings of Averroes (Ibnruhu), and their contributions to the development of mathematics, medicine and chemistry, all testify to the glory of that ancient land.

Of the 50 millions Arabs, approximately 10-12 millions are in Arabia proper, 4 millions in Syria, 3-5 millions in Iraq, 1 million in Palestine, 12-14 millions in Egypt, 0-7 million in Libya, 2-3 millions in Tunisia, 6 millions in Algeria and 7 millions in Morocco.

Only the Arabs in Arabia proper, the Desert Arabs, are of pure Semitic Arab race, the rest being of Hamitic race or Berbers as they are called.

The only political and social organization of the Berbers was the tribe, under the leadership of religious fraternities or local saints (like that of the Sumerian Priest-kings) who became the centre of assistance to foreign influences. Moslem or Christian, Turkish or French. The waves of invasions of the Phoenicians, the Romans, the Vandals, the Byzantines, the Arabs, the Turks and the French have left little trace on their civilization, and there is no wonder that it took for Arabs about five centuries to Mohammedanise and impose on them a thin veneer of Arab culture. But today being permeated with the spirit of Islamic Renaissance and Western culture, the Hamitic Arabs along with their brother Arabs acclaim the idea of unity of all Arabic speaking people into one nation—Pan-Arabism.

The National consciousness among the Arabs educated at Catholic and Protestant mission schools first awoke in Syria in 1847 under the patronage of American missionaries.

Even before this period, there were symptoms of unity exhibited against foreign intrusion as that evidenced by the violent resistance of Abd-el-kadar, Emir of Muscara, between 1830-1844, to the French occupation of Algeria, but in that there was nothing to prove beyond local patriotism.

In the latter half of the 19th century the movement for Arab unity got an impetus from the teachings of two leaders, Jemal el Din el-Afghani and Sheik Mohamed Abdo.

While the latter was for reconciliation with Western science and for adopting Western ways especially in weapons without relinquishing religious traditions, the former was for complete independence of the Arab countries, to be organised under a single Caliph with liberal and progressive institutions and for resisting Western Imperialism. Their teachings led to the foundation of "The League of the Arab Fatherland" with the three clear concepts of language, race and history as the basis of their nationalism, which have been reiterated in all the Arab Congresses since 1913.

The Arabic language is divided into two dialects—northern and southern. The former being the language of the Quran has become the predominant language of literature and commerce throughout the Arab dominions.

About the second concept race, it has to be confessed that there cannot possibly be any ethnic unity of the Moslem world, extending from Central Asia to Portugal, in view of the *melange* of tribes and peoples, converted in the days of Islamic ascendancy.

Hopes of a united Arab State after the last world war did not materialise.

During the war, the Arabs had been consolidated against the Turks and inspired with national consciousness by an Oxford scholar named Col. T. E. Lawrence. That conception of national consciousness continued to prevail among the Arabs in the post-war period, displaying itself in complex conflicts and troubles along the whole line of contact between the ancient Christendom and the Mohamedan world, i.e., from west of Persia to the Atlantic coast in Morocco.

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Besides these, many other eminent personalities of India and abroad have been charmed by his honest services.

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"British Orientalists"

The above book by A. J. Arberry has been reviewed by H. G. Rawlinson in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, which we reproduce here at full length :

It was a brilliant idea to include a sketch of British Orientalists in the admirable *Britain in Pictures* series, for few people know anything of the work of the generations of scholars who have patiently unravelled for us the long hidden secrets of the East. Professor Arberry's little book is a model of compression; he is unable to include archaeology in his survey, and this rules out Egypt and Assyria. Unfortunately, too, he is precluded from saying anything about Oriental art, the discovery of which has had such a profound influence on western culture.

Europe first came into contact with the East through the Arabs. Prior to the fall of Constantinople in 1453, our knowledge of Aristotle and the other Greek scientists was almost entirely derived from Arabic translations, and even after the Renaissance, interest in Arabic continued. There were chairs of Arabic at Oxford and Cambridge; the former was at one time held by Archbishop Laud. In the eighteenth century, the first translation of the Koran was made by Robert Sale, which was extensively quoted by Voltaire. In the Victorian era, a number of intrepid travellers penetrated into the heart of Arabia, and produced remarkable books as a result. These included E. W. Lane and Sir Richard Burton, both of whom translated that great collection of Arabian stories, the *Thousand and One Nights*, Charles Doughty, author of the imitable *Arabia Deserta*, and in modern days T. E. Lawrence and Miss Freya Stark.

The study of Persian began with the East India Company. Persian was the official language of the Mogul Court, and a knowledge of it was almost indispensable for the Company's servants. Many of them, like Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, were accomplished Persian scholars, and working on Persian sources, produced our earliest histories of India. In the nineteenth century, incomparably our best Persian scholar was Professor E. G. Browne of Cambridge, the author of two remarkable books, *A Year Among the*

Persians and A Literary History of Persia. But curiously enough, the Persian work which has made the greatest impression on England was a translation of the quatrains of an obscure astronomer, Omar Khayyam, by Edward Fitzgerald, who had never travelled further east than Suffolk. After years of neglect, it was discovered and boomed by Rossetti and Swinburne, and is now a classic.

The discovery of Sanskrit, the ancient language of the Hindus, was due to a band of savants inspired and encouraged by Warren Hastings—Sir William Jones, Sir Charles Wilkins and Henry Colebrooke. Jones, like Cortez, found himself gazing on a new world. Sanskrit, he declared, was of wonderful structure, more perfect than Greek, more copious than Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either. In 1785, Wilkins startled the world with his translation of the famous religious poem the *Bhagavad Gita*. Sanskrit had even more important repercussions in Germany than in England. It profoundly affected Goethe and Schiller, and philosophers like Schopenhauer and Fichte. It also led to the foundation of the science of comparative philology. Meanwhile, James Prinsep, Master of the Mint at Calcutta, found from a study of Indo-Greek bilingual coins the key to the ancient Brahmi alphabet. This enabled scholars to decipher the edicts of King Asoka. In the next generation, Sir Henry Rawlinson did a similar service by discovering the clue to the cuneiform inscriptions at Behistun.

It is a pity that Professor Arberry omits to mention Max Muller, an Englishman in all but name. He was the pioneer in the study of the Vedas, the earliest works in any Aryan language, the secret of which had long been jealously guarded by the Brahmins. He also started that monumental series of translations, *The Sacred Books of the East*, published by the Oxford University Press. Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures, was investigated by a number of scholars from Tournoir to Rhys Davids and his wife, and in the middle of the nineteenth century Sir Edwin Arnold wrote *The Light of Asia*, a poem which had an immense vogue, and gave Victorian readers the first popular account of the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha. The study of the Indian vernacular languages, started in the eighteenth century by the Baptist Mission at Serampore, received its coping stone in the magnificent edifice of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, the life-work of Sir George Grierson, which did for India what has been done for no other country in the world.

Professor Arberry concludes with a survey of the study of the languages of Indonesia and the Far East. A feature of the book is the delightful series of illustrations in colour.

Stalin may Dictate Terms to Germany

In *Unity* John Haynes Holmes envisages the possibility of Germany suing for peace to Russia and the danger of Europe with Russia as the central Power allied with Germany and Japan :

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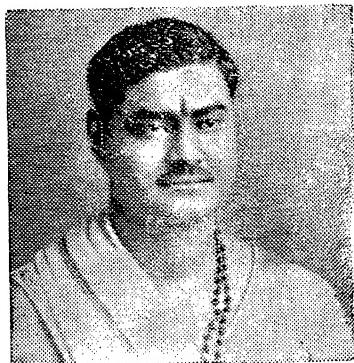
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A few names of eminent personalities are given below who have tested his wonderful attainments in Astrology, Palmistry and Tantric rites, etc.: His Highness the Maharaja of Atgar, Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura, the Raja Bahadur of Barkimedi, an Hon'ble Member of the Orissa Assembly, Maharaj Kumar of Hindol, Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. of Sontosh, Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Kt. of Calcutta High Court, Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Madhavam Nair, Kt., Privy-Council, Kumar Ramendra Narayan Roy of famous Bhawal Case, Hon'ble Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L., President of Bengal Legislative Council, Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikot, Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Khan Sahib Mr. Motahar Hossain Khan, B.A., Suptd. of Excise, Rangpur, Mr. E. A. Araki, M.A. (Cantab), J.P., Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, Chaudhury Moazem Hossain (Lal Mea) M.L.C., Lieut. Mr. P. N. P. Unawalla, R. I. N. R. Calcutta, Khan Bahadur K. M. Hassan, C.I.E., Dy.-General Manager, E. I. Ely., Kumar C. Singh Rai of Loisingha, Patna State, Mr. B. J. Farnando, Proctor, S. C. & Notary Public, Ceylon, Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, Mr. Andre Tempe, Illionis, America, Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, China, Mr. Isaac Mumi Etia, of Africa, Mr. R. L. Dutt, Solicitor, Calcutta, Mr. P. K. Mitra, Solicitor, Maharaj Kumar P. N. Roy Choudhury, B.A., of Santosh, Vice-Consul of Spain, Mr. B. K. Roy, Advocate-General of Orissa, Rai Saheb S. M. Das, a Judge of the Keunjhar State High Court, Sreemati Sarala Devi, M.L.A., the reputed Congress Leader of Orissa, Rai Saheb Hridoy Ballav De, D.S.P., of Cuttack Police, Mr. M. Azam, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Cuttack, Choudhury Srijut Harekrishna Samanta Roy, Zaminder, Cuttack, have personal experience of his wonderful predictions and mysterious powers.

Persons who have lost all hopes are strongly advised to test the powers of the Panditji.

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stirs the question as to whether Stalin will make a separate peace with Germany. But this question, it seems to me, is usually discussed from the wrong angle—namely, that of Russia seeking or accepting peace of Germany. We talk about the generous terms that Hitler can afford to offer Russia. But wherein is Hitler in any position to offer terms of peace to anybody, least of all to the Soviets? When did the vanquished ever thus deal with the victors? The real question, as I see it, is whether Germany will sue for peace, and turn to Russia in preference to the United Nations, and accept terms from the former before the latter are in any position to act at all. It is to be remembered that Stalin, through his Free Germany Committee, has already stated terms, and that these terms are generous in the light of his sweeping military triumphs. On the other hand, the United Nations talk about nothing but "unconditional surrender,"—and behind this slogan lurk all kinds of threats of disarmament, territorial dismemberment, industrial ruin, reparations, and so forth, none of which appear in the Russian terms at all. In such a situation, with inevitable defeat looming all about them, with real hope of salvaging much out of a peace with Russia and no hope of salvaging anything out of a peace with America and Britain, what is to prevent Germany turning to Moscow and putting her fate, and the fate of course of Europe, in her hands? And what is to prevent Stalin making peace on terms which will consolidate the Russian position for generations to come? It is never to be forgotten that Joseph Stalin is a realist to the core. He has not one spark of sentimentalism. He is interested only in Russia; he is fighting only for Russia (he remained at peace while France was extinguished and England all but beaten, and fought only when attacked!); and he will in the end

seek only Russia's advantage. We fool ourselves in cherishing any illusions about the Soviet dictator. This is what makes so formidable the possibility that, at the right moment, the German army will depose Hitler, accept from Russia terms of peace which will leave Germany strong, and thus to all intents and purposes achieve an alliance—with Russia still at peace with Japan!—which may defy the world. One would think, to read of Churchill's and Roosevelt's meetings and pronouncements, that they held all power in their hands but they don't—not if Stalin has anything to say about it!

Bukhara Today

N. Anapsky writes about modern Bukhara:

The ancient city of Bukhara is a true museum of architecture. In no other place in Soviet Central Asia are concentrated as many remarkable monuments of Central Asian architecture as in this city. In the centre of Bukhara rises the minaret of the Grand Mosque built in the year 1127. This is a beautiful conical column forty-seven meters high and made of square burnt bricks. As one wends his way to this minaret in any direction, he finds literally on every street ancient buildings embellished with Majolica tiles, and mosaics of glazed and ordinary brick. The patriotic war has not held up the work of restoring the historical monuments of architecture and art. Restoration work is being continued on the mausoleum of Buyankull Khan which is faced with bas-relief in mosaic. Repair is under way on the Medressah of Abdulla Khan, the Medressah of Miriarab and the Medressah of Divan Beg which is embellished with rare tiled mosaics bearing depictions of deer and flying storks.

In evening many people are to be seen in the centre of the city by the stone parapet opposite the square. Here is an elderly Uzbek in his colored coat with turban on his head; a young working woman in embroidered Uzbek cap; and school children and workers. All are looking up at the grey brick arch where a loud speaker is visible: "Moscow speaking"; passersby become silent. The loud distinct voice of the Moscow radio announcer reads the latest *communiqué* of the Soviet Information Bureau. He has no sooner concluded than the street bursts into noisy life. The people speak of the front and the Red Army victories. After their day's work the inhabitants go to the tea-houses, and, seating themselves on rugs, drink bowls of green Samarkand tea. Here, too, the talk turns on one of the themes concerning the front, and how to help it.

From early morning till late at night, through streets of the city, wind caravans of camels loaded with piles of snow white cotton which they are carrying from villages to the cotton carding plant.

When the Red Army went into its offensive, the working people of the Bukhara region adopted the liberated population of the Orel and Kharakov regions.

With great solicitude and affection did they gather and sent off whole carloads of gifts to the frontline sector. The collective-farmers brought tons of vegetables, dried fruits and grain, centners of wool, oil and meat into Bukhara. They drove cows, sheep and goats along the countryroads. All these things came from the personal funds of the farmers.

Large industrial enterprises of Bukhara are working at full speed and turning out production for the front.

Bukhara took on a changed aspect this summer. Hundreds of the inhabitants daily came out on to streets and squares to help renovate the houses and sidewalks. The campaign for improving the city continued up to November.—*The Tass News Agency, USSR.*

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NOTES

Assembly Refuses Supplies to Viceroy's Council

The Central Legislative Assembly by 50 votes to 48, passed Mr. Abdul Qaiyum's motion to reduce the grant under the head Executive Council to Re. 1 as a mark of "refusal of supplies." Congress, Muslim League and the Nationalists voted for the motion.

Mr. Qaiyum, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party, moving that the "demand under the head Executive Council be reduced to Re. 1 to refuse supplies," declared that the Executive Council had continuously flouted public opinion. He asked what had happened to the vote of the House against the increase in Railway fares? What was their response to the vote of the House against the sending of propaganda delegation abroad? He complained of corruption in the services and dwelt on the Bengal famine. He pointed out that on the one hand the country was being told that India would be given perfect freedom after the war, and on the other the Supply Member had been given five years' extension of office. This meant that history would repeat itself as after the last war. Mr. Qaiyum described the Viceroy's Council as a "hybrid monster born of an illicit love affair between the British Imperialism and the Indian vested interests."

The Muslim League gave their whole hearted support to the motion. Sir Yamin Khan said that the present Government of India was a "miniature form of Fascism and Nazism."

Interjecting, Nawabzada Liaqat Ali said: "An apology for Hitler and Mussolini."

Mr. Krishnamachari raised a serious point when he asserted that

He had information in his possession to the effect that Whitehall had sent instructions that Indian industries should not be encouraged.

The Finance Member: "I deny it categorically."

Mr. Krishnamachari asked why the power alcohol plant, which was expected to arrive in the country, had not arrived so far. He complained that the chemical trade in the country was passing into European hands and said European firms were being encouraged as against Indian firms in the matter of imports. "Instead of merely accepting compliments that you are wise, eminent and patriotic, why can't you justify yourselves in the eyes of your associates by resigning?" He asked, addressing members of the Executive Council.

Supporting the motion, Mr. K. C. Neogy said:

The picture of the Executive Council was in black and white. The black predominated so that the white could be shown with greater boldness. It was meant to be shown to the world that the present day Government enjoyed the moral support of the people. He had great apprehension that in so far as the black were assisting the white they might be regarded by posterity in the light of Quislings. He summed up the present day policy of the Government in two words, coercion and corruption. The Indian members of the Council, had allowed themselves to be corrupted by the lure of office and by their example they were corrupting others. The present-day administration had degenerated into legalised tyranny.

His complaint against the Executive Council was that they allowed the "all-powerful person" (the Viceroy) to assume dictatorial powers even in spheres in which he had no right to assume such powers.

He added that he had looked into Government of India Act and did not find any warrant for some of the actions which the Governor-General had been allowed to take, actions which really lay in the administrative

field, as the ordinance-making power of the Governor-General did not mean he was above all control by his Cabinet.

Mr. Neogy criticised the censorship regulations and charged the Government with trying to bring the House into contempt.

Mr. Avanashilingam Chettier voiced the Congress viewpoint when he said : "No amount of Indianisation can be a substitute for a National Government. Only a National Government can fight for the freedom of this country and win the war."

That even a temporary Congress-League Coalition had become the eyesore of the Europeans in India, was clearly understood from the speech of Sir Frederic James. He said: "Mr. Abdul Qaiyum had referred to the illicit love affair between Whitehall and the Indian vested interests. What about this love affair between the Congress and the Muslim League?"

Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan, Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Party, gave a crushing reply to Sir Frederic James' mention of a temporary love affair between the Congress and the League. He said : "My friends of the European Group cannot even stand a temporary arrangement between the two and yet they are very loud in exhorting that there should be unity between the Congress and the Muslim League." He correctly described Sir Frederic's speech as the outcome of frustration. Giving his party's support to the motion, the Nawabzada declared :

Every day in the House of Commons, the British Government's spokesman stated that whatever decisions were taken were taken by Indian members of the Executive Council because their number was overwhelming. If the spokesman was honest, he should also have stated that the Indian members of the Executive Council were those who did not have any following in the country. The fraud that this was an Indian Government had been practised for the last three years upon the world. "We can no longer be a party to the perpetuation of this fraud."

"Every vote that is cast in favour of Government on this occasion is a vote for the perpetuation of the fraud, which is being practised by the British Government throughout the world."

Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar and Sir Sultan Ahmed were the official spokesmen in the debate, both of whom miserably failed to defend their ground. The former indulged in his usual diatribes against Gandhiji and the Congress while the latter began to trace the history of the Cripps offer. Popular opinion has always looked upon this Council as a fraud. It represents nobody and it is responsible to none. They have entered this Council knowing fully well that their decisions are not binding on the Governor-General who can override each one

of them, and have necessarily followed the lead of the four white members among them.

Central Supplies Voted Down

After six days of mature deliberations, the Central Legislative Assembly rejected the Finance Bill by 56 votes to 55. The Bill was presented to the Assembly again next day in a recommended form and was again rejected, this time by 56 votes to 45. It now goes to the Council of State where it will be debated for 3 days till March 31, when it will be certified by the Viceroy and placed on the Statute Book. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, leader of the Congress party, had attended on both the days. In his speech on the second day, Mr. Desai pointed out that the majority of one was in fact a vote of 56 against 18 so far as the elected members of the Assembly were concerned. Even out of this 18, if European votes were excluded, it came to this that in so far as the real voice of the country was concerned, it was a vote of 56 against 8.

In the concluding day's debate, Mr. Desai and Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan had made the popular standpoint in regard to the Bill quite clear. The Nawabzada said :

Dr. Khare had taken credit for the blessings that had accrued to this country as a result of the war. He should have presented a true balance sheet of its blessings and miseries, for it was this war and the Government's incapacity to deal with the problems arising from it, that had cost lives due to starvation and want of medical relief, had brought economic depression, *had left India in the same constitutional position as it was a 100 years ago* and curtailed the liberties of the people in the name of the D. I. Rules.

Replying to the Viceroy's speech and those made by the Home Member and the Leader of the House suggesting that the British Government had done everything conceivable to secure the honourable co-operation of the people of India in the prosecution of the war and that it was really Indians who were guilty of failure to co-operate, the Nawabzada said that so far as the Muslim League was concerned, it had from the very beginning realized the necessity of doing its utmost to defend the country. *The offers of no-operation, however, were made by Government intentionally in a manner which would not be acceptable to any honourable man.* The British Government never really desired the co-operation of the people of this country.

Referring to the Viceroy's recent address to the Central Legislature and the Muslim League party's attitude to H. E.'s pronouncement, he said : "During the last three years the policy of the League consistently had been to oppose the Finance Bill not because we do not want to help in the prosecution of this war, nor that we do not want to vote money for the defence of India but because we have no confidence in the present Government. *We are not ready and willing to place the resources of our country in the hands of a Government which is not only irresponsible but irresponsive.*"

Both at the Centre and the Provinces, co-operation in the British sense meant subservience. In Bengal, Sir John Herbert secured the resignation of Mr. Fazlul Huq on the definite understanding that it would be used for the formation of an All-Party Government. But in fact this letter of resignation was treacherously used to instal a reactionary Party Ministry subservient not only to the Civil Service but also to European vested interests. The Ministry was permitted to stabilise by the distribution of favours. All-Party Ministry remained a mirage, and the reactionary Ministry in their turn, begged for "co-operation." The Nawabzada has done well in explaining the real nature of co-operation desired by the Government.

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai touched the vital constitutional problem when he said :

If the war was being fought for democracy, the first desideratum was that representatives of the Indian people, who had been elected on the widest franchise permitted under the 1935 Act, should form a national Government. It was not a mere majority Government that was intended. It was a Government composed of representatives of every element in the House. It was not even required that the constitution of the Government of India should be changed. The Congress was quite prepared to place its services at the disposal—not of HMG, but at the disposal of the country that the cause may be fought with clean hands and stout heart.

He had every desire that India should be defended. But he was opposing the Finance Bill because he did not want to take the responsibility of finding the money without the privilege or responsibility of spending it.

The Congress-League Coalition in the House had already alarmed the Government which, as it appears from the barren speech of the Finance Member, was further accentuated by Mr. Desai's unequivocal declaration that the Congress was quite prepared to form a National Government at the Centre together with the Muslim League. He also pointed out that the formation of a National Government does not require any amendment of the Government of India Act. In his reply, Sir Jeremy Raisman, referring to the constitutional question, said :

The representatives of two great parties had on the occasion arrived at a measure of agreement as to what should be done about the Bill before the House. They had apparently agreed that they should register their disapproval of Government as at present constituted.

"Can we hope to see that this combination will continue and go further. May I hope to be relieved of the difficulties in which I find myself of having to carry out my duties to get legislation passed in a House in which Government does not enjoy a majority? May I hope to see that this combination will continue on fruitful lines, so that we may look forward to a speedy solution of the difficulties which give rise to all this trouble we are facing?" Nobody would, he said, be happier than himself and his colleagues to see the Treasury Bench occupied by a Ministry which could command the support of the friends opposite. He would

be only too glad if the union of the parties opposite would not be only a union of a day or a moment, not merely union on a negative policy, which surely was not a platform on which the problems of the country could be dealt with, but some more extensive and more fruitful combination between the great parties.—A. P. I.

The Congress and the League parties have been jointly working since the very beginning of this session on all matters of public importance. This was not the only defeat, the Government have suffered many more this session. A Government whose eagerness for a Congress-League unity was genuine, would certainly not have let slip such an opportunity to bring the two parties closer and try to saddle them with the responsibility they desire. This could have been done here and now without any amendment of the Act. The position was further clarified by Mr. Desai when on the second day of the vote, he said :

Ever since the war and since India was declared a partner in the war, the country had been demanding that her affairs should—at least during the emergency—be managed on principles different to those under which they were being handled. It was then made clear that those who had the responsibility of finding the money and resources for the prosecution of the war should also have the privilege of carrying out policies for the purpose of disbursement. The question could only be solved if HMG began to realize that, however, eminent or able the individual personnel of the Government might be, it was the confidence of the people which was the bedrock and foundation of government, during a period of war.

The Central Budget

The fifth war budget brings no relief to our war burdens. War expenditure continues to be staggering and in spite of heavy tax burdens imposed during the past few years, deficits are mounting. Crushing measures of taxation continue to meet them. The military expenditure charged to revenue alone has reached the staggering figure of Rs. 276 crores for 1944-45 exclusive of capital expenditures of Rs. 24 crores. The actual deficit in 1942-43 was Rs. 112 crores, the estimated deficit for 1943-44 was Rs. 92 crores and in the current year it is expected to be Rs. 78 crores. The income-tax, super-tax and Corporation taxes have been increased. Three new excise duties, namely, on tea, coffee and betelnuts have been imposed.

A very significant declaration made in the Finance Member's speech is that the various controls which have been taken during the war, will continue after it. He said :

This would mean that the public which has perforce to submit to control in war-time when the fact of shortage was inescapable, should accept the continuance of controls prolonged over a far longer period after peace returns.

It is my firm conviction that the first prerequisite of Reconstruction Finance is a sound financial position, both at the Centre and in the Provinces, secured by the fullest development of their respective taxation resources. This may perhaps sound pedestrian, but in the light of our experience of war-time finance there is no reason, given the will to find money for peace on the scale on which it has been found for war, why resources should not be forthcoming to an extent which could not possibly have been envisaged in pre-war days. I have recently brought under review the post-war budgetary position of the Central Government, in so far as the many uncertainties inherent in the conditions of the present and the future permit.

This indicates that the control over the Indian economic life will continue after the war to provide ground and time for the re-capture and consolidation of the market for the British manufactures.

Misuse of D. I. R.

The method of collecting money for the War Funds came in for severe criticism in a debate in the Central Legislative Assembly when the Nationalist Party's cut motion on the misuse of the Defence of India Rules was moved. The motion was carried by 53 votes to 44. Mr. Ramratan Gupta gave an instance how the inhabitants of a certain village in the Aligarh district were asked by a Daroga to pay their quota of money for war bonds. They said they had already paid their quota and that for some part of their money they had not yet got a receipt. This evidently angered the Daroga who ordered them to bend and then heavy weights were placed on their backs.

Mr. Rangiah Naidu alleged that

The duty of collecting money from villages for war funds had been entrusted to so many different officers that the villagers were being forced to pay many times over on the same account. He said that the Tahsildar of a taluka in the Kistna District had issued an order, of which he had a copy with him, levying money at the rate of Rs. 3 per candy of groundnuts, Rs. 5 per candy of paddy and so on for war funds. Mr. Naidu asked if the grow-more-food campaign was being encouraged in order to produce more food for the people or in order to collect money on the food produced.

The misuse of the D.I.R. is now a matter of everyday experience. The various restrictions placed on the movement of some people and the restrictions placed on railway travel and movement of goods have become unbearable. Pandit Baijnath's case showed that lawyers whose only offence was defending the accused in political cases were arrested under the D.I.R. In the Federal Court Case *Rex vs. Shibnath Banerjee*, their Lordships said that even the provisions of Rule 26 were not complied with in that case, and that they could not condemn too strongly the callous disregard shown to the provisions of

the law. Only the other day, the Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court had exclaimed that D.I.R. had paralysed them. An order had been served on Mr. Hossain Imam, a member of the Council of State, in which the S. D. O. of Gaya had asked Mr. Imam to appear before him to show cause why he should not be imprisoned under Section 38 of the D.I.R. Act, as it was reported that he had not bought war bonds and had prevented others from buying war bonds. Sardar Sant Singh had pointed out that persons who were not paying land revenue had been forced to pay it under the D.I.R.

The manner in which the D.I.R. is being applied has given rise to the popular belief that these Rules were intended for the defence of (British) Imperialism against Indian nationalism.

Minister's Complicity in Allah Bux Murder Alleged

When the Sind Legislative Assembly met on March 3 to vote for Budget demands, Mr. Amin Khoso moved an adjournment motion "to discuss the failure of the Government to take action against Khan Bahadur M. A. Khoso, Revenue Minister, Sind, for his complicity in the murder of the late Mr. Allah Bux, ex-Premier, as alleged in the report of the Special Tribunal appointed by the Government to try the murder case of Mr. Allah Bux."

The Speaker ruled out the motion on the ground that the matter was subjudice as it might form a subject-matter for appeal to the High Court.

Monopoly of Foreign Trade for Foreigners

In the course of his presidential address to the seventeenth annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry held at New Delhi, Kumararajah Sir Muthia Chettiar of Chettinad referred to the export trade of India and said :

A virtual monopoly had been created for a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign, and that Indian businessmen were gradually being squeezed out altogether from India's foreign trade. "It is time that this monopoly was broken and that a system of licensing introduced which will give a fair share of business to Indian commercial houses." In this connection, the Kumararajah touched upon the activities of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation and the peculiar privileges that it was enjoying in this country. There was a feeling of grave apprehension among commercial interests that the U. K. C. C. might prove to be another Avathar of the East India Company and corner all the external trade of this country. That was why the Federation had asked the Government to give a guarantee that the activities of the U. K. C. C. would

be ended as soon as Armistice was declared. In the meantime, the Government should promote an Indian Commercial Corporation which alone would be responsible for the purchase of goods in this country and if necessary hand over the goods at port to the U. K. C. C.

After gaining control of the foreign trade, the British vested interests in India, mostly represented by the Agency houses, have now combined to stifle Indian industries by refusing to push their products on the market. Bad or tolerable Indian products are sometimes accepted for sale as substitutes, but Indian products equal or better in quality than the British ones are scrupulously avoided. The British traders would rather starve than help to build up markets for Indian products likely to stand post-war competition. The Indian big business, specially traders, would do well to pay more attention to this aspect of the problem.

Price of Indian Co-operation

The March issue of the *Oriental Post*, a monthly organ of the Oriental Colony of London, edited by an Indian, Mr. Mohammad Ali Khan, writes in the editorial :

"Lord Wavell's address at the Indian Legislature was traditionally imperialistic, but also betrayed his anxiety and that of the Whitehall over the future. Lord Wavell seeks the co-operation of the imprisoned leaders at his terms. He would not release them unless they are ready to co-operate. But he should have known better. These leaders had already taken the challenge and preferred to suffer rather than yield to the jingoism of the Whitehall.

If the Whitehall is so keen on the Indian leaders' participation in the post-war problems meaning various financial burdens on the Indian people, then let it recognise their independence, release the leaders, transfer absolute power to them and negotiate a treaty of partnership. No half measure will be of any consequence. A free India will play its part in post-war reconstruction. But the Whitehall deceives itself if it hopes for a settlement in the prison camp. As soon as Great Britain has transferred power to a Provincial Government of nominated members of recognised political parties we will produce an agreed constitution within given time."

Attempts to settle Indian political problems in prison camps is nothing new in the modern history of India. The tragedy of the occasion is that a person like Lord Wavell, an avowed follower of Allenby, shrinks to rise equal to the occasion even at the hour of the greatest crisis.

Security Deposit Order on Sylhet Chronicle Set Aside

The Assam Government order requiring Mr. Kalikrishna Deb Krori, editor and publisher of the *Sylhet Chronicle* to deposit Rs. 1000 as security under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931, was set aside by a Special

Bench of the Calcutta High Court consisting of the Chief Justice and Henderson and Lodge JJ.

The Assam Government passed the order on September 16 last in connexion with the publication of an article in the above paper on August 24 last year under the caption "Rome Burning, Nero Fiddling," on the ground that the publication tended directly or indirectly to bring into hatred or contempt Government established by law, in British India, and to cause fear and alarm in the minds of the public.

Mr. Krori contended that the article was published as a fair comment and *bona fide* expression of honest views on the action of Sir Mohammad Saadulla, Chief Minister of Assam, and it did not contain any word or words which tended directly or indirectly to bring Government into hatred.

The petitioner's case was that when conditions in Habigunge subdivision were deteriorating, due to starvation, the National War Front announced its decision to hold a rally for three days, within the subdivision. It appeared to the petitioner, that feasting and merry-making were features of the rally and the petitioner considered it his duty to protest against it, in view of the condition of the people and published the article. It was a fair and honest comment on the action of the Chief Minister and not on Government established by law in British India.

The Chief Justice observed that he was of the opinion that the article complained of was a political, personal abuse of Sir Mohammed Saadulla and his political adherents. He was unable to come to the conclusion that, to use the words of the order, it tended directly or indirectly to bring Government into hatred or cause fear or alarm in public mind. In his lordship's opinion this rule should be made absolute.

The *Sylhet Chronicle* is one of those few newspapers who have boldly and courageously fought for human rights and liberties even at the risk of their own existence. It has been sensitive to every passing gust of public opinion ably reflected on its pages. No wonder that the authorities would be angry with it and attempts would be made to stifle her voice.

"Charge Sheet" to Gandhiji

The *Leader*, dated March 5, reports :

A story is current here that not long ago the Government of India sent a communication to Mahatma Gandhi by way of a charge against him pointing out that Mahatma Gandhi was authorised by the All-India Congress Committee to lead a mass movement directed against Government's war effort and also interfering with law and order, and that by his speeches, writings and guidance, the A.I. C. C. had arrived at such a decision. It is said that Mahatma Gandhi was asked to send his reply to the 'charge' to the Home Secretary, Government of Bombay.

In his reply Mahatma Gandhi is reported to have pointed out that the charge was baseless. He stated that though he was authorised to lead the movement, he had always in mind the question of negotiations which, if permitted, would have been successful and there would have been no occasion for a movement. Gandhiji, however, emphasised that, in any case he had no opportunity of launching any movement.

Mahatma Gandhi added that contrary to hampering

r efforts, the Congress stand had always been to aid him and in fact the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee stressed that point.

In these circumstances Mahatma Gandhi considered his detention to be absolutely unjustified, and, therefore, felt that either he should be released or put on trial.

It is stated that Government have informed Mahatma Gandhi, in reply, that his case will be reviewed in July, 1944, unless the Government decide to do so earlier or later.

Mahatma Gandhi's reply is said to run into several pages.

Peoples' Food Council for Bombay

A Bombay Conference decided to set up a non-official organisation called the Peoples' Provincial Food Council, representative of all the districts and cities of the Province and of all sections of public opinion. The aims and objects of the Council are to watch the working of the food policy of the Government, to consider ways and means of increasing food production, to consider the situation from the point of view of nutrition and to collect data regarding food requirements and supply throughout the province. Mr. M. R. Masani, the Mayor of Bombay, presided. In his opening address he emphasised the need for utmost public vigilance to see that the tremendous power given to the district and village officers under the new procurement policy of the Bombay Government was not used arbitrarily or otherwise abused.

The resolution adopted at the Conference, as reported in the *Bombay Chronicle*, contains the following :

"This meeting expresses its anxiety at the food situation in the Province of Bombay. It considers it a matter of regret that the imports of foodstuffs into this Province, which has always been a deficit area dependent on imports of food for the proper feeding of its population, are not on an adequate scale and that imports into India from abroad have not been received even to the extent recommended by the Foodgrains Policy Committee of the Government of India. These considerations, along with the economic and psychological concomitants of currency inflation and in the absence of a Government fully responsible to the people give ground for continued anxiety and render it necessary for public opinion to be vigilant so as to ensure that every member of the community in the remotest parts of the Province obtains food and other essential consumers' goods at prices which are within his reach. The Government of Bombay have recently announced their intention to introduce a system of compulsory requisitioning on a graded scale from landlords and cultivators who grow foodgrains for the better distribution of the food supplies of the Province and for the conservation of its resources. The new policy of Government also assumes the setting up with immediate effect throughout the Province, of an efficient machinery for the distribution of foodgrains, with special reference to the needs of agricultural and other labour in rural areas. While not expressing any opinion on the merits of the scheme, this meeting places on record its opinion that in the light of past experience, in the

operation of the policies for the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs, difficulties may arise and complaints about the mishandling of affairs may be forthcoming as in the past which will call for early investigation and redress. It is essential therefore that all sections of the people of this Province should come together for the purpose of subjecting the food policies of the administration to the searchlight of public criticism, of watching the working of arrangements for the procurement and distribution of foodstuffs and of securing the food requirements of the humblest members of society.

A Food Council of this kind is an urgent necessity in Bengal. Cannot the provincial leaders come forward and do something ?

Atlantic Charter and Four Freedoms Shelved

The *National Call*, Delhi, reports :

Don Iddon, Diarist of the Daily Mail said yesterday : Americans are beginning to wonder what has happened to the Four Freedoms and declarations by the United Nations.

There is a growth of cynicism in U. S. A. regarding the intentions of U. S. A. and European Allies. Almost everyone believes that there has been a deterioration in the ideology of war and it seems no longer a crusade and is showing some symptoms of the old struggle and of power-politics.

Reawakening of purpose and a restatement of ideals and rights of small nations are overdue, otherwise United States disillusioned and embittered may, after the war, withdraw into her shell or play imperialism at the international Power Table.

The American Press, Right and Left, is suggesting urgently that Mr. Roosevelt should speak out to allay fears that this war may degenerate into an old-fashioned imperialistic struggle.

The New Republic says, "it is time to admit the blunt truth that we are now failing pretty dismally on the political front."

The first challenge of the Indian National Congress, at the beginning of the war, asking Britain to declare her war aims, went without a reply. An Atlantic Charter was signed by the two great Powers across the Atlantic and four freedoms were defined, but both of them differed when the question of the application of the four freedoms to Asia and Africa was raised. Since then, war ideology is steadily degenerating into power politics and the Atlantic Charter and four freedoms shelved. No wonder people would feel that the British tail is wagging the American dog.

Roosevelt on India's War Effort

In his 14th Report to the Congress on Lend-Lease operations for the period ended December 31, 1943, President Roosevelt said : "Lend-Lease exports to India from March 11, 1941 to December 31, 1943, totalled 819,452,000 dollars. Exports in 1943 were 70 per cent greater than the combined shipments for 1942 and 1941."

"Our strategic policy towards India has been determined by the importance of India's strategic and geographical position in the Far Eastern part of the war.

"India is a major supply centre for the war against Japan. From India extends the air supply line into China. Furthermore, India is a military base for operations against the Japanese in Burma.

"Lend-Lease exports of guns, ammunitions and other munitions to India for the British and Indian armies and navies through December, 1943 amounted to 554 million dollars. With the help of munitions and other materials Lend-Leased by the United States, India has become a vast military base."

President Roosevelt then pays a tribute to Indian troops who "have seen service on widely scattered fronts in this war" and adds : "Many more are preparing for greater offensives to come against Japan.

"From the beginning of the Lend-Lease programme to December 31, 1943, we shipped to India 250 million dollars of agricultural products. Of primary importance have been transportation, communications and construction equipment shipped to India.

"To enable Indian railways to carry heavy additional burdens imposed by the war, we have provided locomotives and freight cars. We have furnished 40,000 trucks to supplement the railway system and cranes, lighters and stevedoring equipment.

"To facilitate the building of air bases, barracks and military roads, we have sent construction machinery, cement-making machinery and lumber.

"We have provided under Lend-Lease some of the machine-tools and raw materials such as steel, copper, aluminium and zinc which have helped India to expand her munitions output.

"Lend-Lease exports of machine-tools to India have amounted to ten million dollars, and currently India is buying all of its machine-tools in this country for cash.

"India's exports of raw materials have been increasingly important in the United Nations' war effort. India is now our sole source of jute used for making burlap bags. She is one of the principal suppliers of mica, which is essential to the production of radio equipment for the armed forces.

"Other important materials imported from India are manganese, shellac, talc, beryl and kyanite.

"To increase the production of these items, we have furnished under Lend-Lease a variety of industrial tools as well as mining and pumping machinery.

"The Lend-Lease aid we have sent to India has assisted, and will assist the United Nations, in gaining victories over the Axis. But this aid has not flowed in one direction. India, too, has supplied what she can for the common war effort in many forms.

"Our forces in India have also received substantial reverse Lend-Lease from India as shown in another section of this report.

The American President has dealt with India as a strategic base, but he had nothing to say about her future after this war, so far as we can gather from the published summary of his report. One thing in this report requires clarification by the Government of India. Roosevelt says that lend-lease exports of guns, ammunitions and other munitions to India for the British and Indian armies and navies amounted to 554 million dollars. But now these war materials can be credited to Indian account when they have been secured evidently for the

purpose of the re-conquest of Burma which had been separated from India long ago and made a British liability under a Secretary of State for Burma !

Inhuman Treatment in Jail

An adjournment motion was moved in the Orissa Legislative Assembly to discuss the "inhuman treatment meted out by the infliction of lathi charges upon political prisoners in Berhampur jail on the 26th of January in connection with the hoisting of the national flag to observe the Independence Day." Moving the motion, Mr. B. Das said :

On 26th January, between 2 and 4 in the afternoon lathi charges were made in which Mr. Bishwanath Das, ex-Premier, Mr. Nityanand Kanungo, ex-Revenue Minister, Mr. U. C. Patnaik and several others sustained grievous injuries. Government had not come forward with any statement regarding their condition.

Criticising the censorship of news, Mr. Das said that the news first came out not in Cuttack or Calcutta papers but in a Madras paper. The Government neither contradicted the news nor did they come out with a statement giving the condition of the injured.

Mr. A. S. Khan, Law Minister, making a statement on the incident, said that on that day some youngsters in the jail got together and wanted to hoist the national flag. These youngsters were persuaded not to contravene jail rules. Persuasion by officials and then by the older section of Congress detenus, including Mr. Bishwanath Das, against the decision of the youngsters proved of no avail. They were given 45 minutes' ultimatum and when they did not obey, a mild lathi charge was made and the national flag was lowered. They tried to hoist the national flag a second time and another lathi charge was made. Those injured in the lathi charge were given medical treatment on the spot and were taken to hospital and now all of them were well.

Mr. Jagannath Misra asked : "Are you sure, Mr. Bishwanath Das was not injured ?"

Mr. A. S. Khan : *I am instructed to say he was not injured.*

Mr. Jagannath Misra, speaking next, claimed that when he was in jail they observed Independence Day, and nobody objected to it.

Khadi in Tamil Nad

The *Free Press*, Madras, publishes the following report from the Assistant Secretary of the Tamil Nad branch of the A.I. S. A. :

There has been phenomenal progress in khadi work in Tamil Nad in 1943 in spite of various handicaps. Khadi production has mounted to 32,14,129 sq. yds. which is in excess of over 3½ lakhs of sq. yds. over the production in 1942. This has broken the previous record of 1938 which was till now a peak year in the history of Tamil Nad Branch when production was only 30,01,289 sq. yds.

The total value of khadi produced in 1943, is Rs. 33,52,043 as against Rs. 17,72,936 worth in 1942 and Rs. 14,29,747 in 1938. Though the large rise in 1943 is due to increase in price of khadi large part of it represents the wages paid to artisans for whose interests the A.I. S. A. exists. The total wages paid to 70,286

spinners and 2,831 weaving families and hundreds of other artisans in 1943, working under the Tamil Nad A.-I. S. A. amount to Rs. 20,88,316 as against Rs. 11,27,451 in 1942 and Rs. 11,37,020 in 1938.

Khadi sales inside Tamil Nad in 1943 amount to Rs. 28,81,511 as against Rs. 18,03,063 in 1942. The value of khadi exported outside is Rs. 4,03,553 in 1943, while the same in 1942 was Rs. 2,41,712. Thus the total turnover of work by Tamil Nad Branch in 1943 was Rs. 32,85,064 with the meagre resources at its disposal.

Detailed report of work done in 1943 will be published during the ensuing National Week.

No time was more opportune for the encouragement of Khadi than now. Government of India, at time, have shown eagerness to help the handloom, but have never encouraged it by anything that might be considered as help. Had the A.-I. S. A. been allowed to work at least unhampered during these days of cloth famine and agricultural unemployment, some good would have resulted.

Tata Plan a Camouflaged Demand for Gandhiji's Release?

The *Free Press Journal* reports :

LONDON, Mar. 8.

The publication here of the 15-year plan of Industrialisation sponsored by Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, J. R. D. Tata, G. D. Birla and others ten weeks ago, has aroused great interest in London and industrial circles. Many influential industrialists, when interviewed, favoured the plan and said that they had cabled to India asking for complete details of the scheme with a view to determining the best lines of British co-operation.

Reynolds News yesterday published an interview from its Bombay correspondence with J. R. D. Tata giving fuller account of the 15-year plan.

Meanwhile, propagandists here, notably Royist A. K. Pillai and others, have launched a campaign against the proposed Reconstruction Plan as being a camouflaged demand for release of Mahatma Gandhi.

To-day's *Times* published a dispatch from its Delhi correspondent, strongly criticising the 15-year plan. This dispatch did not examine the plan on its merits, but it exaggerated the opposition by Muslims and other minorities and "guardians of Indian agriculturists," presumably landlords and emphasised that the plan politically and economically was not feasible.

British Attitude in Africa

The *Free Press* reports :

LONDON, Mar. 13.

The problem of racial relationships within the Union of S. Africa was the subject of a lunch speech by the S. African High Commissioner in London, Col. Denys Reitz, at the Guild Hall to-day.

Col. Reitz referring to similar problems elsewhere within the Empire said that on their ultimate solution largely depended the ultimate success or failure of the Commonwealth. He surveyed firstly the relationship past and present between the Boer and the British people in S. Africa and expressed the view that within a generation or two they will have merged into a com-

mon nationhood so that the question will have disappeared for good.

Col. Reitz then examined "a far mere difficult problem—that of the relationship between the White and the Black." He pointed out that "it is a problem which not only concerns S. Africa but the entire British Empire, for the British people have to grapple with the question throughout the African continent and they have to deal with kindred problems in the East as well."

He said, "It is charged against us that we refuse our natives social, political and economic equality. This is so, and I do not altogether defend our system. But nonetheless our attitude towards our native races is a friendly one. *It is that, perhaps, of the feudal barons towards their serfs.* This may not seem ideal by modern standards, but every European and every thinking native will agree that to confer these complex civic rights upon a people who are as yet incapable of exercising them would spell disaster. We spend great sums annually on native education, agriculture training, housing, hospitals and general welfare of the native and though much remains to be done we are struggling upward.

"If we have failed, we have failed not for lack of goodwill towards our native, but because difficulties and complications are inherent in a situation where *Europeans are called upon to administer the affairs of less developed races.*"

He would say that unless others felt they could do better under similar difficult conditions they should be slow to cast the first stone.

History does not record a single event where Europeans were "called upon" to administer the affairs of less developed races. Either on a search for markets or on the pretext of preaching Christianity, the white races have set their feet on the soils of Asia and Africa, have got themselves entrenched there by the force of superior arms often combined with treachery, and then have made themselves self-appointed guardians of races whom they called "backward" in spite of the fact that many of them bore a culture thousands of years older than their own.

American Trade Will Move to Asia

Mr. Henry Wallace, the Vice-President of the U. S. A., writing in the magazine *Survey Graphic* on American and Russian understanding, says :

"Forty years hence Russia's population will be 250 millions and Russia and Asia together will represent more than half the world population. Siberia and China will furnish the greatest frontier of tomorrow and quite possible the next generation will see much American trade moving across the Pacific to Asia as formerly moved across the Atlantic to Europe. Most important growing points for the world in the next century will be Asia, Russia and Latin America."

The future of the three great Asiatic countries, Russia, China and India having land frontiers with each other, and their attitude towards Europe and America may also provide other problems to which useful thought might profitably be directed from now.

Indian Revolution- -Major Event of World War II

The *Tribune* of Lahore reports :

NEW YORK, Feb. 26.

Declaring that "the major event of World War II is the Indian Revolution," Frances Gunther, author of the forthcoming book "Revolution in India," presents an impassioned plea for Indian independence. Mrs. Gunther, wife of John Gunther, well-known author, travelled with her husband through India in 1938, where she met Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The United Nations, she says, are not helping this revolution but are doing everything possible "to hamstring, frustrate, undermine and ultimately to destroy it." This hindrance, she warns, may drive India "from revolutionary democracy to Fascist desperation." India, she asserts, now stands on the threshold of winning her independence, but this independence will be won "by the Indian people themselves alone."

"However," she continues, "it is unlikely, but barely possible, that by making itself sufficiently heard, popular opinion in the United States, reinforcing popular opinion in England, could influence the English Government to relinquish responsibility to a representative Indian Government." Actually, she feels it would take nothing less than a revolution in British foreign policy to effect such a change.

Such a basic change in policy she says would mean :

(1) Immediate acknowledgement of the independence of India.

(2) The unconditional surrender of extra-territoriality in all its phases in China, including the return of Hong Kong and Kowloon.

(3) The reversion to national ownership of those natural resources of foreign countries under British financial control, as : the oil of Iraq, Iran, Sarawak, Rumania, Mexico, etc. This has two important boomerangs : it would refer likewise to American-controlled oil in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, etc. as well as to American shares in British-controlled areas. It would lead to nationalization of natural resources in Britain and the United States no less than abroad.

(4) Redistribution of Sea Power and Air Power.

She then raises the question, if such a change were effected, what would happen to the security of England ? "Clearly, it would need to be guaranteed by the United States and the British Commonwealths," she states : "But no price is too great to pay for the world equilibrium that might result from a democratic readjustment of England's foreign policy. In such an equilibrium security becomes a natural instead of a highly precarious and uncertain element in international relations."

Britain's ability to defend herself in a major war, of the kind of the two world wars, without the aid of America and her Dominions and Colonies will doubtless become a debatable question after this world war. The tendencies and cross currents in the U. S. A., in her dominions like South Africa and Australia and in India may require the turning of a new leaf in England's foreign policy.

Economic Consequences of British Trade in India

Mrs. Gunther strongly feels that the loss of India will not mean an economic loss to the

British people as a whole. She points out that Britain's capital investment in India represents about one-fourth of her total overseas investments, and her trade, shipping and banking business with India is about one-fifth of her total.

Declaring that Britain's capital investment in India represents about one-fourth of her total overseas investments, while her trade, shipping and banking business with India is only about one-fifth of her total, Mrs. Gunther minimizes the importance of the loss of India to the economic life of the British people, as a whole.

The mass of the British people have not derived any material benefit from Britain's control of India, since England's industrial population has, by and large, subsisted on a dole standard of living. The solution for the British people is a planned, more intensive, rather than extensive economy—one that will eliminate unemployment, raise the standard of living and health. While admitting the freeing of India would cause a certain amount of economic dislocation within England, Mrs. Gunther is convinced that such dislocation would be temporary, and that, in time, England would be able to make a satisfactory readjustment.

Mrs. Gunther on Cripps Offer

In the same book, dealing with the Cripps offer, Mrs. Gunther says that this mission failed because of the British Government's "*double standard of democracy*" and the "*ancient Imperial convictions of Mr. Churchill*," rather than "*the unreasonable intransigence of the leaders of Indian democracy*."

"Jinnah Built Up by the British"

Mrs. Gunther asserts that the so-called Hindu-Muslim problem has been fostered and exaggerated by the British Government "as an instrument of Imperial policy." She says :

Mr. Jinnah has been built up by the British, and "has found wider scope for his private ambitions in the opportunities offered by British interest in the Muslim League than in the self-sacrificing Congress movement." She warns that this open encouragement to Muslim-Hindu differences may result in civil war. She further states that the implications of British support of the Jinnah position are, "that the British Government will not voluntarily yield its domination over India to any centralized, unified, Indian Government, but will substitute its direct domination only for a balance of power control over a divided and sub-divided India."

U. S. Responsibility on Indian Freedom

Mrs. Gunther declares that in this whole question of Indian freedom and post-war international relations, the United States has a responsibility to Britain, no less than to India. She says :

First of all, this country "must make it quite clear to England that it has no intention of muscling into the trade of India behind her back. . . . On the other hand, England cannot expect her monopoly control of Indian

trade to go on for ever. Secondly, full facilities of Lend-Lease should be offered to tide England over during the post-war transition period. . . . Thirdly, in co-operation with Britain and other United Nations, we must co-ordinate world trade; rationalize it, streamline it on assembly lines in continental areas, with no waste motions back and forth over lands and seas."

We fully agree with Mrs. Gunther's conclusions when she says that with India freed, "the world will be cured of its major political and economic derangement, and England will enjoy a healthier, happier and saner life than she has had in centuries."

Madras A.-I. C. C. Member on 1942 Movement

In a two hour speech initiating the debate on the Finance Member's motion that the Finance Bill be taken into consideration, Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Congress Member from Madras, said :

How did the Sabotage Movement start in August, 1942?

It did not certainly start because of instructions from the Congress Working Committee but because Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, in a broadcast on August 9, 1942 described what he called the Congress programme as one of violence and sabotage, and gave details of the alleged programme, and many Congress workers took this broadcast to mean that it gave out the real Congress programme and acted accordingly!

Mr. Chettiar said, this was the explanation he had heard in jail. Speaking as a member of the A.-I. C. C., he repudiated the charge that the Congress Working Committee had incited the sabotage movement in the country. He had ascertained from a member of the Working Committee, whom he had met in jail, that there were no instructions or programme of civil disobedience issued by the Working Committee. Mrs. Naidu, after her release, has also said the same thing.

Frontier Assembly Bye-Election

In the Sikh bye--election to the Frontier Legislative Assembly, the Congress candidate has been returned with a comfortable majority defeating the Akali nominee of Sardar Ajit Singh, the Sikh leader in the present Frontier Ministry formed with the support of the Muslim League. This is really a defeat for Sardar Ajit Singh and all those associated with him including Master Tara Singh's party. In this election, the whole forces of the Akali party, with the Muslim League at the back, were arrayed against the Congress. The Sikh voters by voting for the Congress candidate, have proved that they stand for the cause of freedom and democracy and have amply demonstrated

the hold of the Congress on the Frontier Sikhs. The *Tribune* has rightly pointed out that "the real significance of the Congress victory can only be realised when it is remembered that it was achieved in the face of the appeal to the voters by the Akali party in the name of the Panth—an appeal that ordinarily carries great weight with the masses. If, in spite of that appeal, the Sikh voters have chosen to repose their confidence in the Congress candidate, that means that they are not only Congress-minded, but disapprove of the action of Sardar Ajit Singh and his party in associating themselves with the Muslim League."

Sufficient Notice Defined by Bombay High Court

The Times of India reports :

BOMBAY, Feb. 28.

"When an order is addressed to a private individual, it is difficult to hold that mere publication in the *Government Gazette* is sufficient notice to that individual of the order passed against him unless there is reason to believe that he is in the habit of reading the *Gazette*, or has read it in this particular instance." This observation was made by Mr. Justice Macklin and Mr. Justice Sen at the Bombay High Court on Monday, while dismissing the appeals preferred by the Government of Bombay against the orders of acquittal passed by the Sessions Judge of Belgaum in the cases in which R. B. Patil, a Congress worker, and R. L. Patil, a social worker, were charged under the Defence of India Rules with failing to comply with an order of the District Magistrate of Belgaum.

According to the prosecution, both the accused were directed by the District Magistrate by his order, dated September 6, 1942, to appear before the District Superintendent of Police, at Belgaum, on or before September 21, 1942. The order was published in the *Government Gazette* on September 10. The accused did not appear before the Superintendent of Police. According to R. B. Patil, he left his village in July, 1942, and returned on October 12, 1942. He had not heard of the District Magistrate's order. Mr. R. L. Patil also made a similar statement. Both the accused were charged under Rule (26-5B) (b) of the Defence of India Rules.

Apart from the want of delegation of power, there was also want of notice to the accused, as even the village police Patil did not know of the orders. Unless it was shown that the publication in the *Gazette* was sufficient notice their Lordships would have to hold that there was no evidence that the orders had been brought to the notice of the two accused.

The recent tendency to simplify the administration of criminal law by means of various modifications of the existing rules of legal procedure in regard to notice, evidence, etc., has not earned universal support from the Bench. Trial *in absentia* of the accused and the recording of evidence in his absence, prosecution's refusal to submit documents in the court relating to the trial but considered secret by the police, to regard the publication of a notifica-

tion in the official gazette as sufficient notice to the accused, are the procedures which have always been looked upon by the people as the denial of justice. Not unoften, courts have also voiced their disapproval of these novelties. But the authorities in this country have seldom hesitated to adjust the judicial procedure to their own whims and conveniences.

Hindu Marriage Bill

The Central Legislative Assembly debated the Law Member's motion to refer to a joint Select Committee of both Houses the Bill to codify Hindu Law relating to marriage. Sir Asoke Roy said that the Rao Committee had expressed themselves in favour of codification of the Hindu Law stage by stage, beginning with the law of succession and the law of marriage. The Government of India had accepted this view and the Bill before the House was one of the Bills recommended by the Rao Committee. The Bill had been circulated as early as in 1942 and opinion was on the whole in favour of the principle underlying it. There was some controversy over its provision prohibiting polygamy but the Law Member thought it could best be resolved by a free and frank discussion in the Joint Select Committee which would also be in a position to consider other objections to the Bill and make the necessary modifications.

Mr. Baijnath Bajoria, the orthodox Hindu Member, opposed the whole Bill and sought to move for its re-circulation. Mr. Bajoria's chief objection was that the Bill sought to give recognition to civil marriages by putting them on a footing of equality with sacramental marriage. In his opinion, any Hindu who contracted marriage under the Special Marriage Act ceased to be a Hindu and became an outcaste. Mr. Bajoria's opinion is open to grave doubt. Contracting of marriage under the Gour Act, to our knowledge, has not led to the couple becoming outcaste, rather, with the growth of inter-provincial and inter-caste marriages in the modern Hindu Society, this Act has been looked upon as a great help. On the question of polygamy, Mr. Bajoria fought shy to support it. He said, "The House will be agreeably surprised to learn that I support the abolition of polygamy." He frankly stated that "Hindu Law propounded in the shastras did not allow polygamy," and admitted that "polygamy is also a dying institution among Hindus if for nothing else, at least for the cost it involved."

Mrs. Renuka Ray championed the cause of the Bill. She said that the outstanding feature of it was that it dealt separately with sacramental and civil marriages. No change had been made in the existing law in regard to civil marriages, but the Bill merely restated the present position removing a few glaring anomalies. Disputing Mr. Bajoria's contention, she said that even Sir B. L. Mitter, the Advocate-General of India, had stated that those who married under Special Marriage Act remained Hindus. They might be protestant Hindus, but they were Hindus who believed in Vedic Hinduism. The first feature in sacramental marriage was enforcement of monogamy and she heartily supported this provision of the Bill. She pointed out that although polygamy was rare in Hindu Society there was always a loophole in the existing law for man to take advantage of it.

This Bill when enacted would no doubt mark at least one step forward in the movement for social uplift in this country. The exact scope of the Bill has been very ably discussed by the *Indian Social Reformer* in the following words :

Besides the traditional antipathy, the difference between the civil marriage and the sacramental marriage is that while the sacramental marriage would retain some of the present restrictions as to caste, gotras and so on, the civil marriage will be totally free from them. Both the sacramental and the civil marriages would be monogamous under the proposed legislation. The orthodox spokesman is not against civil marriage but against its being placed on an equality with the sacramental one. What the distinction he would make between the two to denote the superiority of the one over the other, he did not indicate. The new legislation is to take the form of a complete Hindu Code. The Gour Act already provides for a civil marriage as among Hindus including in the term all religionists who follow a religion which had its birth on Indian soil. This is the Mahasabha definition and it is already being felt to be too narrow. In Maharashtra, according to the *Mahratta*, Christians are being enrolled as members of the Mahasabha and are working for it. It is worth while making a fresh attempt to get all the communities to agree to the passing of a simple Civil Marriage Act applicable to all without restriction. A marriage is a marriage however solemnised and it is unreasonable in the best interests of the community and impossible to make any distinction between a sacramental and a civil marriage.

Dumping of British Consumer Goods on India

Mr. Ramratan Gupta asked in the Central Legislative Assembly whether it was a fact that importers of certain classes of consumer goods such as whisky, razor blades and bicycles, etc., from the U. K., were simply to apply for and were granted import licenses on the basis of bills of lading and other shipping documents at the importing centres of India.

Sir Azizul Huq, the Commerce Member, replied :

A sudden improvement recently occurred in the shipping situation and the Government of India accordingly made arrangements to increase the scale on which import licences are issued. The effect of such an expansion in licensing however takes some time to be felt, and as an interim measure, it was arranged with the India Office that consumer goods would be shipped from the U. K. without an import licence being previously obtained in India, and the import licence would be granted on the receipt of advices of shipment. This arrangement, which applies to all categories of consumers goods ceases to operate at the end of this month.

Shipping space, for civil imports was allocated for each half year by the shipping authorities in the U. K. on the basis of a programme of requirements drawn up by the Government of India. In the case of the U. K. the shipping space actually available month by month was then filled in accordance with a directive by the Government of India after a consideration of the cargoes offering details of which were supplied to them by the India Office. Shipments were confined to goods covered by import licences issued in India, full particulars of which were made available to the India Office.

Mr. Krishnaamachari : May I know whether importation of whisky is an anti-inflationary measure ? (Laughter).

The Finance Member : Yes, it is (More Laughter).

Mr. K. C. Neogy asked whether the Government had satisfied themselves as regard the extent to which the commodities concerned are locally manufactured, or their production could be increased locally ?

The Commerce Member replied in the affirmative and said that the Government were satisfied that the local production was not adequate and could not be sufficiently stepped up in the near future to meet present-day demands.

The Government's policy in granting import licenses on the basis of past business came in for severe criticism among Indian businessmen. This policy not only shuts out all new entrants in the field of foreign trade who necessarily would be Indians, but also it stands in the way of the expansion of foreign trade for these Indian firms who had been in the field on a small scale but now want to increase it. British firms in India dealing in foreign trade have been continually enjoying two distinct advantages, viz., finance from the Exchange Banks most of whom are British and patronage from the Government whenever occasion needed it. The Indian foreign trading firms have always been at a disadvantage in respect of these two vital conditions. During this war, the Government have made it easier for the British firms to work while impossible conditions have been imposed as dead weights in Indian attempts to embark on foreign trade.

Railways the Arteries of British Imperialism

The practice of granting extensions to superannuated personnel in railway services was criticised in the Central Legislative Assembly by Mr. H. M. Abdullah moving a cut of Rs. 100 under the head Railway Board. He said that this policy deprived junior officers of their due promotions. Sir Yamin Khan said that he was entirely opposed on principle to granting of extensions to any one on any ground. Government had laid down a certain superannuation age after due consideration on the ground that the way of the younger officers should not be blocked, and on the theory that officers could not be as efficient as they should be after that age. He said that this principle should be strictly followed. Sardar Sant Singh pointed out that the policy of granting extensions led to favouritism and by keeping a number of Europeans in service after superannuation the policy of Indianisation was being neutralised by the Government. Such extension also led to discontent among the subordinate staff. This may lead to the wearing down of efficiency in the Railway administration by discouraging the more active and efficient young officers to put in the maximum of their energies.

Mr. Abdul Qaiyum, Deputy leader of the Congress Party, said that the motion raised the important question of the scope of employment of non-Indians and the terms and conditions under which they were employed. He declared that the "*railways were the arteries through which the life blood of British Imperialism circulated in the country and the Government were very jealously guarding it. The policy was to keep Indians out of all key positions of trust and responsibility.*" Mr. Qaiyum vehemently condemned British policy in India and said : "Only fools would believe in their words and promises."

Sir Cowasji Jehangir came to the support of the Government. Deprecating what he called the racial tinge given to the debate, he said :

The principles which should normally be adhered to in peace time could not be applied to the emergency created by the war. These principles, he added, had been followed in India in peace time and no extensions were given unless it was under exceptional circumstances. To make the question a racial one was not fair either to Indians or to the department.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan of the Muslim League made a caustic criticism of Sir Cowasji's speech and said that

He had not intended to take part in the debate, but in view of Sir Cowasjee Jehangir's references to the

war, he felt it was his duty to do so. He asked : "How can we forget about the war? Is not the presence of my colleagues on the other side a constant reminder that there is a war on?" (Laughter). (A voice : The horrors of war). Sir Cowasjee had stated that many things which were done in wartime would be unjustifiable in peace time. "*A just war cannot do injustice and, if injustice is to be done, then this is not a just war,*" declared the Nawabzada.

He said extensions were being given in the interest of certain vested interests. A number of deserving men—whether they be Europeans or Indians—were being deprived of their chance. It became all the more objectionable and dishonest when discrimination was based on racial grounds.

Agricultural Machinery from America

The supply member of the Government of India, in reply to a question, told the Central Legislative Assembly that agricultural machinery from America valued at 1,107,000 dollars had been received in India under lease-lend upto the end of October 1943. These machinery included tractors, scrapers, ploughs, milk cans, hay balers and pressers, harrows, drills, trailers etc. Machinery worth 1,042,000 dollars had been distributed to military centres like Government Dairy Farms and the balance worth 65,000 dollars would be distributed to essential users through stockist agents.

The supply member, however, did not indicate whether attempts had been made to manufacture agricultural machinery in this country, and why simple implements like the plough had to be imported instead of having them manufactured by the village blacksmith. The lease-lend aid would have been of some help to India if heavy machinery had been imported under it calculated to steep up the production of consumer goods here. But from the supply member's statement one finds that no such arrangement has been made.

Dwarkanath Ganguli Centenary

The birth centenary of another personality of Bengal, Dwarkanath Ganguli, comes off on April 22, this year. His life was devoted to the service of his motherland through various channels of national activity. Dwarkanath was one of the founders of the Indian Association. It was through his efforts that the Indian National Congress was first roused to take up the cause of kisans and labourers. Dwarkanath was the first to bring into light the sufferings of the plantation labour of Assam, and to move the Congress to take up their cause. For the cause of women emancipation, his efforts knew no bounds. He was the first to compile national songs in book-form and bring them within easy reach of the people. He was an able journalist. Looking forward centuries ahead, he had realis-

ed that for the building of a better Bengal, children's education had to be placed on the bedrock of national ideals. For this purpose, he wrote school text-books which would serve as models when a free India would be free to build up her own educational system. A radical thinker of his times, Dwarkanath had chosen the Brahmo Samaj as the guide and platform of his work. The memory of this educational and social reformer, journalist, politician and a life-long worker deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

Manmohan Ghose Centenary

The birth centenary of Manmohan Ghose was celebrated at Krishnagore by the middle of March. As the first Barrister-at-Law enrolled in the Calcutta High Court and as a very successful legal practitioner, Manmohan Ghose had become a prominent figure among his countrymen in the prime of his life. Manmohan Ghose was the first *practising* barrister, the first to pass that Examination was Jnanendra Mohan Tagore. Immediately after passing the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University in 1859, when he was barely a youth of sixteen, he wrote a series of letters in the *Hindu Patriot* on the subject of Indigo cultivation and its attendant evils, which led to the appointment of the Indigo Commission by the Government with W. S. Seton-Kerr as President. Manmohan Ghose attended the sittings of that commission held at Krishnagore, and took notes of the evidence for the *Hindu Patriot*, then edited by Harish Chandra Mukherjee. When barely eighteen, Manmohan started the *Indian Mirror*, with funds supplied by Maharshi Debendranath Tagore. It came out on 14 August, 1861, as a fortnightly and Manmohan continued to edit it till March 1862.

Manmohan Ghose was an enthusiastic member of the Indian National Congress and liberally contributed funds for its expenses.

Mr. Kirby on Rationing

In a broadcast talk on food control and rationing, from Akashvani, Mysore, Mr. Kirby, the Rationing Adviser to the Government of India, dealt with some of the important problems about rationing. He admitted first of all that "each one and every one has a right to that quantity of essential foods that will keep him or her in a healthy and efficient state of living." He however did not mention anything about Calcutta rationing where the entire press had complained about the insufficiency of the quantity of the rationed food, specially with reference to the day labourers. Speaking on February 26,

about a month after the introduction of Calcutta rationing, he must have had knowledge of these complaints. Mr. Kirby had also nothing to say about the poor quality of food-stuff supplied, the denial of choice to purchasers and the forcing of unaccustomed food-stuffs on Bengal. In their eagerness to force Bajra on the people of this province, the Civil Supply Department had stocked huge quantities of it which they could not sell, and it is obvious from a recent advertisement that attempts are now being made to get rid of this huge stock at a loss. The people are yet to know who had advised the purchase of large quantities of Bajra for Bengal without ascertaining whether it could be used.

Mr. Kirby spoke the following few words about the necessity of a Food Advisory Council :

Since feeding the people is such an intimate matter it is necessary to know at all times how the individual is reacting and standing up to rationing and whether the necessary regulations should or should not be amended or relaxed, if cases of real hardship are being caused by some particular order which is not achieving the objects for which it has been drafted. It is in such cases—and in many other cases—that a carefully constituted Food Advisory Committee, chiefly composed of non-official members, can be of so much use. This Advisory Committee must be helpful in its general attitude and should include ladies and gentlemen who are well-known for their welfare and social work, also a doctor and a nutrition expert should also be a member of the Advisory Committee.

A Food Advisory Council with powers to superintend the rationing operations in Calcutta is a great necessity but the authorities have not yet set it up.

The Calcutta rationing authorities have until now shown little regard for constructive criticisms about the defects of rationing. Quality of food-stuff supplied still remains poor and the quantity small. This necessarily explains the existence of black market in the city. That mere prosecution cannot stop selling of rice outside ration shops, is apparent from the weekly increase of prosecutions in Calcutta. No provision has been made for the supply of fine and old rice for the convalescent or on medical ground. Salt, an essential food-stuff, still remains unrationed and difficult to procure even at a high price. Fuels like coal and kerosene have been left at the hands of profiteers. The price of rationed food-stuffs shows no sign of coming down within the reach of the poor. The Government continue to make large profits, by selling rice at a margin of Rs. 1-4 and wheat products with larger margins, and go on showing huge deficits in the budget.

A comparison with Mysore rationing may here be interesting. A considerable sum of

money is being spent there by the Mysore Government in order to subsidise the prices of essential rationed foods to ensure that the price to the consumer is within his capacity to pay. The rationing in Mysore has been based on the goodwill and co-operation of the people, it looks into the details of their needs and their capacity to pay. Government of Mysore have not left the people at the mercy of a handful of officials having poor knowledge of the needs and conditions of the people and no respect for public opinion.

Price and Supply of Soft Coke

The price of soft coke has been fixed by the Central Government at Rs. 17 per ton f.o.r. colliery siding while its cost of production can not exceed Rs 6. The pre-war price was from Rs. 3 to Rs. 4. $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons of steam coal go to manufacture 1 ton of soft coke. Even now the Railways are buying good quality of steam coal at Rs. 6 to Rs. 8. Soft coke is made of inferior coal which always sells cheaper. The exorbitant price of Rs. 17 has been fixed as a sop to the colliery-owner manufacturing soft coke who gets only a very small number of wagons in a month and can not, therefore, make both ends meet unless the price be inordinately high. Even at this high price he is not well off and would prefer a fair price with an adequate supply of wagons. Soft coke-producing collieries are almost all owned by Indians. These have at least a Mining Federation to voice their grievances and have just been pacified at the expense of the masses of the country having no regular organisation to fight for their interests. The Railway Member as early as in February last year promised high priority for food. But as pointed out more than once in these columns, in the list of priorities for coal wagons soft coke which is used by the poor and middle classes for preparing food and may, therefore, be considered as part of food itself comes very low—after and not before coal used by, say, jute mills and tea gardens doing ordinary work not connected with the war. The crux of the problem lies here and gives rise to another important phenomenon, viz., differential treatment of Indian-owned collieries from British-managed collieries. If the Government make a statement showing the total number of wagons supplied since the declaration of the war to Indian-owned collieries and to British-managed and the pre-war basis (calculated on normal raisings of coal) of either group, a harrowing state of things will be revealed. Safeguards were inserted in the Government

of India Act for preventing discrimination against British commerce in the country while in actual practice Indian interests which as indigenous enterprise may claim preference under all systems of civilised government suffer grievously in comparison with foreign. A number of Indian showboys packing the Viceroy's Executive Council remains silent spectators of the tragedy. If soft coke come to occupy its proper place, this grave injustice will be substantially lessened though not altogether removed. Public opinion demands that the proposed coal control scheme should be designed and worked in this light.—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

Bengal Sales Tax on Handloom Cloth

This tax does away with an exemption enjoyed so long by the handloom cotton weaving industry which can claim protection against Indian cotton mills on the same principles on which the mills claim it against foreign cloth. Next to agriculture, handloom weaving constitutes the largest industry in the country and employs in Bengal alone according to the latest Government statistics 196,611 persons. 12 per cent less import duty on foreign yarn than on foreign piecegoods acted as a small protection to this village industry in the past but has now become inoperative on account of the decline in imports since Japan which supplied 58 per cent against United Kingdom's 13 in 1938-39 declared war. The import figure of that year is 36,459,000 lbs. as against 8,173,000 of 1941-42. Srijut C. Rajagopalachari's Ministry in Madras devised for the first time a small protection for the handloom within the narrow limits of provincial taxation by imposing the sales tax on mill-made cloth and exempting the handloom cloth from it. Many other provinces followed the example of Madras. The present uninformed Ministry in Bengal undoes the good work of one of India's astute politicians and this after a devastating famine. The Famine Commission of 1898 under the presidentship of Sir James Lyall appointed to enquire into the widespread famine of 1897 in Northern India, Bengal, Burma, Madras and Bombay made special recommendations for the relief of weavers. The Bengal Ministry advertises itself as a Moslem League ministry. Of Bengalee handloom weavers the majority are Muhammadans. The inequity in jute about which we wrote last month falls mainly on Moslems forming 90 per cent of the jute-growers in Bengal. The manufacturing cost of 100 yards of hessian cannot

exceed Rs. 3 so that the margin of profit for the mills is Rs. 11-8 in a quantity of hessian worth Rs. 28-8. That communal electorates which throw up only second-rate men eager for spoils of office cannot be a safeguard for protection of communal interests is amply proved by successive preponderantly Muhammadan ministries under the Government of India Act. If a new ministry with any claim of being nationalist in character be formed, it should make bridging the gulf between the prices of raw and manufactured jute a condition precedent to taking office.

—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

Living Hindus and Dead Hindus in Bengal

Politically one living Hindu is equivalent to four fifths of a living Muhammadan. 45 per cent of Hindus have 80 representatives in the local legislature; while 55 per cent of Muhammadans have 120 representatives. But the troubles of a Bengal Hindu do not end with his death. If his dead body remains unclaimed, it is used for dissection and other purposes in hospitals to the exclusion of such dead bodies of Muhammadans and Christians. When it is a question of admission to the Medical Colleges and Schools, the Muhammadans claim their *hissya* or share proportional to total population, irrespective of the fact that their proportion among the applicants or those who are qualified to attend such courses is very small; and seats are reserved for them in ever growing proportions. For several years attempts were made by the Hindu Satkar Samity under the leadership of the late Sir Mannatha Nath Mukherjea to prevent such sacrilege and for the disposal of such dead bodies according to their religious customs; but no tangible results followed. Why the proportion of dead bodies used for dissection cannot be according to their proportion according to population in the case of the Hindus and the Muhammadans, we fail to understand.

During the dark days of famine mass cremation of Hindu dead took place. The Health Officer of the Calcutta Corporation, Dr. M. U. Ahmed—a Muhammadan, justified the revival of this practice in his report. It is, however, strange and regrettable that though he stressed the necessity of reviving the practice of mass cremation in the case of the Hindus, he did not consider it necessary to have recourse to mass burial in the case of the Muhammadans and the Christians.

It is also reported that Government were also having recourse to mass cremation in dis-

posing of the dead bodies of persons killed in recent air raids.

Bengal is not yet in Pakistan; but such things as these are fore-taste of what is in store for the Bengal Hindus in the coming Pakistan. And what is more regrettable, Bengali Hindu leaders are not alive to the danger.—J. M. D.

Greater Rise in the Cost of Living at Calcutta Compared with Bombay and Madras

There has been very great rise in the cost of living, especially of middle class families. This is generally explained as due to inflation. The following figures for the working class cost of living index numbers are taken from the Reserve Bank of India Employees' Association Bulletin for January 1944.

BOMBAY

Month	1942	1943	Increase per cent.
January	131	193	147
February	129	195	151
March	130	198	152
April	131	214	163
May	135	221	162
June	145	224	155
July	160	225	140
August	160	227	141
September	162	233	144
October	164	236	144
November	170		
December	179		

CALCUTTA

Month	1942	1943	Increase per cent.
January	125	206	164
February	126	211	167
March	127	230	181
April	129	230	180
May	131	258	197
June	135	258	191
July	138	261	189
August	150	274	183
September	154	262	171
October	156	258	165
November	173		
December	196		

MADRAS

Month	1942	1943	Increase per cent.
January	119	164	137
February	117	167	142
March	117	173	148
April	121	175	145
May	122	176	145
June	131	183	140
July	136	185	136
August	140	185	132
September	149	184	124
October	155	188	121
November	159		
December	161		

It will be seen from the above figures that there has been greater rise in the cost of living at Calcutta in 1943 compared with 1942. There has been rise in Bombay and at Madras, but while in Bombay the *maximum* rise is 163 per cent; the corresponding maximum for Madras has been 148 per cent. But in Calcutta the *minimum* rise has been 164 per cent; while the *maximum* has been 197.

To what then this greater rise at Calcutta is due? It has been suggested that this is due to the unnecessary and undue interference with the normal channels of trade by the Bengal Government and its officers; and their utter failure to check profiteering and black-marketing. We also think so. The incompetence of the present Ministry has become a bye-word.

J. M. DATTA

An Appeal for Brojendranath Seal Memorial

Sir Brojendranath Seal is remembered as one of the greatest philosophers Bengal has ever produced. Almost everything seems to have been forgotten about his contributions to the national renaissance of modern Bengal, particularly in the field of national education. The organisers of the B. N. Seal memorial committee will render a great service to their motherland if they succeed in rescuing from oblivion the contributions of this sage. The Committee has made the following proposals :

It has been resolved at a public meeting, convened for the purpose, that donations to a Memorial Fund be invited from far and near, from his students, friends and admirers, so that we may be in a position to (i) publish a comprehensive volume in English discussing and analysing all his available writings, scientific papers, technical reports, occasional addresses, etc., (ii) bring out a memorial volume in Bengali of appreciations, reminiscences and biographical sketches and (iii) found a Brojendranath Seal Lectureship in Comparative Philosophy at the Calcutta University.

Instead of concentrating on securing appreciations, the Committee will do well to compile a biography of Brojendranath Seal based on contemporary historical data lying scattered on the pages of old journals and periodicals. If the Committee means business, this should immediately start work. All donations may be sent to Dr. S. B. Dutt, Comilla Union Bank, 4 Clive Street, Calcutta where they will be thankfully received.

BRITISH BUSINESS IN INDIAN LEGISLATURES

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

NON-OFFICIAL Europeans were accorded representation for the first time in Indian legislatures under the India Councils Act of 1892 and in the three decades or so which intervened between it and the Government of India Act, 1919, they continued to enjoy this privilege on the basis of nomination. Such men as they sent to our legislatures represented European commerce and industry and their advice was specially sought by the British administration whenever it was deemed necessary to enact laws concerned with banking, currency, commerce, industry, labour and the like.

It was after the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1918, that the European Association as the official mouthpiece of non-official Europeans demanded their representation as a minority community. This was granted under the Government of India Act, 1919, and it is worth remembering that in the different committees and commissions appointed between 1919 and 1935, either by the Parliament or the India Government, the claims of the non-official European community to representation as a special interest and as a minority community were always admitted.

Omitting all reference to the amount of representation accorded or proposed to be accorded to non-official Europeans during the abovementioned period, we shall pass on to the situation created under the Government of India Act, 1935, comparing it with that granted to the members of this community under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION UNDER THE ACTS OF 1919 & 1935

If the federal part of the Government of India Act, 1935, had come into operation, Europeans would have filled 7 seats on a communal basis in the Council of State. Similarly, in the Lower House at the centre, they would have filled 8 communal seats besides a certain number of the 11 seats set apart for representatives of commerce and industry.

Comparing this with the representation accorded to the Europeans under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, we find that whereas under the 1919 Act, they occupied 3 seats as representatives of commerce and industry in the Upper House at the centre, under the 1935 Act, they would occupy 7 communal seats there.

In the Lower House at the centre, the Europeans under the Montagu-Chelmsford

Reforms occupied 9 seats of which 8 were elected from communal constituencies and one was a nominated commerce and industry seat. Under the Act of 1935, they would occupy 8 communal seats plus a certain proportion of those reserved for commerce and industry.

Sir Shafa't Ahmad Khan who represented our Muslim brethren at the three Round Table Conferences and who is at present our High Commissioner in South Africa on page 329 of his *Indian Federation* has observed that it would have been easy for the Europeans "to secure a majority of the 11 seats which have been reserved for representatives of commerce and industry in the Federal Assembly."

Those who have carefully studied the recommendations of the Hammond Delimitation Committee as regards the constituencies which would elect the representatives of commerce and industry, are of the opinion that Europeans would have succeeded in securing not less than 6 or more than 7 of these seats.

Under these circumstances, the Europeans would have occupied not less than 14 and not more than 15 seats in the Federal Assembly.

The gains made by the Europeans therefore at the centre amount to this that where under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act they had been occupying 3 seats in the Upper House at the centre where initiative does not certainly lie and 9 communal seats only in the Lower House or a total of 12 seats altogether, under the Act of 1935, they would have occupied 6 to 7 seats as representatives of commerce and industry and, taking the two Houses together, 15 seats on a communal basis or altogether 21 to 22 seats.

In its representation to the Muddiman Committee of 1924, the European Association had very strongly demanded "direct representation of European commerce and industry" in the Lower House at the centre but not "at the expense of the European general (i.e. communal) constituencies". What had been refused in 1924, was granted in 1935, involving a gain of not less than 10 or more than 11 additional seats.

Coming to the Provincial sphere, we find that under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, Europeans occupied 10 communal and 36 commerce and industry seats in our Provincial legislatures, 9 among the latter being nominated ones. The total number of seats therefore occupied by them was 46. Under the Government of India Act, 1935, the number of com-

munal seats accorded to Europeans in the Upper House of our Provincial legislatures was 9, the number of communal seats in the Lower House was increased from 10 to 26 so that the total number of communal seats occupied by Europeans was 35 which is 350 p.c. more than the number occupied by them under the Montagu-Chelmsford Act. Then again, the constituencies for the commerce and industry seats were such as to ensure a minimum of 40 seats to them. In other words, where the Act of 1919 had enabled the European community to occupy 46 seats, the Act of 1935 gave them 75 seats in the Provincial sphere.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION

In entering its demand for the communal representation of non-official Europeans, the European Association through a manifesto issued by its Secretary had urged in 1918, that

"European non-officials are entitled to substantial representation as a community in the Imperial and Provincial Legislatures in addition to the representation already given through Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations and Planters' Associations. Representatives of these specialised bodies naturally cannot receive any general political mandate from their constituents, and that is a strong reason for according an adequate measure of communal representation to Europeans."

Another and, in the opinion of the European Association, a stronger argument for granting communal representation to non-official Europeans was that

"So long as representation is merely through a Chamber of Commerce and sectional bodies, a considerable number of Europeans engaged in the legal, medical, journalistic, and other professions, or resident where specialised bodies do not exist, are denied all representation."

The view that in addition to the representation enjoyed by European Commerce and Industry through their special organisations, non-official Europeans who are not engaged in these activities are entitled to representation and that on a communal basis was urged in a Minute by Sir Reginald Craddock then Lieutenant-Governor of Burma forwarded to the Indian Government towards the end of 1918. This is incorporated in the First Despatch of the India Government on the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals dated the 5th March, 1919. Here Sir Reginald observed that he did not consider that the non-official European community could be adequately represented through seats granted to their Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, etc., because

"The representatives so elected are merely mouth-pieces of the Chambers and Associations to which they

belong. They regard themselves as charged with special commercial interests only."

Sir Reginald urged that, in addition, communal seats should be granted to the non-official European community because

"Although European commercial interests are of great importance, they by no means represent the entire European interests of the country. The interests of the European lawyers, medical men and other non-official Europeans of the professional classes, as well as Europeans, official or non-official, who have settled in the country after retirement from service or business, cannot be ignored."

It thus follows that here this old and experienced member of the Indian Civil Service agreed with the European Association in regard to the necessity of granting representation to the non-official non-business sections of the European community in order that their interests as a minority might be adequately protected from which it may be concluded that if the reasons behind this demand for communal representation were genuine ones urged in good faith, one would naturally expect that while all the seats reserved for European commerce and industry would be occupied by their representatives, a majority, if not all among the communal seats would go to the non-business sections of non-official Europeans.

Seeing that there are old and efficient organisations controlled by British business which, under law, enjoy the right of sending their representatives to our legislatures, we would not be surprised to find the European commerce and industry seats occupied by leaders of British business.

So far as the non-business non-official Europeans are concerned, we would expect them to enter our legislatures with the whole-hearted support of the European Association, their communal organisation. We would assume that the European Association would not fail to carry out the undertaking it gave indirectly when it demanded and secured communal representation for non-business Europeans, by doing everything which lies in its power to facilitate their entrance into their legislatures.

LOTHIAN COMMITTEE AND EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION

That the view put forward here is correct becomes evident when we remember what the Lothian Committee said on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935.

In paragraph 321 of its Report, the Lothian Franchise Committee indicated very clearly the reasons for the inclusion of European businessmen as well as of communal representatives of

the European community in our legislatures. It pointed out that the former as "business and economic experts" equipped with "first-hand experience of those great commercial, industrial and banking undertakings which play a rapidly increasing part in the life of every community in the modern world" were expected to "speak in the legislatures from the expert and technical point of view."

In the case of the European community, the Lothian Franchise Committee stated that

While its communal constituencies might "not infrequently return individuals whose knowledge and experience is such that they can make contributions of value in discussions on commercial and industrial questions, those members speak primarily as representatives of their general (in other words, communal) constituency."

From this the logical inference is that the Lothian Franchise Committee thought that British businessmen would fill the commerce and industry seats and non-business non-official Europeans, the European communal seats. The reason it gave why the former should refrain from occupying the European communal seats was that

"They (European communal representatives) may on occasion find that the claims of that constituency are difficult to reconcile with a wholly dispassionate examination of particular economic issues."

We therefore conclude that the presence of communal representatives of Europeans was regarded as desirable to ensure the proper representation of the general views of Europeans in India as distinct from the views of the different varieties and sections of British business which would, in normal circumstances, be voiced by its representatives sent through the Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, etc.

It is the aim of the present discussion to ascertain whether the seats reserved for non-official Europeans are filled by the people to whom they were supposed to have been given and, if not, the reasons, if any, which have kept them out.

EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION AS A SPECIAL INTEREST

So far as business organisations such as Chambers of Commerce, Trades Associations, Mining and Planting Organisations from which leaders of British business would be and are actually elected, are concerned, we are told in Paragraph 150 of the first volume of the Simon Commission Report that the electing bodies "represent the directorates or managements of

the great business interests of the country and not the employees." It therefore follows that Europeans other than leaders of British business have little if any chance of entering our legislatures through these constituencies.

If individual Britons who are not leaders of business do so here and there, it is only because their past record has shown that they will represent the point of view of British business as faithfully as British businessmen themselves. It may also be argued that in such cases, openings are often found or created for them because leaders of British business are unable to find sufficient time and energy for the proper discharge of legislative duties, a fact noted and commented on by the Simon Commission which in Paragraph 216, Vol. I., of its Report said in 1930 that

"There has frequently been difficulty, as might be expected, in finding Europeans who have sufficient leisure to spare for such (legislative) duties."

It is also possible that the continuous presence of such men in Indian legislatures might be regarded as desirable in view of the constant changes of representatives of European business, commerce, etc., owing to transfer, leave and retirement.

The attention of the Lothian Franchise Committee was drawn to this fact by the (European) Chambers of Commerce of Bombay and the United Provinces in 1932. These demanded that the existing electoral rules under which firms which were members of the Chambers of Commerce had to nominate a representative to vote and act on their behalf in connection with elections to legislative bodies should be modified because

"Frequent changes in the personnel of partners, directors or managers may result in disfranchising many firms at the time when an election takes place."

From this it follows that the presence of trustworthy representatives of British business of the type referred to just now in Indian legislatures was and is necessary for this tends to preserve something like continuity and uniformity of policy.

It has also to be stated in this connection that big British business which is always busy and over-worked and which therefore would find it difficult to conduct an election campaign does not, as a matter of fact, find any difficulty in being elected to Indian legislatures. The first and the most obvious reason is that the number desirous of undertaking legislative responsibilities is always limited and the second is the

restricted electorate leading to the practical absence of anything like contested elections. The last fact is proved by what the Simon Commission said in Paragraph 215 of the first volume of its Report where it stated that

"96 members of the (European) Madras Chamber of Commerce elect two members, 16 members of the Madras (European) Trades Association elect one member, etc."

EUROPEAN REPRESENTATION AS A MINORITY

Seeing that on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, British business did not enter any very emphatic claims for a larger number of seats as a special interest, an inference we are entitled to draw is that either it was more or less satisfied with the number allotted to it or that it was conscious that a demand for more extensive representation could not be justified. In either case, there was nothing to show that it would make any attempt to appropriate the seats allotted to the European community as a minor minority.

In this connection it would be profitable to recall the observations made by the Simon Commission in 1930 as regards the difficulty in securing an adequate number of European representatives for the Provincial legislatures. The Simon Commission which, as shown elsewhere, had recommended a larger number of seats for the European community than what it had been enjoying under the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms felt that it would not be easy to get a sufficient number of Europeans. This is proved by what appears in Paragraph 81 of the second volume of its Report where it was stated that

"It is clear that it will not be easy in the enlarged councils (recommended by the Simon Commission) to find a sufficient number of suitable European business representatives able to devote their time to the work of the legislatures."

When we remember that the non-official European community was given 96 to 97 seats under the Government of India Act, 1935, where the Simon Commission had recommended 81 to 83 seats in 1930, the only conclusion we can draw is that the drawback referred to must have increased rather than decreased.

In order to prove that the difficulty in securing an adequate number of European representatives of British business in the Provincial legislatures was also present in the Central Legislature, we shall refer the reader to the following observation made by the Lothian Franchise Committee in 1932, in Paragraph 421 of its Report. After pointing out the desirability of including a certain number of representatives

of commerce and industry "directly chosen by Chambers of Commerce and other equivalent bodies" for the purpose of assisting the Central Legislature with expert and technical advice, it goes on to say that their number must be small because

"Only a limited number of men of the requisite standing can find time to attend the sessions of the Central Legislature and take an active part in politics."

Under these circumstances, one would naturally expect, provided of course that the European community as a whole took real interest in Indian politics, that while the leaders of British business would find representation in our different legislatures through Chambers of Commerce, Trades, Mining and Planters' Associations, those economically less fortunate, such as assistants in British business, and European professional men, such as lawyers, doctors, engineers, journalists, etc., on whose behalf communal representation had been demanded by the European Association in 1918, would find representation through the communal constituencies and that their co-operation in such matters would be sought by the European Association in view specially of the well-known difficulty experienced in securing an adequate number of leaders of British business for filling the commerce and industry seats allotted to the European community to which reference had been made by the Simon Commission and the Lothian Franchise Committee.

What we actually find is that the assistants in British firms, European professional men, such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, journalists, etc., are very rarely found seeking election from European communal constituencies which was demanded for the avowed purpose of affording them facilities for voicing the opinions of the European community as a minority in our legislatures. Even today, in an overwhelmingly large majority of cases, these "communal" seats are occupied by representatives of British business.

SOME INFERENCE FROM ABSENCE OF CONTESTED ELECTIONS

This was noticed by the Simon Commission which in Paragraph 215 of the first volume of its Report said that

"Whether professedly representing the European community of a province or a Chamber of Commerce or other predominantly European body or interest, the difference between the two modes of representation is scarcely reflected in the members returned..."

And again,

"Contested elections for European seats have sel-

dom arisen and changes of representatives have been frequent."

The Simon Commission signed its report towards the end of May, 1930, and the observations it made on the above matter were therefore applicable to the elections of representatives of Europeans as a minor minority and as a special interest under dyarchy which was operating up to the beginning of 1937.

Similarly, Mr. Geoffrey Tyson on page 42 of his *Danger in India*, published in 1932, said that

"It is very rarely that an election is fought in a European constituency."

That this is equally true today is proved by what happened in 1937, when the first elections under the Government of India Act, 1935, were held.

The present writer after an examination of the reports of the Reforms offices of the British Indian Provinces issued after the last elections was surprised to find that there was not any contest for any one of the 36 odd seats reserved for British business as a special interest. So far as the 26 seats reserved on a communal basis for Europeans are concerned, 25 were uncontested. In only one of the constituencies, Darjeeling in Bengal, a colonial entered into a contest with the nominee of the European Association. The struggle was a close one and he defeated his opponent by the very narrow margin of four votes only. It is no secret that he found his position in the Bengal Legislative Assembly no comfortable one though he always voted with the European group and also that it was not long before he realised the wisdom of making his peace with the European Association.

The two conclusions which follow from the above facts are first that the European Association is all-powerful so far as dictating the election of Europeans to our legislatures is concerned and that it is largely controlled by big British business.

This is proved by what Sir Hubert Carr, for many years one of the most prominent of European businessmen of Calcutta, who was President of the All-India European Association from 1922 to 1925, and who represented European business interests in all the three Round Table Conferences wrote in 1932, in his contribution entitled "The British Commercial Community" in *Political India* (pp. 142-143) :

"The expansion of political work has tended to remove the centre of political activities from the Chambers of Commerce, . . . except so far as the conduct of business has necessitated political action. . . . Consequently, although political influence largely remains with

the Chambers, its expression generally rests with the European Association and its branches throughout India."

The inference drawn by the Indian from such facts as are available to him as well as indirect admissions of this type is that the small man who is not in the good books of British business or who cannot see eye to eye with it has little, if any, chance of entering our legislatures.

GENERAL ABSTINENCE FROM POLITICS ACCOUNTED FOR

We shall now try to ascertain why those Europeans who are not leaders of British business do not seek election to our legislatures. Probably it is not quite incorrect to assume that the most numerous among them are assistants working in the different commercial, industrial and other concerns controlled by British capital. So far as these people are concerned, we are told by Mr. G. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 7) that

"It is safe to state that ninety-nine per cent. of the young men chosen for business posts in India have no leaning whatever towards politics or public affairs."

According to the same author, all that is demanded of them by their superiors is that they should always carry the English public school or better still the English university atmosphere with them and that they should make themselves socially and commercially acceptable. It is also the impression, may be wrong, of the present writer from such contacts as he has been able to establish with this class of men that the London head offices discourage the idea of all except the seniors taking any active interest in Indian politics.

The result of all this, in the language of Mr. Tyson (*Danger in India*, p. 46), is that

"In the cities of India the Briton, when he occasionally thinks politically, thinks as his *burra sahib* or immediate employer desires him to think, for in a majority of cases he dare not do otherwise."

If he thinks otherwise it would, according to Mr. Tyson, "certainly render him liable to social and commercial victimization."

Another and probably a smaller section of non-official Europeans consists of professional men, such as journalists, engineers, doctors, lawyers and the like. So far as the first among these are concerned, it is a well-known fact that they are almost always connected with Anglo-Indian periodicals generally patronised and nearly always financed by British interests. It would require a large amount of courage for such people to advocate in their papers a policy not approved of by their patrons. Should such a

contingency arise, as has happened now and then in the past, not merely the withdrawal of patronage but the adoption of steps calculated to put an end to their connection with the periodicals have invariably been their portion. What happened to Mr. B. G. Horniman years ago and recently to the editor of a well-known Anglo-Indian daily which claims to enjoy the largest circulation at least in Upper India is too well-known to require anything except the barest mention.

The Indian contention, may be wrong, is that as these people can not afford to antagonise British business, there are certain strictly defined limits within which only they are permitted to carry on their journalistic activities. Nor can they hope to enter our legislatures through European communal electorates without the support of the leaders of British business who control the European Association.

So far as the other professional men are concerned, we know that in many cases the largest part of their income is drawn from non-Indian sources and that their adoption of a policy directly opposed to that of the European Association would entail an unpopularity which would be immediately reflected in their earnings. Even when a predominantly large part of the professional earnings of such people comes from Indian sources, it is not easy for them to forfeit the goodwill of their countrymen. Lastly, as the European professional man's income is determined by the amount of time and attention he can devote to his work, he rarely thinks of spending his energy on political work, always a thankless task and specially so if he is so unwise as to think of opposing the leaders of British business.

A third class of European non-officials consists of men and women connected with various missionary societies. An examination of the directories issued by the Protestant denominations from Nagpur and by the Roman Catholic Church from Madras will show that these are approximately 10,000 in number. Roughly about one-fourth of them come either from Britain or from the Dominions. These as citizens of the British Empire enjoy franchise in India. The present writer who has enjoyed the inestimable privilege of coming into close contact with some of them as their guest in his different All-India tours for the last six years or more in every part of British India except Sind and the North-West Frontier Province and more than two dozen Indian States, feels no hesitation in stating that while, as a class, they have not the slightest desire to take active part in Indian politics by

seeking election through the European communal constituencies which are theoretically open to them, they recognise fully the fact that if they were so ill-advised as to do so, they would not, in the absence of the backing of the European Association, have the slightest chance of success. They, as well as other liberally minded Europeans, are also aware that they cannot expect its support as they are often unable to subscribe *in toto* to the policy laid down by this organisation.

On many occasions, the answer received to the enquiry as to why a very large number among these missionaries do not seek membership in the European Association, has been that recognising as they do that the economic communalism of their countrymen is not fundamentally different from or less objectionable than the so-called religious communalism of their non-Christian fellow-citizens, they feel that their duty as followers of the Master is to refuse to have anything to do with it or to give it their moral support by joining it. When it was pointed out that if liberally minded Britons and British missionaries joined the European Association, they might be able to at least partly influence and change its general policy, the reply was that British business had entrenched itself so strongly in the parent body and its branches, that any such move was hopeless. Besides, these men had come to India for a certain purpose and they could not fritter away their time and energy on work for which they had no call.

Rightly or wrongly, India has come to feel that in general, the indifference of the Briton to Indian politics is due to the recognition of the fundamental fact that he is a temporary sojourner always thinking of going home either on leave or after retirement. It is only those who have large financial stakes in India who, compelled by the sheer necessity of maintaining and, if possible, of extending their position in our economic life, actively participate in Indian politics and that, in a majority of cases, only when they seem likely to affect their financial interests.

It thus appears that those Britons who are not leaders of business, in other words, the small men, either voluntarily keep out or are, to all intents and purposes, excluded from seeking election to our legislatures from the communal constituencies through which only this privilege can be enjoyed by them.

PARTIALLY REPRESENTATIVE ORGANISATION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY

British business has every right to give a particular shape to the politics of the non-official

European community through the control it has established over the European Association. Nor can any one criticise it if, by way of reply to what has appeared above, it tells the Indian that if there are liberally minded Europeans who do not approve of the politics of the European Association, there is nothing to prevent them from forming an association of their own and to persuade their countrymen to join it in such large numbers as to make it the one and the only representative organisation of the European community. It may also be urged that those British businessmen who enter our legislatures as representatives of the European community as a minor minority are perfectly within their rights.

No objection can be taken if this is the attitude of British business. But this would lay open the European Association, through which it gives effect to its political policy, to the charge that it does not represent the views of the European community as a whole in just the same way that it has been urged against the Congress that it does not represent the views of the Indians as a whole because there are some parties which repudiate its leadership. It is admitted that so far as the European Association is concerned, it cannot be said that there is any single organised party of Europeans which has openly denied its allegiance to it. But the Indian who has carefully studied the correspondence columns of Anglo-Indian papers is aware that there are at least some Europeans who find themselves unable to subscribe *in toto* to its views. It is no argument that these dissidents are so small in number that, for all practical purposes, their views may be ignored. In the case of the Congress, its overwhelmingly large membership as compared with that of its rivals does not count when its claim to represent India as a whole is challenged. Similarly, the presence of these European dissidents detracts from the claim of the European Association to represent the views of this community as a whole.

Probably these liberally minded Europeans have not organised themselves into a separate party because the non-official European community is an infinitesimally small minority of which these dissidents form a small fraction, because they are scattered over a vast area and lastly because of lack of the militant type of leadership. But all these facts do not in any way diminish the value of the opinion that there is a section in the European community which has not yet made itself vocal and which does not in every case find itself in agreement with the general policy of the European Association and also that it has as yet found itself unable to

make its contribution to our public life mainly because it has been deliberately shut out from our legislatures by the European Association.

What Indians would emphasise is that in spite of its apparently solid facade, the European Association does not faithfully represent the views of the community as a whole but only of a small, influential and powerful section of it. This has organised it in a particular way rendered possible only because of the general indifference of the community as a whole to Indian polities and the backwardness of the liberally minded Europeans to challenge the authority of the European Association.

Indians contend that the predominant position occupied by British business in the European Association and, specially, the practical exclusion of European non-official non-businessmen from our legislatures, though technically valid, amount, to all intents and purposes, to an indirect admission on its part that, as its main preoccupation is the earning of profits, it has assumed the task, may be uninviting, of occasionally opposing India's political and economic ambitions. As this does not always find favour with all its countrymen, British business has been compelled, perhaps unwillingly, to monopolise all the seats, commerce and industry and communal, reserved for Europeans.

If this is so, it must be emphasised that this would lend countenance to the view, generally held by Indians, that essentially alien, British business has come to India with one motive only, the exploitation of our material resources for its own benefit and that so powerful is its appeal that it is ready to use the representation granted to Europeans as a minor minority to retain and, now and then, to advance its economic interests. It would also justify, at least to some extent, a policy of discrimination against which it has always tried to guard itself.

As regards the claim of British businessmen to occupy the communal seats, the Indian would point out that though, under law, they are entitled to do so, they are thereby depriving their non-business countrymen of a valuable right. He would ascribe the resignation of the latter to this obvious act of deprivation either to a sense of utter helplessness or to utter indifference to Indian politics or to both. Whatever the reason, this fact is sufficient proof that India does not receive any contribution worth the name from non-official non-business Europeans and, to that extent, the seats accorded to them in our legislatures are not only wasted but, in addition, have, at least occasionally, been utilised by British

business to the detriment of India's political and economic interests.

BRITISH BUSINESS AND THE EUROPEAN ASSOCIATION

When we compare the lists of office-holders of the different branches of the European Association as well as of the parent body itself with those of the different European business organisations, we find that either the same set of men are largely common to both or that prominent British businessmen, not necessarily office-holders in Chambers of Commerce and the like, are elected officers of the Association and its branches. So far as the present writer is aware, in not a single case from 1937 onwards has any independent British non-businessman no matter how high his standing in his profession been elected to any important official position in the Central and Provincial European Associations. Exceptions, if any, are so insignificant in number that they merely serve to prove the general correctness of the opinion advanced above, the clearest proof that this organisation is controlled by big British business.

The leaders of British business have undertaken the self-imposed task of safeguarding the communal interests of the Europeans. They, through the European Association which, according to the Report of the Simon Commission "takes a leading part in organising the election of European members to the legislatures" (Vol. I. Paragraph 65), select men whom they consider suitable to represent them as a community and as a special interest and get them elected without any contest. Under these circumstances, it is only natural, as we actually find in an overwhelmingly large number of cases, that the people run under their direction by the European Association should all belong to their own class even where the seats filled are from communal constituencies. Equally natural would be for these men to bend all their energies for the preservation and, wherever possible, the extension of facilities calculated to promote their business operations, the aim of which is the earning of profits, in our motherland.

From this it follows that, on the whole, the policy of the European community must be, as it actually is, largely conditioned by the attitude of British commercial and industrial interests towards our political problems and that any step likely to affect its economic position adversely is bound to call forth opposition from this community. The correctness of this view becomes evident when we remember that this has actually

happened more than once when Indians have sought to put forward or to give effect to proposals which might even remotely affect British vested interests.

That British business attaches such importance to this factor that it is prepared to stand in the way of the political advancement of India is clearly proved by what Mr. Gavin Jones who represented European business said on the 16th January, 1931, when the First Round Table Conference as a whole was discussing Paragraph 14 of the Report of the Minorities Sub-Committee which dealt with the commercial rights of Britons in India. His words, according to the official report (*Proceedings of the First Round Table Conference*, pp. 332-333), were as follows :

"In the Federal Structure Sub-Committee I agreed, on behalf of my community, to the transfer of responsibility to a legislature on the understanding that our safeguards were introduced into the Act."

The attitude of British business to the further political progress of India was made clearer still by Mr. E. C. Bentall at a meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the Second Round Table Conference held on the 18th November, 1931, when he is reported to have said :

"It has been necessary for us, and still is necessary, to state that unless our rights are protected in the clearest and most unequivocal manner we must reserve our consent to the transfer of power and that protection must be afforded in the Act itself."

It thus appears that the political progress of India's 350 odd millions (we are speaking of the Round Table days) must be postponed till the interests particularly of British business and generally of the British as a minority are safeguarded in the particular way approved of by them. Here there is no question of coming to an agreement with the Indian communities or Indian political parties, a counsel of perfection apparently reserved for the solution of Hindu Muslim differences.

THE INDIAN CONTENTION

Probably the strongest argument against the granting of complete independence to India urged from the British side is the separationism caused by caste-prejudices and communal disunity. In the case of the former, it is said that the higher castes utilise their superior social position to keep members of the so-called lower castes under their domination mainly in order to exploit them economically. Nor can it be denied that this charge is true though not today to the same extent as in the past.

So far as communal differences are concerned, it is a fact that among the more orthodox or rather fanatical members of the different communities specially where they are uneducated, these are very largely due to so-called religious reasons. It is, at the same time, an admitted fact that the educational backwardness and the fanaticism of the masses are often exploited by the more advanced members of the different religious groups for the purpose of securing political power and improving their economic position. This is why a prominent Indian Liberal has said that "in a majority of cases, the communal struggle is fundamentally an economic struggle," a view the correctness of which is readily admitted by nearly all who have studied this problem carefully.

Indians have received much good advice from British politicians and individual Britons about the desirability of coming into some sort of understanding among themselves and thus ending communal strife. And there can be no doubt that this is good and sound advice which will ultimately have to be taken and given effect to if we have any desire to live in peace. We all recognise that the only basis of a lasting compromise is the giving up of selfishness by all, the putting forward of justifiable claims only and their acceptance by all the parties. What has hitherto prevented and is still preventing this much desired mutual understanding is the selfishness of social and religious groups which have hitherto attached a higher value to their sectional and group interests than to the interests of India as a whole. And these interests, as pointed out just now, are at bottom economic in their nature.

What India would like to know is whether the leadership under which the European community has worked so long is immune from the same weakness. Has not the majority of the European community consisting of small men whose financial interests in our country are certainly very much less than those of big British business allowed itself to be exploited by British business? And just as our masses have permitted their religious sentiments to be exploited by their clever and educated leaders to advance their personal economic interests, has not the European community as a whole allowed its racial affiliations to be exploited in a similar fashion and for a similar purpose by big British business?

Even if this view is wrong, and honest difference of opinion on this matter is only to be expected, where is the superiority of the European

community to the communal-minded sections of the Indian population which today seem determined to utilise their nuisance value as a bargaining counter in order to extract economic and political concessions to which they are certainly not entitled, under the threat of holding up India's political advancement? Was not this the attitude of its representative when he demanded on behalf of the community he was representing at the Second Round Table Conference the incorporation of safeguards saying at the same time that his community would refuse to lend its support to the further political progress of India, a country with which its only connection is as a place for earning a living and if possible a competence, unless they were guaranteed?

India will acknowledge the absence of communalism in the wider sense of the term in the European community only when it will give up of its own accord such privileges as are prejudicial to India's economic interests, when it will cease to utilise India as a profitable field for the investment of its capital to the detriment of Indian capital desirous of operating in the same sphere of business and when it will no longer exploit its influence and power to stifle competition from Indian sources. This does not mean that Europeans as individuals or European business will be shut out. What India looks for and demands is equality of opportunity not in the legal or competitive sense but as one would understand it from the standpoint of equity.

Indians maintain that British business has committed a grievous wrong against Economic and Political India by shutting out the liberally minded non-business non-official section of the European community from our legislatures thus preventing it from making its contribution to our public life. The best proof of a departure from its present and, from the Indian point of view, its objectionable attitude would be for it to give up its control of the European Association for its own purposes, to welcome the co-operation of these men and to facilitate their entrance into our legislatures even if this implies the disappearance of its existing, and in Indian eyes, its artificial solidarity.

When Europeans though belonging to the same race and professing the same faith join, some the Right, some the Middle and others the Left in our legislatures, according to their political convictions, it is then and then only that they will be in a position to advise Indians to forget their social and religious affiliations and to

organise themselves not into Hindu, Muslim, Sikh to carry much weight with Indians. To put it and Depressed classes *blocks* but to come frankly, so long as this fundamental principle of together and to form political parties pledged democracy is not carried out into practice by to identical political and economic programmes.

Till this happens, advice from Britons individually or from British sources, however wise and admirable in its way, is not calculated

the European community itself, its condemnation of our communalism looks, may be wrongly, to us too much like the European pot calling the Indian kettle black.

MALARIA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD HEALTH

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INTRODUCTION

"FROM the standpoint of prevalence, malaria appears to be the most important of all diseases in the world today." This statement is based on wide experience and great authority, for it is the first sentence in that excellent treatise on tropical diseases by Admiral Stitt and Colonel Strong. Adequate morbidity and mortality statistics regarding malaria do not exist, yet it is generally believed by those who have studied the subject, that no disease has, or has had through centuries, a more profound influence on world health than malaria. Medically oriented historians suggest that this disease has postponed development of the tropics for centuries, and that it has accelerated the decline of nations. Even today this preventable mosquito-borne infection is the greatest enemy of merchant, soldier, administrator, and farmer in all of the warmer countries.

Such sweeping assertions seem rash in the United States where in 1941 the mortality rate for malaria in fourteen Southern states was only 2.73 per 100,000. Taking the census registration area of the whole country, the death rate from malaria in 1900 was 7.9 per 100,000 but only 1.1 in 1940. Relatively few can recall local conditions of six or seven decades ago when our South was highly malarious and even such northern states as Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio were afflicted. For instance, the death rate from malaria in Michigan in 1880 was 19.5 per 100,000. As late as 1900, Memphis had a malaria mortality rate of 200 per 100,000, and Savannah almost as great. High as these urban malaria rates appear, they were about a fifth of those obtaining in such tropical cities as Singapore as late as 1911.

Malaria at present extends as far north as 60° N. latitude (in Russia) and as far south as 40° S latitude (in Argentina). It is found as low as the Dead Sea (1,300 feet below sea level) and as high as Quito in Ecuador (9,000 feet). But malaria is a focal disease and is not evenly distributed nor uniformly prevalent in any country. In the United States it is most common in the southeast, although it extends as far north as Illinois and Indiana, and also occurs in California.

There is a great deal of hyperendemic malaria between 45° N. and 40° S. latitude, in the plains and foothills of Central America, north and northeast South America, Central Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, North Africa, south and especially southeast Europe, Turkey, the Levant, Iraq and Iran, Afghanistan, India, Ceylon, Burma, South China, Indo-China, Siam, Malaya, Netherlands Indies, Formosa, the Philippines, and many islands of the Pacific which are west of 170° E. longitude and north of 20° S. latitude. (The Fiji Islands and Samoa, for example, are not malarious but the New Hebrides suffer severely).

Malaria is hyperendemic in many areas of the littoral of some of the world's great seas and gulfs, the names of which connote vistas of sand and coral, mangrove and coconut, with a wide variety of peoples and topography, encircling the globe. The Caribbean, Mediterranean, Tyrrhenian, Ionian, Adriatic, Aegean, Black, Azov, Caspian, Red, Arabian, East and South China, Sulu, Celebes, Java, Banda, Timor, Arafura, and Coral seas, the Bay of Bengal, the gulfs of California, Mexico, Honduras, Panama, Guinea, Persia, Oman, Siam, and Tonkin, all are bordered, in part at least, by highly malarious regions.

To many of the countries within the hyperendemic malaria zones this disease, which has been a medical curiosity in much of our own country, is bringing not only physical disaster but economic and social tragedy. In India, for example, malaria is a veritable juggernaut disease. There it kills at least a million persons every normal year, more in epidemic times. Another million die from indirect results of malaria. Throughout all Hindustan there are each year at least 100,000,000 cases of malarial fevers. Quoting Sinton:

"There is no aspect of life in that country which is not affected, either directly or indirectly, by this disease. It constitutes one of the most important causes of economic misfortune, engendering poverty, diminishing the quantity and the quality of the food supply, lowering the physical and intellectual standard of the nation, and hampering increased prosperity and economic progress in every way."

Hehir, a competent observer, wrote:

"It may with confidence be said that the eradication of malaria in India would in a single generation convert that country into one of the most prosperous in the world."

It is now one of the least prosperous so far as the vast majority are concerned. Average incomes in rural South India are as low as a dollar a month.

What the actual sum total of malaria is today, no one knows, or can estimate closely. But one would venture to assume from such data as are available and from personal acquaintance with certain areas, that there are not less than 3,000,000 malaria deaths and at least 300,000,000 cases of malarial fever each year, throughout the world.

These facts are of greater concern to us now than ever before. In this global war our armed forces are operating in some of the world's most malarious areas. We have already felt the impact of this debilitating fever in such places as Panama; West Africa, Burma, New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands. In such areas malaria is by all odds the greatest disease hazard to our soldiers; indeed, in some places it is a greater menace than the enemy. To more than one of our medical officers malaria is no longer an exotic disease but a difficult military problem.

EARLIEST DAYS

The history of malaria extends so far back into antiquity that speculations as to when and where it first appeared are futile. Certainly the present great library of malariology represents cumulative endeavors of many generations of priests and philosophers, parasitologists and physicians.

The ancient Greeks 2,000 years ago recognized quartan, tertian, quotidian and semiterrestrial (probably malignant tertian) varieties of malaria. They also were aware that the disease had seasonal and topographical features. In particular, they associated the intermittent fevers with marshes and marsh vapors. Hippocrates in the fifth century B.C., wrote of the enlarged spleen of inhabitants of marshy regions.

Then there was a Greek story (perhaps apocryphal) of Empedocles of Agrigentum who controlled an epidemic in Selinus, Sicily, about 550 B.C., partly by draining the marshes and partly by turning two rivers into them so that, as Matthew Arnold wrote, Empedocles was able to "cleanse to sweet airs the breath of poisonous streams." Whether or not Empedocles was dealing with malaria, certainly there are many passages in the Greek which clearly connect this fever with marshes.

Fabius Maximus and Julius Caesar suffered from intermittent fever and during the Civil Wars the health of Caesar's army was shattered by it. Cicero wrote of the "old Fever Temple on the Palatine," indicating that the cult of the Fever Goddess in Rome was very ancient.

Then too there was a famous passage from Columella (about the first century B.C.) which stated that

"Marshes threw up noxious steams and bred insects, armed with mischievous stings, and pestilent swimming and creeping things whereby hidden diseases were often contracted, the causes of which even the physicians themselves could not thoroughly understand."

Thus, in ancient Italy, as in ancient Greece, both medical and lay authors recognized the intermittent fevers and clearly surmised an etiological relationship between these fevers and low marshy places. This is easy to understand because the malarial fevers, with their characteristic periodicity, even to this day in Greece and in Italy are often most prevalent near marshes. There was a good deal of malaria in ancient Greece, where it was apparently introduced during the fifth century B.C. In fact, Ross, Jones, and others have suggested that malaria was a contributing factor in the great decline in moral and intellectual vigor which took place in Greece between 500 and 300 B.C. It has also been postulated that malaria had a similar disintegrating effect in ancient southern Italy. Some historians, as Childs, believe that while disease is mighty over the individual, parasites and viruses have played an unimportant role in social history.

The great Arab physicians of the eighth to thirteenth centuries wrote of these intermittent

fevers but, in general, active interest and speculations on etiology subsided with Galen in 200 A.D., not to be aroused again until the seventeenth century.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In the seventeenth century European physicians learned that the bark of a South American tree is an effective remedy for the intermittent fevers. There have been many accounts as to how this came about. Apparently the bark was first known in Peru, where the first recognized use of this bark was in 1630, but whether natives had recognized its medicinal qualities before Pizarro invaded their country in 1512-1533 is unknown. The traditional anecdote, dating back many years, appears to have little historical basis. It told of the fever of Ana de Osorio, the first, or of Francisca Henriquez de Ribera, the second wife of the fourth Count of Chinchon, Viceroy of Peru. A friend, as the story goes, sent to the Count's physician a parcel of powdered bark of the quina-quina tree, a substance that had once cured him of "tertiana." The physician, Don Juan de Vega, having tested the powder on a number of patients, is reported to have administered it to the Countess with great success. About 1640, the enthusiastic Vicereine, or her physician, or some Jesuit father, is said to have sent or carried samples to Europe.

This story has suffered a serious blow in the recent discovery of the official diary of the Count of Chinchon, wherein is a careful day-by-day account of the Chinchon family. It now appears that the first countess was blessed with amazing good health. Aside from a sore throat and a "flux and cough on the lungs" she had no illness at all in Peru. The noble count himself was frequently ill with malaria, but nowhere is it recorded that he experienced a dramatic cure by fever bark. The countess did not take bark back to Europe, for she died in Columbia, on the way home, of what seems to have been yellow fever.

The true, albeit less romantic, account of the advent of cinchona bark in Europe appears to be that of Haggis, who made a scholarly search among original documents. He notes that during the last decades of the sixteenth and throughout the seventeenth century there was a brisk trade in medicinal barks and herbs from South America to Spain and Italy. One item in considerable demand was a bark, which because of its medicinal properties was called quinua-quinua by Peruvians and which is now known to have been from the tree *Myroxylon peruferum*. In

commerce this bark was referred to sometimes as Peruvian and at other times as quina-quina bark. Peruvian balsam was extracted from it and was used as a non-specific febrifuge. When demand came to exceed supply, the exporters began to substitute another bark of similar appearance, which from the evidence must have been taken from cinchona trees. For some decades during the seventeenth century the dual source of so-called Peruvian bark led to confusion among physicians as to its real value in treating the intermittent fevers. But gradually the adulterant replaced the original bark completely. Thus, as has been pointed out, it would appear that we owe the discovery of one of our most useful chemotherapeutic remedies to dishonest traders rather than to keen-eyed scientists.

The earliest mention in European literature of the use of cinchona was by Heyden in 1643, so the remedy must have been introduced before that. Powdered bark had been sent from Spain and Italy to England by 1655 and was used in this form against the intermittents for about two centuries. The bark was known in the North American colonies. For instance, in 1776 the Continental Congress ordered the medical committee to forward 300 pounds of bark to the southern department for use of the troops. Jackson, a British Army surgeon in the forces of Lord Cornwallis, used the bark extensively to treat intermittent fevers among British troops in their southern campaigns.

The first man to describe the fever tree scientifically was Charles Marie de la Condamine, an astronomer, who in 1735 led an expedition from France to measure an arc of the meridian near Quito, Ecuador, in order to determine the shape of the earth. He quarrelled with his associates and quit them to explore the Amazon, and eventually the Peruvian country. But it was the Swedish botanist, Carl von Linne, the great Linnaeus, who gave the name Cinchona to the quina-quina tree. His misspelling of the name of the Countess has been perpetuated.

Two French pharmacists, Pelletier and Caventou, isolated the alkaloids quinine and cinchonine from cinchona bark in 1820. Since then many other alkaloids have been isolated from this Peruvian bark but only four occur in any considerable amounts. These are quinine and quinidine, cinchonine and cinchonidine, all of which exert a therapeutic action on malaria.

Demand for cinchona bark increased rapidly, and the trees, which grew wild, were recklessly destroyed. It occurred to several scientists that the tree could probably be grown

in other tropics as well as South American. In 1743, de la Condamine attempted to take cinchona plants to Europe but they were all swept off his ship by a wave in the river Amazon before he had even left South America. In 1849, cinchona trees were planted unsuccessfully in Algeria. The Dutch, in 1852, sent Justus Charles Hasskarl, a courageous botanist, on a hazardous collecting expedition which took him across the Andes into Bolivia and Peru. He was successful, by a narrow margin, and began cinchona cultivation in Java in 1854. His Government rewarded him with a knighthood of the Netherlands Lion and a Commandership of the Oaken Crown.

In 1860, the British sent out a party under the exceptionally able leadership of Clements R. Markham, a geographer and archaeologist. As a result of his work a cinchona plantation was started in the Nilgiris Hills of Madras Presidency near Ootacamund, where over two and a half million trees were growing by 1872. This plantation is still a source of government quinine for use in India. Markham was knighted for his achievements.

The seeds and seedlings of these early Dutch and British expeditions were not the best yielding varieties of the fifty or more species of cinchona trees growing in South America. The most successful collector of high quality seeds was an Englishman named Charles Ledger who had been living in the cinchona belt and knew the difference between strong bark and feeble.

Ledger, in 1865, sent fourteen pounds of high quality seeds to his brother George, who lived in London. George Ledger attempted to sell them to the British Government who were not interested. However, he finally sold half of the seeds to the Dutch for a few guilders and the other half to a Madras planter. Within eighteen months of this sale the Dutch had 12,000 plants ready to set out and five years later their analyses of bark were showing from 8 to 13 percent of quinine, whereas no other bark on the market could show much over 4 percent. The seeds sent to Madras also in time grew well but on a much more limited scale; this species was officially named *Cinchona ledgeriana*. The Dutch did a good deal of experimenting with hybrids and successfully developed the world's best cinchona trees. At the outbreak of this war, Java had some 37,500 acres of cinchona, producing more than 20,000,000 pounds of bark a year—what amounted to probably the most

effective crop monopoly of any kind in all history.

Today the Japanese control all the cinchona of the Netherlands Indies and, with their Axis partner, Germany, they also control the Dutch stocks of cinchona alkaloids, together with the quinine factories. Consequently, we are once again dependent on American bark. In this hemisphere there has never been the intensive development of cinchona plantations with emphasis on varieties having a high quinine content. American barks generally have a relatively low quinine content but are reasonably rich in other principal alkaloids. Since all of these alkaloids have antimalarial value it has been decided to utilize American bark in the form of totaquine, which is a standardized antimalarial mixture of the alkaloids. This mixture was recommended by the League of Nations Health Organization in 1932. As now standardized in this country in the present emergency, it contains not less than 7 percent and not more than 12 percent of anhydrous quinine, and a total of not less than 70 percent or more than 80 percent of the four principal alkaloids of cinchona. Totaquine, which will be the only form of cinchona available for civilian use in this country, is as effective as quinine sulphate when total daily doses are 20 grains or more. In smaller doses $7\frac{1}{2}$ grains of totaquine have about the same therapeutic effect as 5 grains of quinine.

Etiology

The Greeks and Romans, as noted above, from earliest days had associated malaria with bogs and pestilent vapors. In Italy it was a common belief that bad air from marshes was the actual etiologic factor and during the seventeenth century it became customary to say that patients dying from intermittent fevers had died from "the air" (*d'aria*) or from the bad air (*male aria*). At first, not the fevers, but the causes of the fevers were referred to in this way. But in time this expression came to be applied to the disease itself. So far as one can determine, Horace Walpole, in 1740, while in Italy, was the first to put the two Italian words together in print as one English word, "malaria," in a direct reference to the fevers of Rome (Oxford English Dictionary).

In 1847, Heinrich Meckel, a German scientist, was studying organs and blood from a patient who had suffered from malaria. He noticed in some blood vessels of the brain certain round, ovoid, or spindle-shaped protoplasmic masses containing black, irregular, pigment

granules hitherto undescribed, although Lancisi in 1716 and Bright in 1831 had noted the graphite pigmentation of spleen and brain seen, post mortem, in malaria. From Meckel's carefully worded description it is clear that actually he was looking at pigmented malaria parasites but, at that day and under the circumstances, it is not surprising that he failed to realize their significance.

LAVERAN

In 1878, Charles Louis Alphonse Laveran, a French army surgeon stationed at the military hospital in Constantine, Algeria, began an investigation of changes produced in the human body by malaria. His attention was naturally directed towards the pigment, now called hemozoin, which had aroused discussion and he searched for it not only in autopsy tissue but also in blood from patients. Working with inferior lenses (he actually used a 4 mm. dry lens) Laveran strained his eye many an hour over objects which did not seem to be normal blood cells but which he could not be sure were parasites. Persistently, he continued his studies and finally, one memorable day, 6th November 1880, in a wet smear of fresh blood, he saw unmistakable waving, hair-like projections or flagella, suddenly develop from one of the "pigmented spherical bodies" which had been puzzling him. Now, at last, he was certain that he was observing a living organism, a parasite in human blood. He named it *Oscillaria malariae*.

Laveran had talent and perseverance to follow up his observation and thus was able to reveal the minute cause of malaria. He saw ameboid, rosette, spherical, crescentic, and flagellate stages, but did not realize the relationship of these forms. Later he wrote four treatises on paludism, between 1884 and 1898, and in 1907 he was rewarded with a Nobel prize for his exceedingly important discovery of the malaria parasite.

Although a colleague, Dr. E. Richard, confirmed Laveran's discovery in Phillippeville, Algeria, in 1882, yet both announcements were received with well-nigh universal skepticism for several years. In 1885, however, Ettore Marchiafava, Italy's leading pathologist, and Angelo Celli, a colleague, saw the parasites in fresh blood behaving as Laveran and Richard had described and they became as enthusiastic in support as they had been in opposition. They were able to sketch, for the first time, part of the developmental cycle and they gave the parasite its generic name of *Plasmodium*.

Another Italian, Golgi, also in 1885, observed multiplication of the parasite by asexual spore formation and he noted that the patient's temperature rises when these spores are liberated. Councilman and Abbott, in the United States in the same year, also confirmed the discovery. Then, in 1891, in old St. Petersburg, Romanowski developed a new method of staining blood smears. This has been of the greatest usefulness in all subsequent studies of malaria parasites.

MANSON'S THEORY

Patrick Manson was a Scotchman born in Aberdeenshire in 1844. From 1866 to 1871 he was Medical Officer of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs in Takao, Formosa. The next thirteen years of his life he spent in Amoy, China, practising medicine, still under the auspices of the Customs Service. There he became very much interested in filariasis, a malady common in some tropical areas. While on leave in London in 1875, Manson searched medical libraries to find out what he could about this disease. He learned that microscopic immature worms called microfilaria had been seen by Demarquay in 1863, by Wucherer in 1866 and 1868, and by Lewis (in blood) in 1872. Manson went back to Amoy in 1876, carrying along a new microscope, and he proceeded to study filariasis. It was natural that he should reflect on the question as to how the filarial worm could infect one man from another. He concluded that since the larvae were usually in blood they might escape with the aid of blood-sucking insects. He selected mosquitoes as being most probable because he thought their geographical range coincided with that of the disease.

His theory enunciated, Manson proceeded to feed mosquitoes on patients in whose blood there were embryo filarial worms. He then demonstrated these worms inside mosquito stomachs, where he saw that some were not digested but actually began to develop. Manson succeeded in tracing the filaria through the stomach-wall of the mosquito into the abdominal cavity, and then into the thoracic muscles. During this passage the parasite increased in size, developing a mouth, an alimentary canal and other organs. Quoting Manson, "Manifestly it was on the road to a new human host."

Here at last, scientifically observed, was a parasite of man's blood being sheltered in the gut of a blood-sucking insect, undergoing essential development, "on the road" to another

human host. Manifest indeed were the implications of this discovery, first published in 1877 in the China Customs Medical Reports. Manson published again in 1879, using the title, "On the development of *Filaria sanguinis hominis*, and the Mosquito considered as a Nurse."

A few scientists accepted Manson's report with enthusiasm but many were cold to it, so the observations were repeated and amplified and republished in 1884 in the Linnean Society's Transactions.

Unfortunately, Manson believed that the filarial worms escaped from drowned mosquitoes into water which then infected the men who drank it. He had placed too much dependence in a book on natural history which stressed the ephemeral character of mosquitoes, leading him to believe that they quickly perished in the water on which they laid their first eggs. The fact that mosquitoes could live for several weeks, repeatedly taking blood and laying eggs, noted by Ross in 1897, was unobserved by Manson. The complete chain of filarial infection from man to mosquito to man was not demonstrated until 1899, when Low found the worm in the proboscis of mosquitoes. He published in 1900 and his important discovery was soon confirmed by James.

Manson's observations did not complete the man-to-mosquito-to-man cycle in filariasis but they gave him a logical basis for theorizing about malaria and mosquitoes. He formulated a working hypothesis based on facts observed by himself or published by others. This mosquito-malaria hypothesis he stated publicly in some lectures in 1894 (Brit. M.J., Dec. 8, 1894). Briefly, Manson saw no reason why if mosquitoes could suck worms out of man's blood they might not draw out malaria parasites as well. He had been impressed by seeing in fresh bloodsmears the same unexplained exflagellation which had been noticed by Laveran.

Shortly before Manson published his mosquito theory of malaria transmission, Richard Pfeiffer enunciated in 1892 a logical conjecture of the same sort, based on some of his own studies with a related parasite. Said he :

"The following solution suggests itself, but I bring it forward only as a hypothesis, the justification for which rests in the fact that it indicates a line of investigation. It is possible that in the case of the malarial parasite there exists a developmental cycle which completes itself outside the human host, possibly in the body of a lower animal (as, for instance, certain insects). This malarial germ could then be conveyed to man through the air or water or as Robert Koch has remarked to me through the sting of a blood-sucking insect."

So there was nothing fantastic about Manson's hypothesis. But human nature once more asserted one of its most ancient and deathless characters and Manson was derided for his speculations. His critics, some of them men of importance in the scientific world, called him "Mosquito Manson," and once on St. James Street, London, derisively tapped their foreheads as he passed by their club. Manson cheerfully tapped his own at them and walked on to Fame.

SMITH AND KILBORNE'S DEMONSTRATION

Between 1889 and 1893 Theobald Smith and F. L. Kilborne, Americans, proved the thesis that insect-like creatures can transmit disease from one animal to another. This work was first announced in the 6th-7th Report of the United States Bureau of Animal Industry in 1891, and was published in extenso as Bulletin No. 1 of this bureau in 1893. In some nicely planned, thoroughly scientific experiments, they demonstrated that ticks certainly transfer the cause of redwater, or Texas tick fever, from one cow to another. Ticks, they also found, could even inherit infection from a parent tick and pass it to a cow.

THE OBSERVATIONS OF BRUCE

In 1896 David Bruce, a British Medical Officer working in Ubombo, Zululand, on a devastating disease of horses and cattle, called nagana, demonstrated, with the aid and comfort of Mrs. Bruce, that tsetse flies can carry the trypanosome parasite from animal to animal. Sheltered only by a wattle and daub hut, living on the roughest of food, sixty miles from other white folk, Bruce and his wife carried out experiments which were clear-cut and convincing. Bruce did not show and, not until 1909 was it demonstrated, that the tsetse fly is a true host rather than simply a mechanical carrier. Yet it seems fair to say that Bruce was the first to prove that a disease caused by a protozoan parasite can be transmitted by a true insect.

Ross's DISCOVERY

In spite of all these advances, no one paid much attention to Manson's malaria theory until there came along Ronald Ross, another Scotchman, and an Army surgeon in the Indian Medical Service. Although Laveran had discovered malaria parasites in 1880, his drawings were not too good and in spite of repeated attempts Ross had not seen the organisms until Manson showed them to him in a London hospital, in 1894. Ross became interested in

Manson's mosquito theory of transmission and went back to India to test it by actual experimentation. It seems incredible but there is no evidence that anyone else in the world was actively investigating the mosquito theory of malaria at that time.

Ross tackled the hypothesis seriously, commencing on his birthday, May 13, 1895. After much research, involving many mosquito dissections, Ross in Secunderabad on "Mosquito Day," August 20, 1897, first saw a pigmented malaria parasite from man, growing within the stomach wall of an *Anopheles* mosquito (*A. stephensi*?). This insect had fed exclusively on a patient whose blood contained crescents. Ross had no doubt that he was looking at the malaria parasite of man and it was certainly undergoing development in a mosquito. This observation crystallized the mosquito-malaria speculations of centuries.

By this time the fact was well established that multiplication of malaria parasites within red cells in the human body is entirely asexual. It was also known that not all of the young organisms so formed will, upon breaking out of red cells, complete a cycle by splitting asexually at their own maturity. Some parasites called gametocytes, do not divide in this manner but take on unique shapes so that they may be recognized as distinct from ordinary asexual forms. Those of *P. falciparum*, for example, look like minute crescents. In 1897-98 William George MacCallum, an American pathologist, discovered the significance of these unique forms when he studied exflagellation. He found that the peculiar and sometimes crescent-shaped parasites in malaria blood, which do not split up, are actually male and female cells. MacCallum, in 1897, looking at *Haemoproteus*, a malaria-like parasite in a drop of crow's blood, and then MacCallum and Opie at Johns Hopkins in 1898 studying malaria organisms from man, saw male parasites exflagellate and then saw one of the flagella penetrate and thus fertilize a female parasite. There is no evidence that such mating ever takes place inside a living animal, but it may occur in a drop of blood on a glass slide and, as was soon discovered, it usually takes place in a mosquito's stomach. MacCallum and Opie's observations were of great importance for it became clear that malaria parasites have a sexual as well as an asexual cycle, and, taken together with Ross's observation, it was indicated that this sexual cycle probably took place outside the human body in the stomach of a mosquito.

Soon after Ross had made his first promising discovery in Secunderabad, he was transferred to a place where he was unable to experiment with malaria. This was unfortunate, but finally, through the influence of Manson and others who recognized the great importance of his studies, he was placed on special duty with instructions to investigate malaria in Calcutta. At that time, for various reasons, chiefly because of some riots due to antiplague inoculations, it was not possible for him to experiment with human beings, so, ingeniously, he used birds. In his laboratory he followed the parasite of malaria, stage by stage, in its development in the blood of sparrows. Then he allowed *Culex* mosquitoes to feed on the birds. Careful microscopic examination of these mosquitoes allowed him to study development of the parasites in the stomachs of the insects. He traced path and growth of the parasite as it made its way gradually from the mosquito's stomach to salivary glands. He then made his greatest discovery, something hitherto unsuspected either by himself or Manson. He found that mosquitoes that had fed on malaria infected birds and that had allowed the parasites to develop and to lodge in their salivary glands, could then infect healthy birds. These in turn became malarious. So here was the last link. Bird to mosquito to bird. Thus, on July 9, 1898, he completed his demonstration of the entire life cycle of the parasite of bird malaria, which is transmitted by *Culex* mosquitoes. This was Ross's discovery and to no one else belongs the credit. It transcended far beyond Manson's hypothesis and it antedated the Italian contribution.

It was a tremendous and fundamental achievement for it was now perfectly clear that the closely related parasite of human malaria must probably in like manner be carried from man to man by mosquitoes. The first observation by Ross of a parasite of human malaria in the stomach wall of an *Anopheles* mosquito, followed by his absolute proof of the transmission of bird malaria by *Culex* mosquitoes, made it practically certain that mosquitoes transmit human malaria. However, it needed complete proof. Ross, having predicted the probable, set out to prove it. But he encountered initial difficulties and was soon ordered to investigate kala-azar, a subject he had not previously considered. In March, 1899, he left India and a few months later retired from the Indian Medical Service. He completed his original



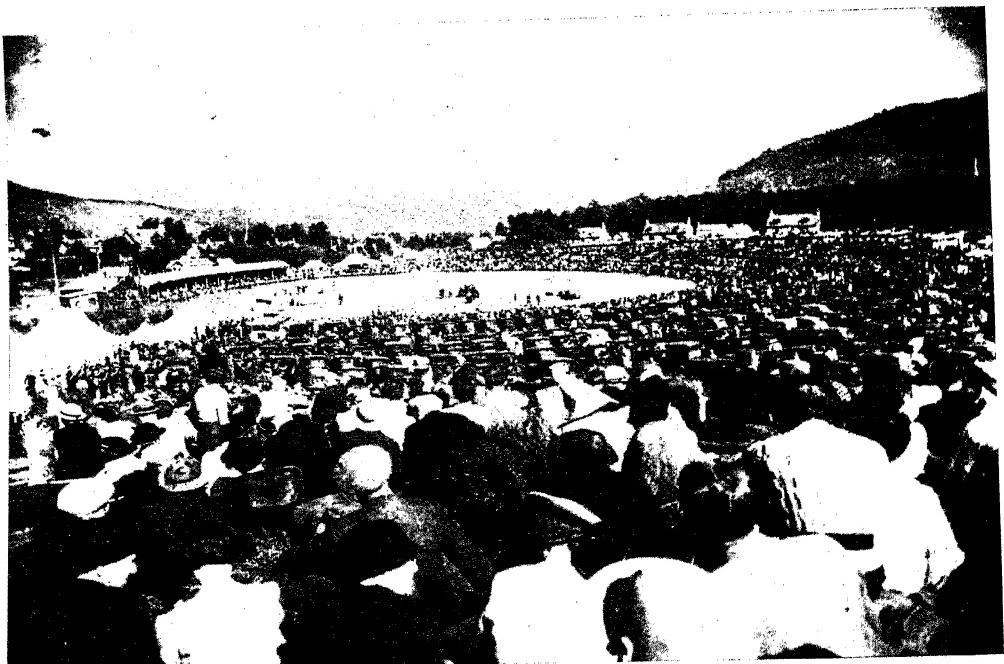
U. S. Army Engineers with a malaria control unit on the Southwest Pacific Island of New Guinea dip samples of stagnant water from a jungle pool in their search for breeding places of anopheles mosquitoes which spread the disease



When mosquito larvae are found pools are sprayed with chemicals to curb the breeding of mosquitoes. The U. S. Army's disease control program has kept the incidence of malaria down to the rate of 80 men in a thousand among its personnel overseas



This picture shows the "women seamen" making fast alongside a flying-boat which has just arrived from Africa and making ready to help stevedores with the unloading of essential supplies



A general view of the famous Braemer Games of Scotland, at which the Highland champions compete in trials of strength and feats of skill and thousands of Scotsmen attend every year. Unfortunately the games have been discontinued for the duration of the war

observation regarding human malaria in the prize in 1902, and later a knighthood from his same year in Sierra Leone.

THE ITALIAN CONTRIBUTION

Ross, as a matter of course, had promptly reported to the world his work with bird malaria, as well as his original observation of a parasite of human malaria in the stomach wall of a mosquito. His bird experiments were confirmed by several observers, including Daniels, sent to Calcutta for this purpose in December, 1898, by the Malaria Commission of the Royal Society. In November, 1898, Amico Bignami, an Italian, succeeded in infecting a man experimentally with malaria by the bite of an Anopheles mosquito. Bignami and his colleagues, G. Bastianelli and Battista Grassi, a few weeks later, were the first to prove in full the cycle of the parasite of human malaria, and to show that human malaria is transmitted probably by only one genus of mosquito—Anopheles. These findings were quickly confirmed by Koch. In August 1899 the Sierra Leone malaria expedition, of which Ross was a member, found malaria parasites in two species of Anopheles.

To Italian workers must go praise for applying Ross's avian discoveries so quickly to human malaria. It should also be recorded, as noted by Shryock that, just as the work of Theobald Smith and Ronald Ross had stimulated the Italians, so in turn the Italians, through the medium of William S. Thayer, when he returned from Italy to Johns Hopkins, stimulated Walter Reed and his colleagues, who made the next great advance in the field of medical entomology by disclosing the vector of yellow fever.

To Ross is due, for all time, the credit of being first to place a scientific finger on mosquitoes as agents which spread malaria from man to man. This work brought him a Nobel

Dramatic confirmation of the fact that malaria is transmitted by Anopheles mosquitoes was furnished by Manson in 1900 in two simple tests. In the first experiment Doctors G. C. Low and L. W. Sambon and Signor Terzi, all of the London School of Tropical Medicine, lived in a screened hut during the three most malarious months at Fumaroli in the Roman Campagna. It was said at the time that it was sufficient during the fever season to sleep a single night there without protection to contract the disease. Yet these three men escaped. While the fact that they had no malaria was not absolute proof of its mosquito-borne nature yet, because their neighbours in unscreened houses suffered severely from malaria, the experiment was highly suggestive and was reported in scientific periodicals and newspapers throughout the world.

In the second and more convincing experiment, some infected Anopheles were sent by Professor Bastianelli on a three and a half day journey from Italy to London where there was no malaria. These mosquitoes had fed on a malaria patient in Rome. Manson's son, P. T. Manson, a healthy young London student, allowed himself to be bitten by three lots of these mosquitoes and fifteen days later he developed tertian malaria. The experiment was repeated by George Warren, laboratory assistant at the London School of Tropical Medicine. Some mosquitoes were still living after Manson's son fell ill, and, quoting Manson, Warren "thought it would be a pity to waste them, so he fed the insects on his own arm." He came down with tertian malaria fourteen days later. Both volunteers fortunately were cured with quinine. This experiment was significant even to the most skeptical.

*By courtesy, USOWI
(To be continued)*

HOLI

BY CYRIL MODAK

FROM leafy covert Spring waylaid
Sweet Nature nuptially arrayed,
And poured his richest shimmering green,
And sprays of red to mark his Queen :
The riotous sport of Nature told
The weary world to wake, behold
The vernal miracle, rebirth,
Join jubilate of the Earth
Now uttered in a choric burst
Of colour, joyous last to first.

Come, Sweetest, let us celebrate
This carnival of hope, elate
With triumph of resurgent Spring !
To pageantry of colour bring
Our vidual gifts of royal blue
And green and gold and every hue
Fresh from the rainbow, splash a kiss
On Life's sad face ! We will not miss
Our share of joy : you play the part
Of Nature, I'll be Spring, dear Heart !

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

BY PROF. PRIYA RANJAN SEN, M.A., P.R.S.

MAURITIUS is known in literature as the background of the story of Paul and Virginia, which, in the closing years of the 18th century, penned by a gifted if eccentric French writer, Barnardin de Saint-Pierre, produced a deep influence on men as widely differing from each other as Rousseau and Hazlitt, and the echoes of the story through a Bengali translation stirred Rabindranath deeply in his boyhood.

callings, and much town and agricultural land has been transferred from the Creole planters to Indians and Chinese. The tendency to an Indian peasant proprietorship is marked." More than 15 years have passed since.

It is gratifying to learn that there has been an interest of late in the pursuit of Hindi literature and language, and a Hindu Sahitya Sammelan has been organized. A Hindu Seva



Gandhi Gate, Hindu Mahayajna



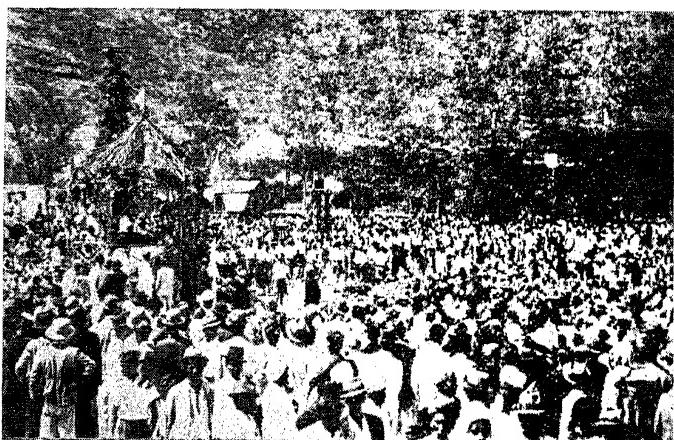
A view of the Procession, Hindu Mahayajna

Mauritius has another interest for us today. An island in the Indian Ocean, measuring about 720 square miles in area, it has a large Indian population; according to the census of 1921, out of a total of 376,680 persons, 265,884 were Indians and 6,820 Chinese. It was captured by the British from the French in 1810, and the British possession was confirmed by the treaty of Paris.

According to the terms of the treaty, the inhabitants retain their laws, customs and religion; and this explains why the island is still largely French in "language, habits, and predilections." Upon the abolition of slave trade in 1839, labour was introduced from India, and immigration was definitely sanctioned by the Government of India in 1842.

The article in the Encyclopædia Britannica (14th Edition) tells us that "the Indo-Mauritians are now dominant in agricultural and domestic

Samity has been formed. It may be mentioned here that there is no communal difficulty as yet; it may be because there is no communal elector-

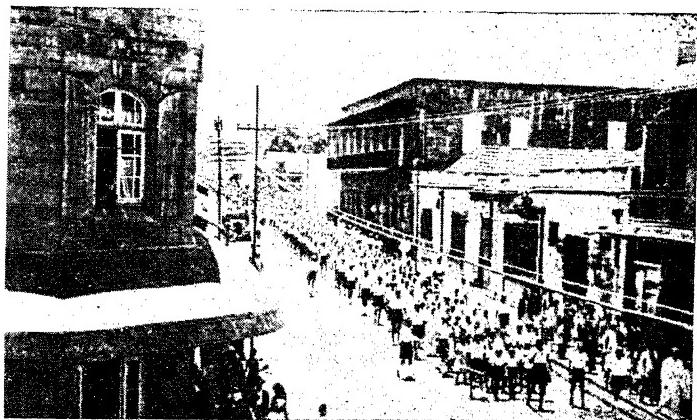


Gandhi Maidan, Port Louis, where Yajna was performed

Hindus and Mahomedans co-operate to the good of the community as a whole. Twenty-four tracts have been printed and

distributed by the Samity. They have their subjects as follows : (1) L'Inde et le Monde; (2) L'Inde et sa religion; (3) L'Inde et sa Civilisation; (4) L'Unité de l'Inde; (5) L'Inde et sa Philosophie; (6) Versets Védiques; (7) Pensées et Conseils; (8) Orient et Occident; (9) Paroles Eternelles; (10) L'Hindouisme et le Christianisme; (11-12) Les Héros de l'Histoire Indienne; (13) F. Fool; (14) Guldasta; (15) Bharat aur us ka dharma (16) Adhyapak Sahachar; (17) Sevak Sahachar; (18) France me Bharat; (19) Daktar Bharadvaj; (20) Beer Manilal; (21) Bharatvarsha ka Itihas, etc., etc.

The Seva Samity has organized about 50 schools for educational purposes. It will be



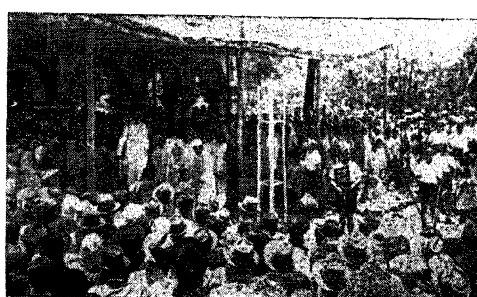
Procession, Hindu Mahayajna

Samiti which owes its birth to the enthusiasm of the young on the occasion of the Sahitya Sammelan maintained perfect order so that not a single policeman was required to keep the peace. Hindu ladies and *Swayam-Sevikas* attended in large numbers.

The purpose of the *Yajna* being fellowship, the Indians of Mauritius—for Mahomedans joined them—met in one common act of love.

Sri Bissondoyal, one of the organisers of the Sammelan and the sacrifice, a graduate of the Panjab and Calcutta Universities, whose ancestors hailed from Bihar, is seen in one of the photos accompanying, addressing the assembly.

Greater India does not exhaust itself with the history of the past; it forms part and parcel of modern history too, and modern India may profit by some of the lessons which an island like Mauritius has to teach us—one of which is the freedom from communalism in the life of the community.



Sri Bissondoyal addressing the pilgrims

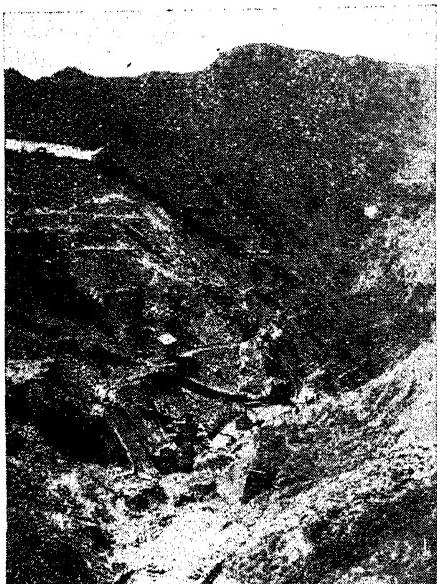
seen that the tracts are mostly educational in nature.

On 12th December 1943 sixty thousand Hindus met in the capital, Port Louis, to perform a *maha-yajna*, a great sacrifice, for the good of the world. Among other items there

SLATE FROM WELSH MOUNTAINS

By CLAUD GOLDING

BENEATH the shadow of Mount Snowdon, in North Wales, are the biggest slate quarries in the world. The slates used in British and Dominions schools; the fullersite (powdered



Beneath the shadow of Mount Snowdon, in North Wales, are the biggest slate quarries in the world

slate) which, mixed with bitumen, is helping to make the military roads that are gradually pushing their way through virgin forest and arid plain in many parts of the world; and even the volcanic dust which forms the basis of face-powder, are almost certain to have come from Wales.

There are few things that suggest gloom so readily as slate. Yet there is a good deal of romance in its production, apart from the fact that the quarries are situated in a land of legend and tradition.

Let us go along that tortuous road from Bangor to Bethesda, through wonderful mountain scenery, probably the path taken by the Roman legions and Caractacus, their doughty opponent, at the dawn of the Christian era; where, too, the Merlin of Arthurian legend is said to have dwelt in the sixth century.

TRIP TO THE WORKS

It is well for our tired bones—if we are not in the bloom of youth—and also for the preservation of our shoes, that we take the bus from Bangor to Tregarth, where we begin the climb up the mountain side to the Penrhyn quarries.

A bare mile along the road we begin to sense unnatural gloom. For, flanking the road are huge banks of discarded slate and stone, towering above the roadway about 200 feet. At once we are reminded of Merlin's prophecy that "the time would come when the rocks of Carnarvonshire would be converted into bread."

Here is evidence of industry over many years; evidence of millions of Welsh man-hours to benefit humanity, and to make bread for families that have lived "quarry" lives in villages that are built of slate.



This picture shows workmen drilling a hole in the rock-face. The slate must only be loosened by blasting, not shattered to powder

We trudge on between the moulds of broken rock until, on the left in a glen, we see the

village of Bethesda, not unattractive in the sunlight which brightens the slate walls and roofs. After a mile or so, we pass through the gates of



This picture shows slabs of slate being stored after planing

the quarry, along a mountain path from which we can see the rugged peaks of adjacent mountains; and finally reach the summit of the hill on which the works are situated.

Soon we can look down and across thousands of feet of excavation to terraces hewn in the rock. These terraces run all the way round the great chasm. On them are men, looking no larger than beetles, and wagons no larger than hazel nuts, moving hither and thither, although from such a height it is not quite apparent what they are doing.

PROCESS OF BLASTING

Suddenly there is the sound of a bugle that

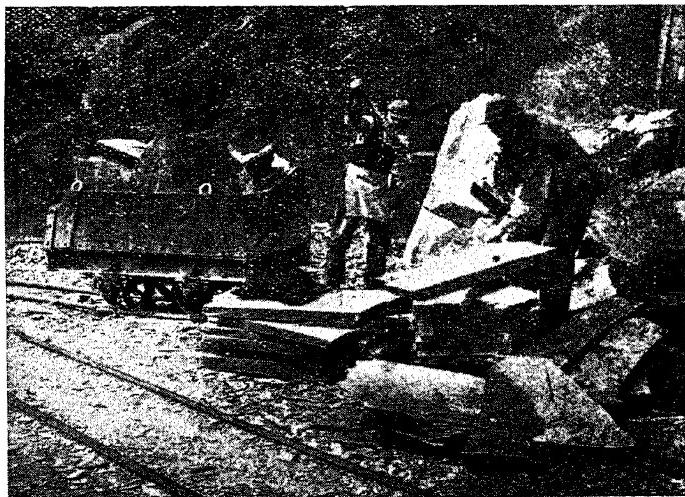
reverberates all over the quarry. The "beetles" disappear into small huts that look no larger than tea chests, and the "haze" becomes stationary. A strange silence broods over the scene for several minutes. Then comes the crack of an explosion, and a puff of smoke drifts slowly away from the rock face on the far side. Other explosions follow in quick succession, accompanied by the crash of hundreds of tons of rock. A dozen puffs of smoke slowly disperse. The bugle sounds once more, and activity is resumed on the terraces.

We have heard the process of blasting, which goes on at specified times throughout the day. Huge blocks of slate are thus loosened and fall on the terraces. They are split into suitable sizes, and carried by cradle across the excavation to the dressing sheds at the top.

Here we see expert workmen, both old and young, splitting the blocks until they are about an inch thick, and possibly three feet square. More splitters get to work with hammer and chisel, and the slabs are split to a thickness of about one-sixth of an inch, and cut to roofing slate size.

METHODS OF CUTTING

The apparatus for the cutting appears at first sight to be crude. One instrument is similar to a pair of scissors with one blade attached to a block of wood, the other blade being wielded



This picture shows workmen trimming the slate and packing it into a truck to go to the dressing sheds

by the hand of the operator. The slate seems to cut easily, but it would smash into a hundred pieces in other than expert hands.

Another method of cutting is by a small machine with knives that revolve like those of a lawn-mower. As the knives come down they cut straight edges to the slate in the hands of the operator, until it is the correct size for a roof.

We try our hands at splitting a slab about an inch thick. Imitating the craftsman, we put the edge of the chisel against the top side of the thin slate, and hit it hard with the hammer. Nothing happens; we have not made the slightest indentation. We try again; still there is no impression, and we give it up, to the accompaniment of a laugh from the men who have been watching us. Some of the men can split an inch slate about thirty times, so that the resultant pieces can be made into the blades of ladies' fans.

NUMEROUS USES

Waste slate at the Penrhyn quarries is ground into fine dust, known as fullersite, which

has numerous uses. It is used on roads mixed with bitumen, and probably not the least important of its uses is in face powder!

Finely ground slate is also used to give a base to rubber soles and heels, mats and tyres, and as a "filler" in paint, distemper, disinfecting powders and even to the paste.

Many thousands of writing slates are made at the quarries each year. Australia is the biggest consumer of these Welsh slates. Slates for roofing are made in hundreds of thousands, and are sold in "milles," each consisting of 1,200 slates. They are taken by private railway through valley and over hill to the coast near Carnarvon, and loaded on ships for abroad. Welsh slates are in great demand. They were known to have been used by the Romans, and, it may be assumed, used by the ancient Britons.

Slate is of various colours, is heavy, a cubic yard weighing 34 cwt. and is so strong that, although in a Welsh town that was bombed all the slates were blown from a street of houses, not one was broken, and all were replaced.

KODAIKANAL

By L. N. GUBIL

KODAIKANAL, a hill station in Southern India, about 6,500 feet above the sea level, is one of the most beautiful and salubrious of hill resorts in India. Unlike Ootacamund, the Summer

at this place and that its quietness is its only attraction. At about a height of 6,900 feet, a natural reservoir has formed itself and as the residential locality is on a lower level, it is needless to say that the water supply is most copious. The water is quite pure, free from contamination. There are well-laid-out roads, and increasing attention is paid by the Municipality to the civic needs of the place. A thirty mile motor road called the Goschen Road has now been laid out around Kodaikanal and a motor ride along it is a great attraction to tourists and visitors.

Kodaikanal is approached best from the Kodaikanal Road Railway Station. There is a motor road from the Railway Station to the hills which lie about 50 miles off. The journey can never weary the traveller, as it presents natural scenery, passing through hills and dales interspersed here and there with a rill or a waterfall. Now that the South Indian Railway have opened an outagency, the visitor will find the bus service both efficient and cheap.

The peculiar attraction of Kodaikanal is undoubtedly its lake. A well-kept road keeps steps with all the angularities of the lake's con-

The Lake, Kodaikanal



Headquarters of the Government of Madras, Kodaikanal presents the comfort of perfect repose and absence of bustle. This does not, however, mean that modern convenience is lacking

tour. A walk or drive along this road is one of the favourite items in the sojourner's programme. Rowing in the lake is an excellent pastime and two boating clubs provide excellent facilities for this purpose.



The Observatory, Kodaikanal

From the mound on which St. Peter's Church stands, along what is called the Coaker's Walk (7,329 feet) the view is magnificent. To the right and beneath lies the village of Vallagavi, nestling in a hollow at the top of a prominence. Immediately below rises from out of a grove the rectangular block of buildings of the Sacred Heart College, Shenbagarur. In front, the bald Perumal Peak, towers solitarily high. Periakulam with its crowded tenements is seen almost within a stone's throw, under your feet. The Vaigai river glistens in the distance in all the serpentine loops, and a sharp eye might even catch a glimpse of the outline of Madura.

No visitor returns from Kodaikanal, without paying a visit to the Government of India's Solar Physics Observatory (one of international renown) located at the highest point in Kodaikanal (7,688 feet) three miles from the town. The Observatory is open to the public on Fridays and is well worth a visit by a layman as well as by a scientist.

The Sacred Heart College conducted by the Society of Jesus is a self-contained colony run on up-to-date lines. Its electric laundry, timber-workshops and museum are sure to interest any visitor. There is in the college a relief map of the whole of the plains, a monument of patience and skill on the part of one of the Fathers. This should never be missed by any visitor who should get special permission from the authorities to visit the college.

Another place of interest is the 'Prospect-Point.' From the top a happy view of the plains could be had. Adjacent to this hillock is another on which the religious munificence of an American Hindu (Lady Ramanathan) has reared a neat little temple to Lord Subramanya. From this temple or from Prospect-Point one could see (through a gap in the rocky chains) the holy temple of Palni with the tank in front.

The famous pillar rocks (three in number) rising to a height of 400 ft. are situated at a short distance from the Prospect-Point.

Dolphin's nose is the name given to a piece of ledge which projects (in the form of a bird's beak) into space from a rocky prominence. Standing on the ledge (6,520 ft.) the visitor becomes easily dizzy by the sheer drop beneath him. There is a legend that the Pandavas played dice on this rock.



The Bazaar, Kodaikanal

Another attractive spot is Berigam, a village about 18 miles from Kodaikanal. A lake has been formed here by impounding the waters of the mountain rivulets, which ensures to the agriculturist at Periakulam an unfailing supply of water for his crops. This is the lake on the highest level in the plain, being 7,051 ft. above the sea-level. The water is pure in quality and medicinal properties are attributed to it. The Goschen Road goes by the side of Berigam Lake towards Poombarai.

The Bershola Falls, the Glen Falls, the Fairy Falls, the Pambar Cascade and several other beauty spots, all contribute to make one's evening walks during summer pleasant and attractive.

AN INTERESTING PIECE OF SCULPTURE IN THE ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM

By S. C. KALA, M.A.

Curator, Municipal Museum, Allahabad

In the Nagod section of the Allahabad Municipal Museum there is an inscribed fragmentary stone post belonging to the 2nd century B.C. The post once adorned the railing of the Bharut Stupa, the remains of which were initially brought to light in the year 1873. In their excessive enthusiasm men uninitiated into the scientific ways disturbed and disarranged most of the finds. It was Sir Alexander Cunningham who began

Bharut sculpture have been acquired for the Municipal Museum.

The railing post under discussion is not valuable as the only document of the type but also as a document of historical significance throwing light on the styles of entertainments in vogue during the 2nd century B.C.

The relief is executed on a post of red sand stone from Central India. The lower portion of the post is missing but the upper one for all practical purposes complete. The post has bevelled edges. The central space is covered with a dumb-bell shaped panel. The top and the bottom panels are circular. At the top there is a half lotus medallion while the remaining space contains a group of men hanging from the legs of the men at the top. The number of the figures hanging at the bottom is eight. Each man holds the feet of the man above, by firmly gripping the feet and the knees of the one just above him with both of his hands. On one of the bevelled sides there is a male figure in an attitude of adoration and on the other a female figure. The female form is considerably weatherworn but there are indications to show that she was touching her breast with one of her hands.

All the figures in the groups wear a loin cloth and richly embroidered turbans. A longish scarf is thrown round the shoulder with ends falling on either sides or the front. Their bodies are bedecked with earrings, bracelets, necklaces and anklets.

The relief does not represent the best Buddhist art. It lacks that vigorous and fertile imagination which gives all sculpture a certain accent of life and originality. It is wanting in that fire and fervour which leads the artist to conceive and create an unforgettable expression of the very soul of the deity. The highest aim of Buddhist art has been to create an atmospheric repose which in this relief is absent. There is, on the contrary, a tendency towards flatness. The bulging and wide open eyes are devoid of expression. The respect for tradition probably leads the artist to occupy himself with the type rather than with the individual. This is also respon-



A fragmentary piece of sculpture, Commercial Museum, Allahabad

systematic excavation of the site and his efforts were crowned with the remarkable discovery of the Eastern gateway and also other fragments of historical significance. Very recently through the keen efforts of Rai Bahadur Pandit Braj Mohan Vyas, late Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipal Board, some rare specimens of

sible for the deadening uniformity in facial expressions. The variety shown by the extreme left figures in the second and the third row is a relief to eye.

What this scene signifies it is difficult to explain. There is a fragmentary inscription on this post which reads as "Pusadataya Ganikaya." This however does not help us in identifying the scene of the sculpture. The plausible title therefore to the scene would be "Acrobats." In those days art and education were interchangeable forms of expression of national thought and culture. There are several scenes in the art of Bharut which have nothing to do with religion. They are more or less sociological documents.

Their purpose is unavowedly secular. Like Moghul art of a later date they excel in exhibition scenes of the palace, city and town and sports or physical feats* but in spirit it is entirely unlike the Moghul aristocratic art. It is in the main a folk art emerging from a society deeply merged in Buddhist religion and folk culture. The various comic scenes and the scene described just above may indicate that inner feeling for joy and laughter which has given the gloomiest religions a luminosity and a ray of hope.

* Barua : *Bharut*, Part III (Fig. 157). (Fig. 62, 64, 75, 76, 77).

THE ROAD FROM INDIA TO CHINA One of the Most Difficult Man Has Built

By TILLMAN DURDIN

Whatever success has been achieved by the Allies against the Japanese in Southeast Asia is due mainly to the construction of the Ledo Road.

EVER since the monsoon finished last fall, progress has quickened on the construction of the Ledo Road that cuts into the Naga Hills from Assam in Northeastern India toward the Japanese bases in Northern Burma. Started in December 1942, the road is now well on its way through the jumbled, jungle-covered mountains.

American, Chinese and Indian engineering units, working with modern equipment and road-building machinery and aided by gangs of Indian civilian labourers, are pushing the road through some of the world's densest forests across successive ranges of two to six thousand foot mountains. Chinese troops are guarding the road, and, supplied from the air, they are staying well in advance of the construction work to keep the route clear of enemy interference.

As it gets steadily nearer the main centres of Japanese control in Northern Burma, the Ledo Road is becoming progressively more important as a factor in the fight against the Japanese in Southeast Asia. Just how far the road has gone and just where it is headed cannot be disclosed at present. For the time being it is through the wild and virtually unknown region of the Naga Hills, into which the Japanese have sent only small patrols from time to time from Hukawng Valley.

A FLIGHT OVER THE ROAD

I took the rear seat of a little observation plane, piloted by Sgt. Marshall G. Eliason and from a few hundred feet in the air followed



Advance patrols which clear the way for the construction gangs behind are supplied by air

the tortuous course of the road to the furthest point where men are blasting jungle trees for the right of way. Within a short time I had

made the round trip which on the day before some building in his time—he was in charge of construction for the Port of New York Authority on the Holland Tunnel, the Lincoln Tunnel and the George Washington Bridge, which even in the U. S. are considered major construction jobs—and he calls the Ledo Road the worst job he has ever had.

Colonel Gleim's men work ahead of the surfacing gangs. They scoop and blast the initial route and build temporary bridges behind the Chinese engineering outfit that fells and roots out trees. A big task for Colonel Gleim is to prevent the road from washing out behind him until permanent grading, drainage, surfacing and bridging are completed.

American troops are working on the Ledo Road and they carried on right through the monsoon when much other construction



Constant vigilance must be kept on the Ledo Road against Japanese air or land attacks

The road winds and dips its way through some of the worst terrain man ever attempted to traverse with a motor route. I have travelled the old Burma road, and the Ledo route is just more of the same, with a thicker jungle thrown in to intensify construction headaches. At times the road snakes around precipitous peaks, and at times it winds alongside bamboo-choked ravines.

On either side is always a wall of jungle—a tangle of hardwood trees and thick undergrowth beautified with the delicate pinks and yellows of the Burma orchid. Col. Charles S. Gleim commands an advance engineering unit on the road. Colonel Gleim has done



The road from India to China which is now being pushed through Northern Burma will be a valuable supply route for the Allied Armies in China, when the road has been completed

work in this area was forced to stop. Last June fifty inches of rain fell over the road. On September 28, seven inches came down, the season's record for a single day. Malaria, dysentery and "Naga sores" that result from leech bites have taken a heavy toll of men, but the work has gone on.

At many places the Ledo Road runs along Naga hill trails across which the thousands of Indian and Burmese and some European and

American refugees escaped from Burma in 1942 as the Japanese took over the country. Many died on the route, and their skeletons are a common sight along the Ledo Road. What the engineers think of the Ledo route is expressed in signs along the way, such as "Gateway to Hell," and "Hell's Corner." The many gangs of Indian labourers are considered invaluable help in the road construction.

Courtesy : USOWI.

THE STORY OF BOULDER DAM

THE southwestern corner of the United States, formed by parts of the States of Arizona, Nevada and California, is country of high mountains, deep canyons, deserts and valleys. The scenery is not unsimilar to parts of the Punjab which lie near the Himalayas. Through it, winding south to the Gulf of California in Mexico, flows the mighty Colorado River, known primarily for its wondrously scenic Grand Canyon in northern Arizona. The Colorado is the third longest U. S. river; it rises in snow-capped mountains 1,700 miles north of the Gulf of California.

The untamed Colorado was a menace. Each spring, fed by melting snows, the river roared over its banks and inundated the country for a great distance around. In 1905 the agricultural region of the Imperial Valley in Southern California, which had begun to benefit only a few years before by an irrigation system piped from the Colorado, was devastated by Colorado floods. And while farmers feared flood, they also feared drought, for the Colorado sometimes ran dry.

BOULDER DAM A CONQUEST

Boulder Dam, standing astride the Colorado River just north of the three-state boundary, stands today as a monument to man's conquest over the vicious cycle of flood and drought. Highest in the world, the dam towers 726 feet above the river. Its powerful generators send electric power surging into the three States, into an area larger than Bengal and the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Its immense reservoirs supply water for domestic use as far away as the Los Angeles metropolitan area. Its irrigation system waters the fruit and vegetable lands of the Imperial Valley, an all-year food source for the nation. Its control system has improved naviga-

tion. Its lakes and parks have provided recreation spaces for the people and refuges for wildlife.

The Boulder Dam project, pushed to completion by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation (part of the Department of the Interior), was the result of many years of planning, deliberation, surveying and testing. The Boulder Canyon Project Act authorizing the work was adopted by the U. S. Congress in 1928. Planning and contract negotiations were completed and construction actually got under way on March 11, 1931.

Seven years had been allowed for the difficult job; it was completed and its first generator operating in just over five years. In continuing work and development up to June, 1940, the U. S. Government had spent the equivalent of over Rs. 41 crores in building the dam and over Rs. 10 crores for the All-American Canal, the heart of the Imperial Valley irrigation system.

THE BENEFITS OF BOULDER DAM

The benefits which Boulder Dam has brought fall into eight categories: Generation of low-cost power; flood control; irrigation; domestic and industrial water supply; elimination of silt; improvement of navigation; recreation, and wildlife and bird refuge.

Electric power flows out from the Boulder Dam generators over a web of transmission lines into municipalities and industrial plants of Arizona, Nevada and California. From the time power operation began, in 1936, to May 30, 1942, the equivalent of slightly less than Rs. 7½ crores in net revenues had been earned against the cost of the project. The city of Los Angeles was Boulder's first big customer. A "Pageant of Light" celebrated transmission of

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR APRIL, 1944

the first energy October 9, 1936. Today, the vast industrial machinery in the Southern California region operates on Boulder power—airplane factories, shipyards, mining developments and other enterprises.

years. There has been a steady reduction in the rates charged to domestic users of electricity as well as to industries.

Boulder

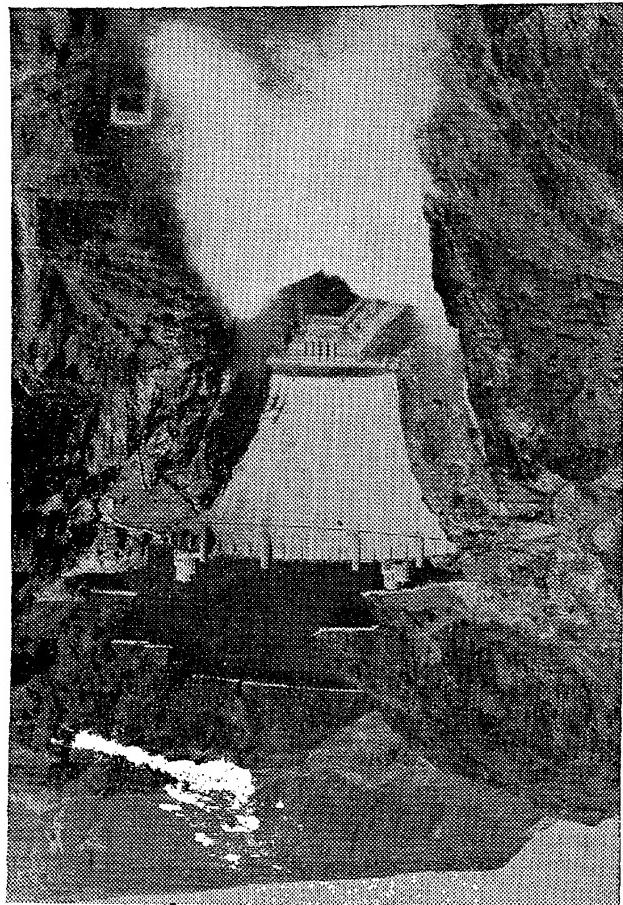
CONTROL OF FLOODS

Dam has taken control of the Colorado River floods. Lake Mead, extending upstream 115 miles above the dam, has a storage capacity equal to two years' flow of the river. It absorbs not only the lesser floods which could occur in any season, but also the great run-offs of spring and summer. Safe from unrestrained waters are the homes and rich lands of the Imperial, Coachella, Yuma and Palo Verde valleys which American pioneers wrested from the desert. These lands below Boulder Dam are estimated to have a value which is equivalent to about Rs. 81 $\frac{1}{2}$ crores.

In benefits of irrigation for farming lands of the southwest, Boulder Dam has had an immense impact. The stored waters of the rushing river are parceled out, when needed, to the "vegetable and fruit basket" of the United States.

There are estimated 19,00,000 acres of irrigable land below the Boulder Canyon Reservoir. Of these, 7,00,000 acres are in Arizona; 1,175,000 acres in California, and 25,000 acres in Nevada. Actually under irrigation at present are 600,000 acres in California and 60,000 acres in Arizona.

The All-American Canal, reaching 80 miles from the Colorado River into California's Imperial Valley, is an integral part of the Boulder system. It is primarily an irrigation and



A view of Boulder Dam on the Colorado River near the three-state boundary of California, Arizona and Nevada in the south-western United States

With a heavy influx of war workers to the area, small businesses of many kinds—stores, theatres, restaurants and markets—have sprung up, all brought into being by the basic fact of electric energy from the huge dam.

In Nevada seven communities, including five mining districts, were without electric service before Boulder power was available. Today there is a revival of mining operations and a prospect of continued expansion in post-war

water-supply source, and its cost is being repaid to the Government by contract arrangement with local governments. Principal crops which benefit in the Imperial Valley are alfalfa, melon, lettuce, barley, corn, milo maize and small fruits. About 30,000 carloads of melon and lettuce are shipped from the valley each season. The alfalfa yield is seven to ten tons per acre, and melon 96 crates to the acre.

The value of land irrigated by the Boulder

project is now estimated at Rs. 487-8-0 an acre, by motor car from the large cities in the vicinity. In addition, the area has been designated as an official government wildlife refuge, with hundreds of thousands of acres around Lake Mead offered as a haven for animals and birds.

WATER SUPPLY ASSURED

Another important factor in the development of Boulder Dam has been the insuring of ample water supply to 13 Pacific Coast cities of Southern California, including Los Angeles. The Colorado River Aqueduct carries the water over mountain and desert for 242 miles through tunnels, conduits and canals to homes and industries. The Metropolitan water District of Southern California was formed to pay for the diversion dam and aqueduct.

Silt carried by the turbulent Colorado aggravated the flood danger and clogged the waterway. Today the great reservoirs trap this sediment and free the flow of the river from obstruction.

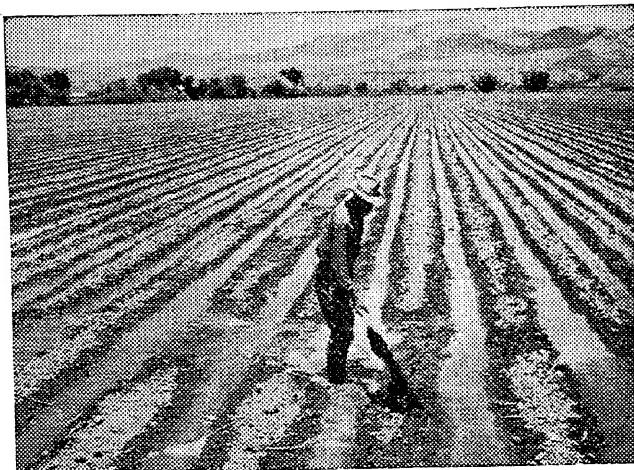
With construction of Boulder Dam, navigation was opened along the reaches of Lake Mead, the reservoir above the dam, and mic activities in the region served by Boulder Dam. Previously Dam. From 1930 to 1940 the population of the

along the Colorado below the dam. Previously Dam. From 1930 to 1940 the population of the shipping was perilous and uncertain, since the metropolitan area of Southern California jumped

27 per cent., while the estimated growth for the river's flow was uneven.

Finally, a great playground has been opened nation as a whole in the same period was seven to the public above Boulder Dam. In 1940, per cent. By 1950, it is estimated that 52 $\frac{1}{2}$ there were 6,00,000 tourists at Lake Mead. using lakhs of people in the region will be served by its camping and recreational facilities. Roads power and water from Boulder Dam, as compar have been built, camp sites erected and streams ed to 38 lakhs in 1940.

Courtesy : USOWI



An irrigation project linked to Boulder Dam is enriching this tract of land in Arizona, U. S. A.

Lake Mead, the reservoir above the dam, and mic activities in the region served by Boulder Dam. Previously Dam. From 1930 to 1940 the population of the

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

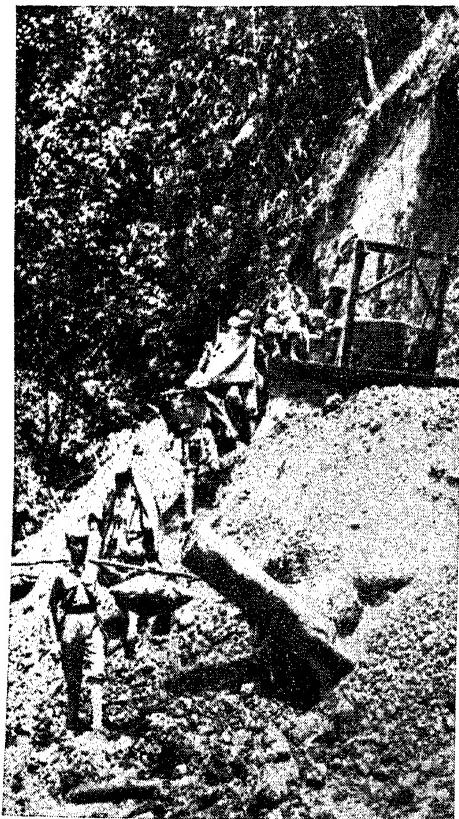
By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE first quarter of 1944 is now at an end, and therefore the opening of the Second Front now should be imminent. Although Mr. Churchill has warned the world that there would necessarily be many false alarms and many feints before the real thrust is delivered, there are certain

provide a modicum of moonlight with intermittent cloudy weather, which is regarded by some experts as being ideal for such operations. In Russia the thaw must now be well on the way, and that might give the hard-pressed German High Command some respite by the end of April. And if that respite does come, it would militate to a certain limited extent against the Allied plans in the west of Europe. The shortening of the nights would further put limitations on the scope of large-scale night air-raids such as are now taking place over Europe and would render large-scale ship movements liable for detection by scouting air-craft and submarines. These and other factors considered make April the most likely month for the invasion of western Europe, but of course there might be equally weighty considerations that may lead to the further postponing of the actual campaign.

In any case Russia is relentlessly keeping up the pressure against the Axis defenders who are now thrown back to the approaches to the Carpathians and the frontiers of Rumania and Hungary. Further south they are still on Russian soil and to the north of the Dniester area near Tarnopol, where they are still grimly hanging on in an endeavour to slacken up the Russian advance, they are now in a narrow salient of which the escape gap is being very slowly pinched in by the Soviets' armies. Up in the north nothing much has been heard for some time about the Russian armies that were pressing into Estonia, and it must be presumed that there is a temporary lull there, while the Russian armies are waiting for reinforcements and supplies to enable them to re-group for fresh assaults. Russian pressure is now at a peak where the three frontiers of Poland, Hungary and Rumania meet, between Ruthenia and the Bukovina, with the Dniester to the east and the Carpathians approaches to the west. The German defence line here is very near strong natural barriers and so the Russian advance in this area is likely to be costly and slow.

In main the German High Command has not been able to stem the Soviets' drive in the Ukraine as yet, and the signs are that the Russians are intensifying the pressure in order to complete the expulsion of the Germans out



Chinese troops, trained in India by Americans, pass a bulldozer in a forward section of the new Ledo Road.—USOWI

limiting factors which would place the beginning of the second quarter of the year as being the most suitable for the opening moves. Days are lengthening now, and daylight, or too much of it is not very good for large-scale landing operations against a determined and well-prepared opponent. The beginning of April will

of the Soviets' territories before the thaw holds up the campaign. On the other hand, despite newspaper reclaims, no major German debacle is as yet in view. The Tarnopol salient has not yet been liquidated and curiously enough the Axis forces in Crimea have not so far made any attempt at pulling out, despite the fall of Nikolaiev. There is no disorderly retreat or rout apparent anywhere in the southern front, and in the middle portion and the north there seems to be a lull. All of which seem to indicate that despite the fact that even though 60 per cent of the available land forces of the German High Command must by now been stationed at other fronts, to meet the impending shock of the Western Allies' invasion forces, the job lies heavy on the shoulders of Russia. Magnificent as have been the results of this last total effort of the Soviets, it can only be crowned with ultimate success when the Second Front starts delivering the same amount of pressure on the Axis as is being exerted on it in the East.

On the Italian front the Allies are still bogged down in the face of German opposition. The latest news from this sector does not indicate any improvement in the situation beyond the fact that General Mark Clark has evidently been successful in beating off the furious German attempts at driving his army into the sea. Cassino, which is in a sense the keystone of the Gustav defence line, has not been cleared of its German defenders as yet and the latest news putting forward the opinion that fighting in this area is now only a matter of prestige makes curious reading. It is true that at the present all the energies of the Western Allies must be devoted to the opening moves of the Second Front invasion and until such time as the bridge-heads in the West are established on a broad-front commensurate with the requirements of a campaign on the lines of continental warfare, there should be no dissipation of strength. But it must not be forgotten that Mussolini is at liberty and in power in Northern Italy, and given time he may again develop more than a mere nuisance value for the Axis.

In the Far-East and the South-Pacific fronts there is no change in the procedure.

There is still the same painfully-slow and costly method of jumping from island to island in force despite indications in the U. S. A. press that public opinion there is getting impatient. "Slow but sure" and "All in good time" seem to be the cardinal principles guiding the counter-offensive against Japan. There have been many criticisms and some amount of acrimony in the U. S. A. over the mildness of support given to General MacArthur in his amphibious campaign. Nothing is in evidence as yet to show that there has been any change in the ideology of the Allied Supreme Command regarding the measures to be adopted against Japan.

The Japanese diversion on the Indo-Burma Frontier has been the focus of public attention for some little time past. Various opinions have been pronounced on the situation by the spokesmen of the Allied Command and these have been prominently displayed in the press. The importance of retaining Imphal has been stressed, as without it maintenance of supplies and reinforcements to General Stillwell's divi-



U. S. troops land south of Rome.—USOWI

sions would become well-nigh impossible. It has been further pointed out that the Allied forces in the sectors affected enjoy superiority in all arms and that the supremacy in air is unchallenged. Various guesses have been made regarding the main objective of the enemy, most of which come to the conclusion that it is in the main an attempt to forestall Allied offensive plans, on the principle that "attack is the best defence," which theory certainly seems to be fully justified by the enemy moves made so far.

As yet we have no clear picture before us any single sector, on a scale much exceeding showing the pattern of the Japanese offensive. But in the main it has been until now a confused series of opportunistic—and very shrewd at that—blows on or around the main centres from which a many-pronged drive into Burma might have been initiated by the Allied South-East Command. The Chin Hills, the Kabaw

Japanese evidently did not think that a thrust even of the magnitude of that now being delivered down the Hukwang Valley was possible over the extremely rugged and jungle-clad mountainous barriers of the Frontier. Realization of the dangerous potentialities of a series of similar thrusts from many directions along the land frontiers has resulted in a quick reaction on their part, the reaction being this typically daring and violent gamble in which much has been staked on the element of surprise, as is usual in the tactics employed by the Japanese on similar terrain.

As yet it is too early to speculate on the results of this move on the part of the Japanese, since the struggle is still going through a critical phase. Not much news is being released as yet—for obvious and justifiable reasons—about the details of the fight in the vital Manipur sector, but it is becoming evident that the surprise phase is coming to an end. It cannot be denied that the Japanese have made some definite gains, not the least being the temporary stalling off of the present Allied offensive, and now it is the turn of the Allied command to make the weight of numbers and superior armament tell. It is too late in the season, with the monsoons only a few weeks ahead, for a complete reversal of the position to take place through a counter-offensive being staged on a major scale across the Upper Chindwin, but in any case a full restoration of the operational bases should be achieved in the near future.

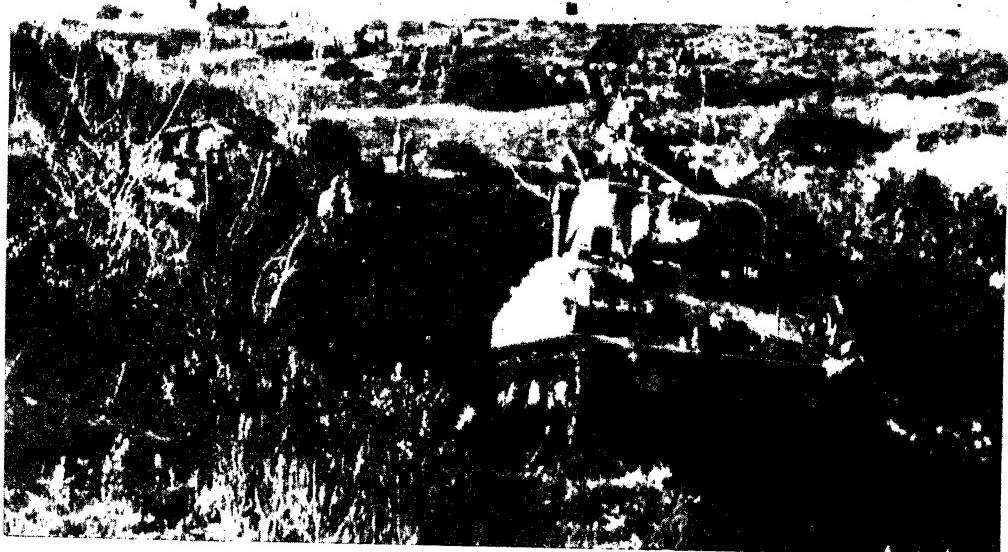


The bazooka at a demonstration of the U. S. Army's new anti-tank gun to student gunners
—USOWI

Valley, Arakans, all of them contained bases from which strong thrusts might have been launched against the main strongholds of the Japanese in Burma.

The Hukwang Valley thrust has amply demonstrated that the Japanese defence measures in the frontier areas are far from complete as yet, and, on the other hand, the terrain of the Indo-Burmese frontiers, makes it impossible that a major offensive could be launched from

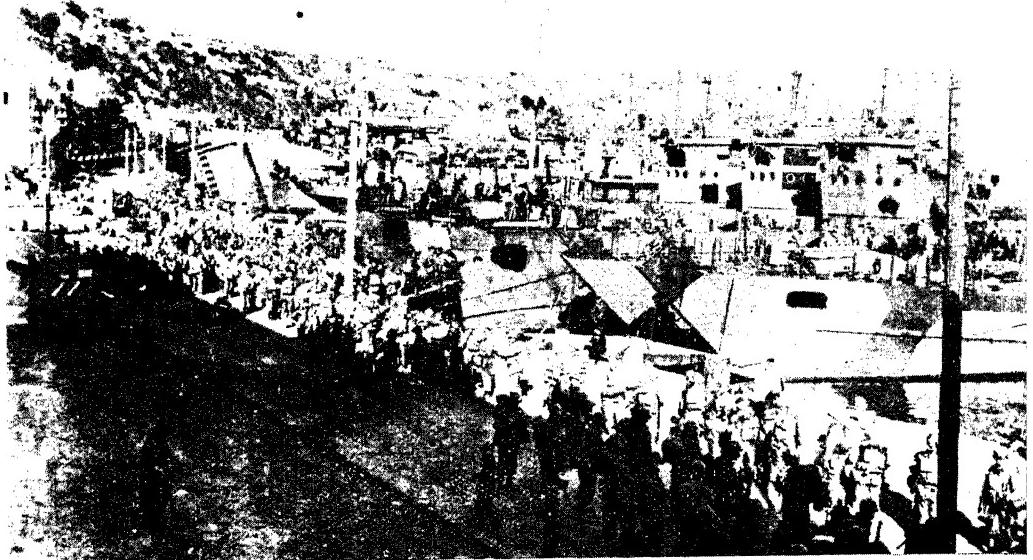
Although the Japanese must be paying dearly for the successes they are achieving, we think too much stress is being laid on that point. The total weight of the struggle now going on in Burma, does not measure up to that centring round the beach-heads near Rome, as has been correctly pointed out by a war-correspondent. And even if it did, we do not think a ruthless and tough opponent like Japan is likely to place much consideration on that score, while a vital gamble was going on. When a desperate bid for strategic gains is made with inferior numbers and with inferior equipment on the "double or quits" principle, it should rather be taken for granted that the enemy is prepared to write off the entire force employed, as the costs of the venture, if for nothing else then merely to gain time, the most vital factor in Japanese considerations now.



Allied forces land 30 miles south of Rome. An American tank rolls uphill from a beach between Anzio and Nettuno on the west coast of Italy



Allied scout cars and trucks roll over a completed section of the Ledo Road, which is being built from India through the Burma jungles to China



American troops embark for thrust south of Rome. Allied landing forces establish beachheads in the Anzio-Nettuno area, 30 miles south of Rome



U. S. planes fly over a German airport on their way to bomb Munster

THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

BY PROFESSOR RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

"The Great Poet, in writing himself, writes his time."—T. S. ELIOT.

WHAT can we make of our society which has produced two World Wars in the course of two decades? Society is used here to mean those basic foundations upon which the human society of all nations rests irrespective of racial, cultural or religious dissimilarities. Because, after all, however revolting the idea may be, man's society has been changing with changing material conditions, and the material conditions, to express baldly, are mainly conditions of production and exchange. It may indeed touch the romantic revivalists to the quick who suppose that human society moves on the pivot of some eternal value. Bernard Shaw's *Major Barbara*, as early as 1905, perceived the truth when she said,

"I stood on the rock I thought eternal and without a word it reeled and crumbled under me."

For persons centred in their own dream world and static visions, it needs years of whizzing bullets, shattering splinters and Air-raid sirens to rouse and make them sensitive to the world around them. At the first sight the protagonist of this talk of society, economic foundations, wars and revolutions might seem to fly off at a tangent on politics; but it is undeniable also that these things vitally affect and mould social relations, disturb and juxtapose values, and transform the psychic man. Literature, if it is the expression of the social man's hopes and fears, loves and hates and general attitude to life in emotional terms, cannot possibly remain cold and unaffected. Literature therefore represents this action and reaction, this clash and synthesis that goes on in human society and consequently in the mind of man. When literature keeps pace with this transformation it is said to progress.

So far there can be little by way of debate. But danger peeps in when "Progressivism" in literature becomes chic for like all fashion dresses it begins with the risk of blind and unquestioning idolatry. It has yet another danger in the shape of "ism" at the end of the term. Like all "isms" it also provokes violent prejudices and partisan spirit. In order to evaluate Progressivism in the correct perspective is needed discussion of its origin, nature and implications.

Most of the literary cults that reach our shores to tempt our instinct for variety come from the West. Our nearest approach to this Western influence is through English literature.

The post-War era in English literature was one of disillusionment, irreverence, self-consciousness and disgust. The War with its woeful results taught men the relation of the objective world to literary impulse. The nineteenth century writers, mostly the Victorians, regarded the objective world as something alien to the spirit of fine literature. Tennyson was baffled by the enormity of the tide of events, Browning escaped into a realm of metaphysical speculation. But the generation after the last Great War saw through the tinsel of values founded on "Escape." Things for them fell apart, the centre could not hold; but this climate of uncertainty and futility reared up, in course of time, a growing interest into the co-relation between social events and literary values. To them literature mattered only as the consciousness of the age. The literary tradition had rather die if it did not act as a pervasive influence upon thought, feeling and standard of living. T. S. Eliot and his disciples Dr. Leavis, Dr. Richards, etc., who grew sceptical of the master in the long run; W. R. Auden, Cecil Day Lewis and Stephen Spender who wrestled with the problem of a cure of the people consumed with deathwill; Ralph Fox and Caudwell who mercilessly exposed the class character of a bourgeois-ridden culture, are some of the few but those that matter in the field of contemporary criticism in English literature.

Mr. T. S. Eliot has still round him the halo of a prophet, but a prophet who is being gradually lost to his people. It is he who even till this day dominates the technique of poetry; his severe measured and sober enunciations of literary theories have become postulate in a good deal that has been written on Donne, Dryden, Milton and Romantic poets. He is most keenly alive to the dangers of a society which has fallen in fragments and with it, inherited culture of the past. His *Wasteland*

in plan, execution and imagery typifies the uprooting and disorganisation of European culture. The plight of modern European society fills him with acute sadness. In order that literature may reappear as the final flowering of a coherent society he has his own suggestions to make. And Mr. Eliot would always be important whatever he may say.

"The people," he wrote in *Sacred Wood*, "which ceases to care for its literary inheritance becomes barbaric, the people which ceases to produce literature ceases to move in thought and sensibility."

Literary inheritance is then the vital point with Eliot in reckoning the creative possibilities of a people. This inheritance involves a strong belief and absorption in much that has gone by, in a word, Tradition. Sick to the heart at the sight of a society bereft of faith, enfeebled in convictions (symptoms of the same disease which overtook the European mind after the last Great War) he means to rejoin it to a past when Man's life was such as gave him his poise and true insight into reality.

Mr. Eliot has indeed raised a very vital issue. Can literature progress by completely breaking away from the past and converting uncertain present into the stuff for dreams of future? Much will depend on what tradition really means and what part it plays in the evolution of society. Lest we should carry away a popular connotation of the term Eliot warns us that it is not something static nor does it mean merely that which has happened in the past and still sustains us. He has rationalised his position in *After Strange Gods* which may be briefly stated thus :

"Tradition is rather a way of feeling and acting which characterises a group throughout generations. It may be conceived as a by-product of right living not to be aimed at directly. It is of the blood so to speak rather than that of the brain : it is the means by which the vitality of the past enriches the life of the present."

Emphasis of Eliot is clearly on the historical sense. Then he goes on to say :

"The general effect in literature of the lack of any strong tradition is two-fold : extreme individualism in views, and no accepted rules or opinions as to the limitations of the literary job, when one man's view of life is as good as another's all the more enterprising spirits will naturally evolve their own. . . . It is true that the existence of a right tradition, simply by its influence upon the environment in which the poet develops, will tend to restrict eccentricity to manageable limits. . . . But what is most disastrous is that the writer should deliberately give rein to his individuality, that he should even cultivate his differences from others; and that his readers should cherish the author of genius, not in spite of his deviations from the inherited wisdom of the race, but because of them."

Mr. Eliot is convinced that without a correct historical sense a writer, instead of representing the consciousness of his age, develops and projects his own personal view of life into his writings; in short his creation becomes a private affair, uprooted from the soil of his race. He protests against the way some of the modern novelists try to foist their personal view of life upon their readers; this tendency, as we would see, results inevitably in the exploitation of personality. Now personality is no illicit intruder in the literary craft, the writer does express his personality in his writings, but personality in this sense does not cancel the strong relations which bind him to his environments. Jane Austen, Dickens and Thackeray had their own personality; but

"the standards by which they criticised their own world, if not very lofty ones, were at least not of their own making."

But Mr. Eliot gets alarmed as soon as a writer tends to draw inspiration deep down from his own self. He praises George Eliot for her profound moral insight and passion but disapproves her "individualistic morals" which were fashioned after the contemporary philosophical ideals of empiricism.

So far two points emerge out in relief : first, by cherishing his separateness from traditions of his society or race a writer achieves eccentricity rather than originality; for according to Eliot originality consists in improving upon and creating newly out of what already exists. Originality is not exaggerated novelty. Second, that the writer should not cultivate his personal view of life to the exclusion of the community view which is the product of centuries of living and feeling together. By way of concrete illustrations Mr. Eliot points out the contrast between D. H. Lawrence and James Joyce. Lawrence, says he, has no accepted moral sense; he is ever concerned with two individuals and their failure—"always looking to the perfect relationship and of course never finding it."

In the Lawrentian world, to the painful surprise of Mr. Eliot are wholly absent the spiritual conflict, the Original Sin, etc. His men and women are sick, emotionally and mentally. They are ever groping after the dark gods of the 'blood' rather than the usual false gods of the 'brains.' Mr. Eliot is baffled by Lawrence's insensibility to ordinary social morality. He holds that it is spiritual conflict which alone can show us as true human beings. Now Lawrence's men and women are not true human beings since their creator himself lacked any sense of spiri-

tual conflict. On the other hand, James Joyce is accepted with approval by Mr. Eliot because in this novelist he discerns a consciousness of Christian morality. James Joyce is concerned with 'relation of God to man'; his understanding of the Sin is the key that unlocks the character of Stephen Dedalus in *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. His art is permeated by a sense of history, while Lawrence's art being individualistic is expressive of the momentary.

With the first point of the argument few will disagree. We know that the quest for novelty often lands the artist in the mazeland of eccentricity. And this eccentricity ultimately digs the grave of the writer's cult. Dadaism, Surrealism and extreme Symbolism are some of the instances to the point. With the substance of the second point, too, most of us agree. There is nothing like 'personal view of life' in literature if it be the expression of the time. The artist has his individuality inasmuch as it heightens his selectivity, beyond that he becomes the spokesman of his people. In this role he does not necessarily submit to the people's view of life. The conflict in him, which largely generates the creative power, results in a synthesis which is the point of view of the age.

But, then, shall we go whole-hog with Mr. Eliot? Let us search beneath the sober and austere exterior of his theory. If tradition is not standing still but

"rather a way of feeling and acting which characterizes a group throughout generations,"

shall we take it that the 'group' remains the same in character throughout generations? Mr. Eliot would, of course, answer that these habits of the heart and mind of the community should be supervised by what he pleases to call 'orthodoxy.' To make himself clearer he says:

"Tradition and orthodoxy mean habits of the community formulated, elevated and corrected by the continuous thought and direction of the Church."

So then, it is the Church (of course for the British community) which performs the task of the critic and guide of the community habits. Tradition is linked up with the functioning of the Church.

Mr. Eliot is not so absurd and dogmatic as he appears at this antiquated theory. In rehabilitating the prestige of the Church by picking up the thread of 'tradition' what he aims at is the creation of a mind which is homogeneous and not divided and confused as at present. The present European mind hops about because there is no balanced view of life. The power of the Church has gone to waste, man's ingenuity

consists only in devising means to excite and satisfy his senses, all sanctions which held together the individual and the community are dissolved and men are mere "Hollow men—Stuffed men." Mr. Eliot speaks out, again and again, against such a state of society of Europeans. In order to save it from the final crash he wants the re-living of the traditional life which is shot through and through with Church morality.

What is that life to which Mr. Eliot appeals? Evidently it is the Middle Ages. The medieval society was more ordered and coherent than ours. The Church ruled the heart and mind of men; scholastic philosophy was based upon faith which it was a rank heresy to challenge. All Europe had one mind and a single eye. To such an age belonged Dante who sends Mr. Eliot into raptures. This coherence disintegrated at the revolt of the Renaissance spirit. And with the break up of the old medieval order began the spiritual troubles for Mr. Eliot.

All would be well for Mr. Eliot if the society did not change its character or changed at the dictation of the Church. But laws of social dynamics prove that Mr. Eliot's conclusion is a sorry bungle. The cultural form or the state of society in the Middle Ages was a product of the economic environment; the simple methods of production and exchange, the absence of exclusive nationalism and so of centralised temporal authority, the clear-cut division of the society into serfs and feudal lords because of the simple forming and lack of widespread commerce—all tended to produce a homogeneity in which the individual was a cog in the great machine. He would not revolt because faith was superior to reason. But with the inrush of the Renaissance spirit this order was disturbed. Feudalism was yielding before a centralised authority and with the growth of commerce was rising the bourgeois class which was the precursor of a new age. The bourgeoisie of the early Renaissance was up in revolt against the obsolete social and cultural conventions which impeded its path.

Now ideas and institutions outgrow their economic environment and get imbued in the life of the people through memories of the past. The institution of the Church when it ruled and ordered life of the medieval man is one such instance. It was a powerful factor in the medieval times. At any particular stage of human history clash is going on between old customs and institutions which are out of gear with the new economic facts, and the new cultural forms, institutions and ideas which the new conditions

warrant. The present day capitalist society with its supreme temporal power has already sapped the moral fibres of the Church; yet the spirit of the Church morality has been handed down from generation to generation. It has become part of the deep-rooted mental habits of the people. But the clash has occurred between the old values and new facts. The need for change is felt all around. At this stage the change may be a true synthesis, or a reactionary one imposed upon the society by those in power. This is not an entirely novel phenomenon. When capitalism was faced with a deeper crisis it sought refuge in a new fascist structure which could buttress it up. Now capitalism is individualistic, it was born out of the *laissiz faire* policy, and fascism is totalitarian, the opposite of individualism. Yet capitalist morality fused into the fascist one because it was such a change that could save it from final catastrophe. Such a change is therefore admittedly reactionary and it is this "change" which Mr. Eliot holds out as a solution of the present muddle—his acceptance of a decayed institution as the only instrument for ordering the contemporary chaotic life and

his nostalgic longing for the medieval life, are the constituents of this change which is comically out of tune with realities of today. He is unconsciously helping those who mean to divert the mass of disgust, doubt and self-contempt into channels which are relics of an old order. It is the philosophy of those who have anything to lose by real social changes, those who stand for the *status quo* in society.

This 'tradition' of Mr. Eliot therefore is myth. It is a myth which has a moral for mad adventurists in literature, it is not entirely without value. But in the last analysis it is a form of reaction. For progress to be real, discontent with the present is needed. Mr. Eliot is thoroughly discontented with European life as he sees it at present. But for progress something more positive is needed. You may either go back or move forward. Mr. Eliot is one of those who would move away from the present but backwards. Progress consists in a correct historical perspective, in moving towards new cultural forms which follow in the wake of synthesis between conflicting forces.

(To be continued)

INDIAN PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION A Critical Survey

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II

After reviewing in brief the progress made in Indian Philosophy and Religion in the course of these two years, I now propose to take up the next and perhaps the more important aspect of my duty.

It is already known to you how Philosophy in India is inseparably connected with the very idea of existence. It is, perhaps, because of this that it has outlived all possible changes social, religious and political through which the country has passed. Several nations of the world have, from time to time, invaded, conquered and ruled over the country, partly or wholly, and produced political and a few social changes. The Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jainas and many others have attempted to reform the social and religious outlook of the people of this country and may have been even successful to a certain extent though quite detrimental to the interests of Indian thought and people, yet none of them

could ever produce any change whatsoever in the philosophical outlook of the country. Ever since the very dawn of reasoning truths as propounded by the great seers have remained unaltered. The utterances—the unfolding of the best and mature experiences of the great seers and sages—have proved infallible and insurmountable so far. It is in this respect that India has held her head high and has never stooped down before any nation of the world. Indian philosophy is, undoubtedly, the purest and the most reliable record of human achievements. In fact, it is the nucleus round which all that is best and most sublime in India has grown. Hence, if we want to study India in her unsophisticated form we must unearth her hidden treasures—the philosophical records—of which we are so proud.

It should be always kept in mind that in order to study the mind of any country it is most indispensable to be very intimately and sympa-

thetically acquainted with the general conditions of the country, with the natural trend of the mind of its people and with its religious and social customs and practices. The unperturbed and unassuming life of a country forms the very back-bone of the thought of that country. It is found reflected and inter-woven in its literatures both light and serious. But there is something more, and much more important than this in Indian literature, particularly, in its philosophy. The gradual evolution of her philosophical thoughts, the mature and infallible experiences of the great seers of the past as recorded in the authoritative texts, represent only the theoretical aspect of human existence, while the practical side of it is found in the actual and unsophisticated normal life of her people. If, therefore, a system of Philosophy in India does not correspond to the actual functioning of human life on regular and sane line, it would have neither any practical value nor any general appeal; and I am afraid, it does not deserve to be recognised as a system of Indian thought. In other words, one must study and understand with faith the true spirit of the life of Indian people in order to have a proper grasp of the spirit of her Philosophy.

It must be kept in mind that philosophy and life of the people in India both aim at the same goal, that is, absolute freedom from pain or the realisation of the highest truth. There exists mutual reflection between these two. In other words, life of people in India is regulated in close adherence to what is found in her philosophy. Thus, Philosophy and Life may be said to be identical for Indians. The standard of judgment is the same for both. So without any hesitation we may say that the life of people in India is nothing but philosophy in practice. This alone differentiates Indian Philosophy from those of other countries.

The ultimate aim of Philosophy and Life in India is realised by the true vision of the Supreme Self, that is *Atman*; so says the Sruti—‘आत्मा वाऽरे इष्ट्यः’, and every system of thought directly or indirectly stands as a means (*sādhana*) to this very aim. It is only because of this that it deserves the name *Darsana*. The nature of this *Atman* is so very subtle that to speak of it, nay even to think of it, is simply impossible as is clear from the Sruti—‘यतो वाचो निर्वर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह’.

It is never possible to know the unlimited *Atman*, that is, its realisation, with the limited

Manas. The *anantarūpa* of the *Atman* cannot be expounded by any one particular school of thought. So what is found in different systems is that each one has limited its scope and represents one or two aspects of that ultimate truth only. Thus *Nyāya-Vaisesika*, for instance, asserts the separate and independent existence of *Atman*, while the *Sāṅkhya* proves that it is nothing but pure *caitanya* and leaves for the *Vedānta* to propound its blissful nature. Accordingly, every enquirer into the nature of this ultimate truth cannot realise it at one and the same time. It is, therefore, that the great *Acāryas* have advised us to proceed after the *Arundhatidarsana-nyāya* and have laid great emphasis on the question of *Adhikāribheda*. It necessitates the attainment of those qualifications and conditions which must be acquired and fulfilled by the aspirant to philosophical studies before he can enter their portals and also in the course of those studies until he realises the ultimate goal. With this back-ground the various schools of philosophy in India have been arranged and any one desirous to study them must also be accordingly equipped.

This being so, it must be admitted that the various schools of Indian Philosophy expound the Truth from different angles of vision. Thus, it is not correct to hold that all the schools of thought deal with the same aspect and from the same stand-point. I do not think it would have been ever possible for the systems of thought to differ amongst themselves had they all taken their stand upon the same angle of vision. Can under any circumstance a thing, say a pot (*ghata*), for instance, appear to be different from what it is, if it be looked upon from the same standpoint? But that there exists vast difference in the objects of treatment between the various schools cannot be gainsaid. It is this very difference in the outlook that necessitates the difference in their objects of treatment. Again, to an enquirer when all the systems are looked upon collectively, there appears a sort of gradation also amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy. One system presupposes the treatment of another. As for instance, the *Sankara-Vedānta* presupposes the *Satkāryavāda*, the *caitanyasvarūpa* of the *Atman* and so on of the *Sāṅkhya*. It is therefore, difficult to follow a particular system, if systems dealing with those stages which are prior to that, have not been properly studied. The doctrines of *Sankara-Vedānta* cannot be rightly understood if the *Sāṅkhya* system has not been thoroughly studied, or those of the

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Sāṅkhya without the careful study of Nyāya-Vaisesika, and so on. Hence, what one particular system teaches is only an aspect of the ultimate truth and not the whole.

Having kept all these in mind if any new approach is made to realise the highest end, it is welcome, and I would consider it an addition to the existing systems of Indian Philosophy. Do we not have some ten different systems of Vedānta alone closely based on the *Brahma-sūtras* all leading to one and the same goal? Not to speak of the past but even within our own living memory, only some three years back, the late Mahamahopadhyaya Panchananā Tarkaratna of this very city propounded a new line of thinking, called *Svarupādvaitavāda* and wrote a new and quite original commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, *Isavāsyopanisad* and the *Bhagavadgītā* named *Saktibhāṣya*. His viewpoint is indeed a fresh addition to the list of the already existing monistic thoughts in the History of Indian Philosophy. According to this view the Absolute or the Universal Being is the Unity of Supreme Power which is identical and yet in a mysterious way transcendent of its mutually contradicting aspect of *Cit* and *Adit* (*Purusa* and *Prakṛiti*), or Spirit and Matter—the eternal principles of Light and Darkness, of Consciousness and Insentience, of Immutability and Flux. Spirit and Matter are held to have a common essence with *Brahman* or *Sakti*; in fact, they have the same indivisible unity of Being एका सत्ता as of *Brahman* or *Sakti*. There may be others who might have done similar service to the cause of true knowledge. The only point to be kept in view is that we should be true to our aim and that we are consistent in our method of approach in accordance with what has been said before.

This sort of originality is possible only when a man has maintained moral and spiritual discipline throughout his life and is at least above the average man, if not entirely, free from *rāga*, *dvesa* and *moha*; and is always guided with right intuition अपोक्षानुभूति and is also equipped with the knowledge of the existing systems. In the present generation most of us are busy in ascertaining the correct interpretation of the existing texts. No doubt, this is very useful and must be done at all cost, but we should never forget that this is a means only and not the final aim. Though Philosophy in India is more or less individualistic and requires that every individual person should realise the ultimate truth for himself, yet it is also necessary

that he should leave behind his mature experiences for the good of the future generation.

It is very encouraging to see that the study of Indian Philosophy is becoming more popular and that the students and teachers of European philosophy also consider their equipment incomplete without its study. To my mind this is a change which has been brought about by the publication of the *History of Indian Philosophy* by Professors S. Radhakrishnan and Das-Gupta. No doubt, the ground was originally prepared by the translations of the most important and difficult texts by the late Dr. Jha and a few others, but it is from the pen of these Professors that the thoughts have been synthetically arranged and presented to the scholarly world in a more interesting and readable form, so that it has become quite clear to all that Indian Philosophy also can be studied like the Philosophy of other countries. Following these scholars many others have also begun to write and it is very pleasing indeed to see several books now in the field. These scholars represent one type of scholarship, while the other type is found represented by scholars like the late Mm. Dr. Jha, Mm. Gopinath Kaviraja and a few others who have produced much more critical works entirely based on original sources and imbued with authenticity.

These two types of work present a very important problem for us. We know the Western thought, though critical and logical, yet is entirely speculative. Scholars trained in that thought wholly depend upon reasonings and have no means to verify their conclusions. It is also a fact which needs no verification that however pure a reasoning may be it can never ensure the validity of their results unless it is corroborated by the actual reality. It is not that the Western scholarship does not realise this deficiency in its method, but as the philosophical problems are so very subtle and as they deal mostly with things which are beyond the range of our physical means of verification, it is not at all possible to carry on experiments in this field. It is, therefore, that the results of their speculation are frustrated very often and the scholars working according to that method are never sure of what they are doing. In Indian Philosophy, however, there is the process of *nididhyasana* which is compulsory for all to test the validity of the results of pure reasoning, and so its conclusion is never found invalid.

Under the circumstances, when scholars trained in the Western method purely on speculative lines make an effort to interpret the subtle problems of Indian Philosophy they cannot

ordinarily be expected to change their outlook and use the Indian method; for, once the speculative method has made its impression on their mind, it is difficult, if not impossible, to wipe it off and remove their prejudices. I would insist on the combination of the critical method of Western scholarship and that of the orthodox learning. It may be true in the present circumstances to doubt the critical habit of Indian scholars, but it is simply ignorance to deny it. Our higher studies in different branches of learning very clearly show that the method of critically examining a problem is even now traditionally present in most of our orthodox Pandits. It is, therefore, that the scholars of European philosophy try to find out the thoughts of Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant and Hegel in the works of Indian thinkers and if, by chance, they could thrust in their views in the works of Sankara, Rāmānuja and others, then alone they appear to attach some sense to the works of Indian Philosophers. In other words, the present standard of judgment of our modern scholars is Western thought. Whatever appears similar to or is found nearer to the western thought that alone can have some value for our modernists. The result is that Indian thoughts are interpreted wrongly in the light of the western thoughts and the true spirit and merit are hardly ever realised by them. This is a grave danger which we have before us. If this practice is allowed to continue for a longer period, I am afraid, the original contributions of Indian Philosophy will be thrown behind the huge columns of thick dark clouds of utter ignorance, and the sublime tradition of the thought will be irrecoverably lost.

Already it is found that, due to some reason or other, the traditions of certain schools are lost and we find ourselves in utter helplessness to understand the true spirit of those thoughts. I will just refer to one or two instances to illustrate the above :

From our studies of the various schools of philosophy, we find Sāṅkhya has been so very popular that hardly there is a sastra, or even a book of Sanskrit literature which does not refer to its teachings, and it is perhaps due to this very popularity that we have so many variations in its treatment. As for instance, some hold *Prakṛiti* to be eternal, while others consider it to be a product. Again, some believe that there is only one *Prakṛiti*, while others propound its plurality, and so on. But due to the loss of its tradition and some connecting link we find hardly any commentary which can claim to be true and faith-

ful to what Isvarakṛṣṇa has taught in his *Kārikās*, and to my mind it has become extremely difficult to restore his teachings.

Again, a much more serious result appears to be that though it is so very clear that there exists a synthetic gradation amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy, yet most of our orthodox Pandits, who are, in fact, the real custodians of the treasures of Indian scholarship, are quite unwilling to accept it. It is the negligence of this outlook which seems to me responsible for so much misunderstanding in the true interpretation of philosophical problems even amongst the orthodox Pandits.

Then again, we know that the Bhāṣya of Rāmanujacārya on the *Badarayanasūtras* is called *Srībhāṣya* and there is a common belief in this part of the country that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta is said to belong to the *Srīsampradāya*. Most of our Pandits and modern scholars hold that *Srī* is the founder of the *Sampradāya* and they quote the following verse from the *Padmapurāṇa* in support of their belief :

कलौ खडु भविष्यन्ति सम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकाः ।
श्रीब्रह्महस्तकाः देणवाः क्षितिपावनाः ॥

But our critical study and enquiry in the traditional families indicate that *Srī* is not the founder of this *Sampradāya* and that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta emphasises *Srīyah Patih* and not *Srī*. It is further said that as the term *Srī* indicates नित्यविभूतिमत्त्वं the Vaisnavas of the Rāmānuja school and others also have been traditionally adding it before everything they name. So they have *Srīvaikuntha*, *Srīdhāma*, *Srīmukha*, and so on. Now it is difficult to say which of the two views is correct.

These are some of the instances where we can see the disastrous results of the loss of tradition and original thoughts. So if our modern scholars continue the practice of reading western thoughts in Indian thoughts, I am afraid, only after a few years the true spirit will be lost, nay the very foundation of Indian Philosophy will be shaken, and once the tradition is lost, it will not be possible to recover it.

I must make it clear that I am not opposed to any comparative study, rather I think it very useful for the clear understanding of philosophical problems. What I mean, therefore, is that as the two thoughts differ like the two poles in their outlook, it is very difficult to find out any common and useful ground to work on and any kind of forced interpretation to bring them together will simply ruin the cause. So these

two thoughts should be left to flourish quite independently in their own separate spheres. And if ever any reference has to be made for showing some similarity their outlook should never be forgotten. With these clear ideas of difference in mind whenever and wherever any attempt is made to study Indian Philosophy, it is welcome. It is, therefore, quite necessary that we, the students and teachers of Indian Philosophy, should try to study the original texts on the traditional methods and not to depend upon mere translations which are generally confusing and sometimes convey thoughts not quite accurate. At present there is a great need of that type of scholarship which the late MM. Dr. Jha, MM. Ramavatara Sarma and the present MM. Gopinath Kaviraj have shown in their works. We should produce works written with the help of modern critical method combined with the depth of learning of the traditional Pandits. This type of work alone can maintain the high tradition and purity of Indian thought. Our work should be marked with authenticity fully documented with original texts and critical judgment. We know such works will not be so popular, but is it not dangerous to sacrifice everything for gaining popularity? For popularity too we do want a separate set of books, so that they can be freely used by the beginners, or those who are working in different fields and cannot easily get any facility to study standard works. But here also I would like the presentation of thoughts to be very accurate, so that the grounding of our beginners may not remain shaky and unsound.

By the way, I wish to inform you that it is with this very idea that the admirers and friends of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha have founded a Research Institute at Allahabad. Amongst its various aims, one is to bring the two types of scholars together to their mutual benefit. There are eminent Sanskritists whose knowledge of their subject is deep and quite sound, but neither it is recognised in the world of modern scholarship nor does the advantage of that learning become available to such modern scholars who need it most. It is very necessary to bring the Sanskritists who have finally qualified themselves on the traditional lines in close touch with the methods of modern scientific researches and to provide facilities to the modern scholars to be introduced to the depth of the traditional learning of the orthodox Pandits. Then alone we shall have the most needed combination of what is best in the two types of scholarship. This will also help us to preserve

the ancient traditional learning of the country which to our great regret is fast disappearing. But it pains me to remark that we never feel for this even for a moment. It will not be out of place to quote a few lines from the experiences of an ex-Governor of Bengal which will tell you what others think of our Pandits even these days. Lord Lytton says:

"I have called this book *Pundits and Elephants* because, as I said in my farewell address to the members of the Asiatic Society,* these were examples of the indigenous genuine and original qualities which compelled my admiration whenever and wherever I met them. I never tired of watching elephants and studying their ways and habits. They seemed to me to be the embodiment of the true civilisation of India. Their antiquity, their calm dignity, their deliberation, their immense reserve of strength, their complete self-confidence and their superb humility were qualities that I also associated with the Pundits."

Coming back to my proper subject I wish to draw your serious attention to a very important fact. I need not say that India is essentially a country of spiritual and religious thoughts. Philosophy and religion are the two vital parts of her people. Not only in the very veins of her people there flow Philosophy and Religion but even in the very soil of her we see nothing but Philosophy and Religion. Such being the case, how do you like that thousands of her children go out of the sacred portals of our Universities every year without getting any opportunity whatsoever of thinking, nay even of hearing, for a moment of their own essence, I mean Philosophy and Religion? We prescribe courses in Western Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics and so on and teach our boys things which are quite foreign to their nature and which may or may not be congenial to them, but why are we ashamed or careless to prescribe even one-fourth of the entire degree course to be compulsorily taught in Indian Philosophy? Dare you say that there is nothing worth teaching? What more shameful can it be to see that the best brains of the country go out without ever being told of the best hidden treasures of their own in the *Upanisads* and the works of great *Acārya* Sankara, Ramanuja and others?

The same is the fate of Religion which alone teaches us the means of becoming happy here and here-after. It is religion alone which moulds the life of a man. If closely seen, it is found that every man follows consciously or

* *Vide*—"Pundits and elephants are things which are associated in my mind, they alike arouse my deepest respect and I shall be ever grateful to the country that has made me acquainted with them both"—1927.

unconsciously some religion or other, but what is required is to give a regular training in it on right lines, so that one can understand the essence of it and make the best use of it in the course of one's whole life. But we see that in the course of his entire period of training a boy is never told of it. He is, therefore, quite ignorant as to the very aim of his life. Even when he grows old and completes his training period, he becomes so much merged into the worldly life that he hardly gets any time to think of what is Religion. The result is that throughout his whole life he fails to experience peace and consolation and never realises the force of inner-self. He never feels for a moment that there is a life after death and that he should make some preparation for that long journey. His life remains aimless and irregular. May I ask you to tell me who is responsible for all these? Can we consciously throw the blame on the shoulders of our youngsters? Never. Persons in authority alone are to be blamed. It is their duty to give them timely instructions in this line also. So they alone are responsible for all the shortcomings of our youngsters. Even if anything is being done at present towards this in any institution it is clear the authorities are never serious and so the little they do becomes a farce.

It is never late to admit one's own mistake. We may even now, if we desire to do something seriously, rectify our past negligence. I would therefore, suggest that we should try our best to introduce a full paper in Indian Logic in the Intermediate stage and one full paper in the degree course to begin with and after some experience we must reserve fifty per cent of the total marks for Indian Philosophy for every examination. We are the authorities to propose this in our committees of courses in different Boards and Universities, and if we at all realise the seriousness of this proposal we should not fail to take the earliest opportunity to move the proposal in our committees and draft the syllabus for the course and appoint qualified scholars to write books accordingly.

There is one more point to which I would like to draw your attention. For any kind of higher research work a good collection of manuscripts is quite indispensable. Though there are several organisations where this work of collection searches is being done, yet there is a very great need of making much more vigorous efforts in this field. Every day we see that thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are left at the mercy of white-ants and are lost for ever. It is to be kept in mind that for the re-

construction of the social, political, philosophical, and religious history of India, we have to depend entirely on these MSS. alone. That we have not yet been able to do much work in the ancient period of our history is a clear proof to show that our searches in this field are not quite satisfactory. I may inform you that just a little effort in this field has enabled us to collect over three thousand manuscripts for the newly established Ganganatha Jha Research Institute at Allahabad within five or six months. We have definite information about thousands of manuscripts lying unused and uncared for in this very city and we can easily imagine the importance of these manuscripts. I may tell you that the owners in most cases are ignorant of the value of these manuscripts and so they are perishing. It is very difficult to preserve these manuscripts and if no effort to secure them or to preserve them even in their own places is made in near future, they will all be thrown in the lap of mother *Gangā*. It is also necessary in most cases to get their transcripts done, for some of the MSS. have become so very old that they will be destroyed even while handling. This work of ours needs big funds and sincere workers. For want of funds, I am sure, no serious scholarly work can ever be allowed to suffer and particularly when we have our revered Pandit Madana Mohana Malaviya and Professor Radhakrishnan with their Rajas, Maharajas and Birlas. I only feel dearth of man. It is a work which can be done if all of us join together and try to collect these MSS. from every village and town where we go and live. I would ask even the students to collect these from their villages and place them in safe place.

Lastly, I would draw your attention to the fact that there seems to be a tendency to regard Jainism and Buddhism as separate from Indian Philosophy. I do not see any justification for this. Already there are so many splits and do we not feel tired of it? Are they foreign to India? Do we not see vast differences even amongst the orthodox systems themselves? Can any student of Indian Philosophy neglect their study? It is the duty of every student of Philosophy to study each of these systems from the right angle of vision and do full justice to them. No system of thought can be properly studied without reference to all of them. So I leave it to you to find out if there is any sense in this split.

This is all, friends, that I had to say; and I hope we shall be able to do something to fur-

ther the cause of Indian Philosophy on right lines. I shall regard myself amply rewarded if you can secure a safe place for it in our Institutions and also do something to collect and preserve manuscripts. Before I conclude I must once more thank you for your kindness and patient hearing.

(Concluded)

LIN YUTANG'S "MY COUNTRY AND MY PEOPLE"

An Appreciation

By ABANY C. BANERJEE

LIN YUTANG—the name echoes long in the Indian heart. For it is the name of a contemporary Easterner whose published words, powerful and graceful, have done much to rouse the East to a new knowledge and a new courage about itself in a context of world-awareness. Like our own Rabindranath Tagore, he has added to the international stature of our Eastern dignity and given international meaning to our Eastern cry for freedom. The presence of this Chinese writer recently in our midst and his passionately spoken utterance to us about ourselves have happily reinforced the already abundant inspiration derived from his writings. His latest book, *Between Laughter and Tears*, also has for its theme our distressful selves. But it has been rendered forbidden fruit for the reading public of India ! So, let us turn—for what the psychologist may call 'compensation'—to one of Lin Yutang's many entralling publications about his native land, India's cultural and geographical neighbour, China. The book I have in mind bears the title *My Country and My People*. It is a work of singular charm and compelling power. Here is one of the essential books of our time, a book born of rare knowledge and understanding. Lin Yutang is a master mind, in whom we see the fine flowering of the blended cultures of East and West. This wise man of the modern East writes to educate the world about China or rather about the many Chinas astir upon the screen of time; the classic China of a far-flung storied past, the stricken China of a chaotic yesterday, the risen China of an epic present and the dream China of a beckoning to-morrow.

He writes with expansive and synthetic scholarship about the cycles of Chinese history down-a-down milleniums :

"Each cycle," he maintains, "each cycle (of eight hundred years or so) "begins with a short-lived and

militarily strong dynasty, which unified China after centuries of internal strife. Then follow four or five hundred years of peace, with one change of dynasty, succeeded by successive waves of wars, resulting soon in the removal of the capital from the North to the South. Then came secession and rivalry between North and South with increasing intensity, followed by subjugation under a foreign rule, which ended the cycle. History then repeats itself and with the unification of China again under Chinese rule there is a new bloom of culture."

And what were the stabilizing forces that conserved the country's integrity throughout the ages ? Her family system "which was so well-defined and organized as to make it impossible for a man to forget where his lineage belonged"; her rural ideal in life and art which perennially reinforced and rehabilitated her spirit; her preference for the simpler joys of life, lest the gods should be jealous. "Choose the lighter happiness," admonished a thinker at the end of the Ming Dynasties.

According to Lin Yutang, the traits peculiar to the Chinese character have been (1) sanity, (2) simplicity, (3) love of nature, (4) patience, (5) indifference, (6) old roguery (by which he means an attitude of gentle amusement at the crude and callow manifestations of life), (7) fecundity, (8) industry, (9) frugality, (10) love of family, (11) pacifism, (12) contentment, (13) humour, (14) conservation and (15) sensuality. He appraises with acumen each of these qualities, without recourse to Western yard-sticks of value, but equally without any shy evasions or soft concealments. He is an authentic realist, incisive and unflinching. Unlike such Western Sinologists as the author of *Letters from John Chinaman* or the author of *The Flight of the Dragon*, he does not blink the sad and seamy side of his country's civilization; he is swift to flay that side. The subjection of women to the tyranny of neglect, the snobbery, nepotism and acquisitiveness of mandarins, the jejune pomposity of

classical scholars, the all too common distortion of pacifism into poltroonery, of patience into servility, of conservatism into greasy complacency, are impartially swept into his condemnation. Lin Yutang sums up the virtues and vices of his ancient race in the single word "mellowness."

This "mellowness," caused and conditioned the developments of Chinese custom, thought and culture for many long centuries. What is the meaning of life? Christianity has asked the question and waited hauntedly for an answer to be wafted from the Beyond. Nietzschean philosophy screamed vehemently that life was empty of purpose; but it lacked faith in its own disbelief. Chinese humanism, however, found the true end in the simple enjoyment of the good things of the earth and in refined human relationships. Thus considerate respect for old age became one of the grace notes of Chinese life; and elegance of manners, so amply prevailing, reflected the generosity of the Chinese soul. Gastronomy came to be commonly regarded as an aesthetic adventure in which food was eaten for its "texture," "the elastic and crisp effect it had on the teeth," as well as for its "colour, fragrance, flavour" and blending of flavours. Tea drinking became an art and a cult. As for wine, listen to this song called "Drinking alone under the Moon" by a lonely poet :

"A pot of wine amidst the flowers,
Alone I drink sans company.
The moon I invite as drinking friend,
And with my shadow we are three.
The moon, I see, she does not drink,
My shadow only follows me:
I'll keep them company a while,
For spring's the time for gayety.

"I sing : the moon she swings her head;
I dance : my shadow swells and sways.
We sport together while awake,
While drunk, we all go our own ways.
An eternal, speechless trio then,
Till in the clouds we meet again!"

Why, there was a technique evolved in China even for the transition of consciousness sweetly from waking to sleeping, so that one might arrive "without any effort at the fairy palace" of dreams.

This "mellowness," too, gave China her true religion, which was neither the rectitudinous credo of Confucius nor Buddha's abnegational doctrine of Nirvana, but the luxuriant Pantheism of Laotse, in which human life became contextured with the life of surrounding Nature. Was there a house to be built, or a temple or a pagoda or a little open pavilion on the edge of a pond?

"Its lines should soothe but not obtrude. Its roofs should nestle quietly beneath the kind shade of trees and soft boughs should gently brush its brow. The Chinese roof does not shout out loud and does not point its fingers at heaven. It only shows peace and bows in modesty before the firmament. . . . The best architecture is that in which we are not made to feel where nature ends and where art begins."

Had a home to be decorated or a garden to be planted? Shen Fu told them how to "show the large in the small and the small in the large, provide for the real in the unreal and for the unreal in the real" by a process of suggestion, evocation, surprise and rhythmical irregularity in agreement with nature. Were man and woman held in a long embrace? They were but the human counterpart of saplings in love bending boughs and whispering secrets of a wistful happiness whose moments were fleeting for ever away. And to Chinese ears the laughter of the child melted orchestrally into the trilling of the bird, the chirping of the cicada and the wind among the trees. Thus man and Nature in China united to make a common pattern of earthly life.

From this union was derived, as Lin Yutang makes vivid to our appreciation, the arts of China, which have been among the wonders of the world. The sorcery and dynamism of line in Chinese calligraphy drew its inspiration from what he calls the "rhythmic vitality" of Nature. The enchanted world of Chinese painting, as we enter it with this enlightening Chinaman, thrills us to reverent awe and ecstasy. It is a world of fresh transforming movements that reveal a new earth and a new firmament of unsuspected light, warmth and tenderness, of indefinable associations and elusive emotions, a world in which vision and design and translucency are animated by a creational energy throbbing in unison and intimacy with the moods, accents and rhythms of Nature. With what magic strokes those masters of old brought into being beauty, as if the brush had been driven by a whirlwind or been fluttered by a reed or been wimpled by a dancing brook or been stirred by the trembling of a leaf or been fanned by the echo of its rustle! One holds one's breath enraptured! . . . About Chinese poetry, too, the author utters winged, illuminating words that awaken us to a sense of its vibrant, pictorial grace and exquisitely. Yes, pictorial; for this poetry was, indeed, painting through the medium of words. The treatment of its themes and the spirit it evoked were those of the picture. It was not uncommon, therefore, for a poet to be also a painter or for a painter to be also a poet. Witness the picture-

technique and the nature-intoxicated mood in the following lines of Ch'en Ngo about the lotus flower :

"Lightly dips her green bonnet
When a Zephyr past her has blown;
Red and naked she shows herself,
When she is sure of being alone."

Lin Yutang sensitively sums up by observing that Chinese poetry "gives a picture, expresses a sentiment and leaves the rest to the reader's imagination." What a civilization, what a people!—one exclaims, as one tears breathlessly through the first nine chapters of the book.

The opening pages of the tenth and last chapter, however, tell a woefully different tale. The shock of impact with the Western world threw China into convulsions. Gone were her age-old "mellowness," her balanced life, her quiet dignity, vigour and self-confidence. She had lost her bearings, lost her anchorage. She was adrift helplessly upon dark and dangerous waters and she was buffeted by cruel rushing winds. In an early edition of the book, the writer has described in poignant detail those "years of bewildering aggression, of hesitancy and importunity and begging for mercy, of evasion and futile pleas for intercession and useless crying over broken pledges." Whither, China, whither? Oh, for a leader of inspiring, full-grown modern stature, a saviour who will unite the race, make it arise and wrest back its lost integrity and its more than half-lost freedom!—Lin Yutang cries out in wondering pain.

Suddenly on July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggression burst upon the country. Purblind, wanton, swaggering, diabolical aggression! City after city was captured; homes were desecrated and destroyed; property was stolen or looted; women were raped and babies bayoneted under the very eyes of those who loved them most dearly.

"Since God's creation of man," Lin Yutang protests, "no race or nation has subjected the population of a fellow-nation to greater atrocities, with greater consistency, ruthlessness, arrogance, cruelty, indecency and

self-demoralization on such a scale as the Japanese have done in China."

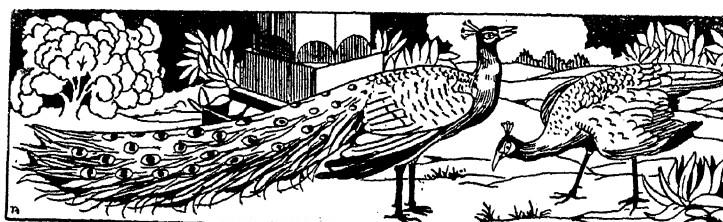
An army of ghosts arose in mute appeal, the serried ghosts of the ravished women and murdered babes, pleading to the nation, the whole nation, for avenging retribution. And a miracle happened! Lin Yutang's *crie-du-coeur* was answered. In the darkest hour of her history, China found her Man of Destiny—Chiang Kai-shek. Under his masterly leadership, astute, far-sighted and determined, all the forces and resources of the country were mobilized, coalesced and hurled into resistance of Japan. What a resistance it has been! The watching world marvels today at the strength, suppleness, endurance, resilience and unperturbed courage of this re-awakened giant. The fight goes on. The struggle spells doom to Japan. "It is inevitable," says Lin Yutang, "that Japan will lose in this war." He particularizes the grounds for his assurance; they are clear and cogent. Not the least of them is the sterling contribution in "blood, tears, toil, sweat" and brains made by the Communist element in China to the grand common cause. And,

"When the hurly-burly's done
When the battle's lost and won"

—what then? Lin Yutang envisages a radiant prospect in which, under the combined auspices of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek on the one hand and of such leaders as Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung on the other, China will have reached forward to a new dispensation, a fair and gracious equalitarian way of living. Communism in Future China promises to be, not a sickly exotic, potted in a system of imprisoning theories, but a free, happy, healthy, abundant growth, native to the land, racy of her soil.

As one puts down this book, one murmurs again: "What a country and what a people!"

Such portions of the above article as have been taken from the writer's broadcast talk on Lin Yutang's *My Country and My People* are published here by the courtesy of A. I. R., Calcutta.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR.

The Modern Review.

ENGLISH

FESTSCHRIFT PROFESSOR P. V. KANE : A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Professor P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Edited by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode. Pp. xvi+551. Oriental Book Agency, Poona. 1941.

This work consists of over seventy papers from the pen of scholars, both Indian and foreign, presented to the renowned Sanskritist on his sixtieth birthday on May 7, 1941. It opens, appropriately enough, with a presentation letter to Professor Kane, followed by his biography and a select list of his publications, English and Marathi. Of the different branches of Indology represented in this scholarly volume, literature, naturally enough, claims the largest space. In the domain of Vedic literature we may specially mention *Rigveda Citations in the Mahabharata* by V. M. Apte (containing a list of parallel texts with valuable notes), *Visnu in the Veda* by R. N. Dandekar (an exhaustive study of the Vedic references to this deity), the *Development of the Figure of Speech in the Rigveda Hymnology* by D. R. Bhandarkar (noticing *Atisayokti*, *Upama* and other figures), *Abhimsthana* or *Abhinisthana* by Surya Kanta (discussion of a reading in *Gṛhyasutras*) and the *Story of Saptavadhi and Vadhrimati* by H. D. Velankar (critical study of Rigveda v. 78). Classical Sanskrit literature is adequately represented by *Epic Studies*, VIII, by V. S. Sukthankar (discussion of relation between the Rama episode of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana), *Notes on some Mahabharata Commentaries* by V. Raghavan (noticing a number of less known commentators like Varada and Yajna-narayana), *the Prose Kavyas of Dandin, Subandhu and Bana* by S. K. De, (critical studies of these works with prefatory discussion of origin and early history of Kavyas) and the *Problem of the Bala-carita* by A. D. Pusalkar. Valuable contributions to the study of Smṛti literature are presented by *Additional Verses of Katyayana on Vyavahara* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (containing a list of 121 verses found in Varadaraja South Indian Digest and supplementing Professor Kane's *Katyayana Smṛti-saṃśodhāra*), *the Position of Smṛtis as a source of Dharma* by A. S. Altekar (on the origin and nature of Smṛti authority), *Some Thoughts on the Interpretation of the Smṛti Texts* by K. B. Gajendragadkar, *the Text of Sulapani's Dolayatra-viveka* by Suresh Chandra Banerji, and *Tirtha-yatra in the Aranyakaparvan and the Padmapurana* by M. V. Vaidya. Of great interest for literary history and biography are *Some Poets of the Dindima Family* by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar (genealogy and chronology of a distinguished family of South Indian Pandits), *Bharuci and Avantivarman* by S. K. Dikshit

(on Bana's preceptor and his Maukhari admirer), *Kalanika-prakasa of Somanatha Vyasa* by N. V. Athaley (analysis of an 18th-century unpublished encyclopedic work and its commentary), *Varadaraja and his Works* by P. K. Gode (chronological and biographical notice of the grammarian), *Subandhu's Home* by R. G. Harshe (suggesting that Subandhu was an inhabitant of Central India and not of Bengal). In the branch of general history, we may refer particularly to *an unknown but daring project of King Sambhaji* by G. S. Sardessai (based on two unpublished Sanskrit letters in the Jaipur archives), *the Exact Date of the Arrival of the Parsis in India* by I. J. S. Taraporewala (supporting Hodivala's date of 936 A.D. and his identification of the Indian protector of the immigrants with the Silhara Prince Vijjadadeva), *Is the Ajnapatra of Ranachandrapant Spurious?* by T. S. Shejwalkar (criticising the view of Sir Jadunath Sarkar about its genuineness), *the Andhras in Ancient India* by B. C. Law and the *Mahratta Occupation of Gingee* by C. S. Shrinivasachari. Archaeology is represented by *Tritasaurya* by V. V. Mirashi (correcting an error in Kielhorn's reading and translation of a Kalauri inscription), *Mukuta, Mauli and Kirita* by N. V. Mallia (discussing the precise meaning of these types of head-dress), *Varieties of Visnu Image* by G. H. Khare (suggesting that the 24 varieties of Visnu image came into existence not before the end of the 9th century). In the division of Philology, we have to mention *Notes on a Vartika* (?), etc. by S. P. Chaturvedi, *Authorship of the Unadi-sutras* by K. Mahadeva Krishna Sharma (suggesting that the author was most probably a Vararuci flourishing some time after Patanjali), *Sanskrit ardhām as a Preposition in the Language of the Brahmanas* by Siddheswar Varma, *Prakrit uccidima and uccudai* by S. M. Katre. Under the head Philosophy, we have a number of interesting papers like *Logical System of Madhvacarya* by S. Srikantha Sastri. Among other branches we may notice under the head Rhetoric *Artha-guna Slesa* by C. R. Devadhar, under the head Astrology, *Test of the Vedic Eclipse-Cycle* by R. Shama Sastri, and *Some Observations on Kautilya's measures of Time* by G. D. Tamaskar. The important branch of Vernacular literature is represented by a few papers such as *the Existence of 'Prose Works' in the Oldest Tamil* by C. R. Sankaran, *New Light on the Sangam Age* by K. G. Sankar, and *Devotional Lyrics in Kannada Literature* by K. G. Kundangar. Under the head Religious History, we may particularly mention the *Digambara and Svetambara Sects of Jainism* by Kanta Prasad Jain (contradicting certain views of C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*), *Vaishnavism of Assam and Southern India* by B. Kakati (pointing out some interesting parallels), and *Basis and Ideal in Buddhism* by Mrs.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids. Avestan is represented by a solitary paper *Hahoki Nask* by E. M. F. Kanga.

While so many papers reach a high degree of merit, there are one or two exceptions, e.g., *Materials for the History of Gujarat of the Pre-Valabhi Period*. We have noticed a few slips, e.g., *Renaissance of Sanskrit Literature* stated as the title of a book by Max Muller (p. 70), not to speak of a number of errors in the paper last-named.

U. N. GHOSHAL

HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM : By Bakar Ali Mirza, B.A. (Oxon.). Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 92. Price Rs. 2-8.

The Hindu-Muslim problem, one of the most prominent questions of the day, was the subject of Patna University Extension lectures in 1938 when Mr. Mirza, author of the book under review, delivered two lectures, examining and diagnosing the problem from the nationalist's and communalist's viewpoint. The third chapter has been added, suggesting possible solutions by which India can get out of the tangle.

The author has shown much ingenuity in presenting the problem, and his shrewd observations, though not always correct, are interesting reading. He describes the Muslim's as a shepherd's creed, and the Hindu's, as an agriculturist's. But the Muslim is no longer a nomad, and Indian agriculture is closely associated with the question of livestock. It is high time that distinctions without difference were placed in their proper perspective. There are distinctions, and there will be, but none of them need or should present an effective obstacle to national solidarity or "Indianism."

Let us examine the solutions suggested : (A) re-orientation of our views so that we may have freedom for our goal, not non-violence as a creed. But the Congress standpoint has always been that; only the freedom for which the Congress stands has been sought to be defined with regard to what is the best way to attain it; and, by the way, the Congress has tried to present the Indian opinion, to be representative of India's millions. Having no axe of its own to grind, it has tried faithfully and, of course, according to its own lights, not ignoring the objective conditions but after a careful study of them, to speak on behalf of India. Another point in this connection requires a little clearing up; *satyagraha* is not a mere general strike, as the writer seems to think; there is a world of difference between the two (pp. 74-75). (B) Efficiency should be the sole criterion in making appointments and conferring promotions in the public services. The writer's statement bears reproduction in *extenso*. "Hindus being more educated, it is possible for them to dominate most departments on the basis of efficiency. Muslims, as Indians, must be prepared to take that risk. If they don't, then for Muslims there is the risk of deterioration under protection; and for Indians in general, there is the danger of neglecting the real problem; for it must be definitely realised, that if proportional representation in the services becomes the objective, then the desire to secure a larger proportion of employment for the community will act as a blind to the real problem, that is, of unemployment of the middle classes. [But is that the real problem? Not the unemployment of all classes?—Reviewer.] India is far too backward compared to other countries of the world, and therefore when there is a choice between adequate representation of communities on the one hand and efficiency on the other, then every true Indian must in the interest of his country choose efficiency. If he does not, then his communal gain also remains of doubtful value." These words should be brought prominently

before the public again and again so that sectional squabbles might cease. (C) Justice, abolition of private interest and usury, and releasing the masses from the clutches of the *mahajan*. Here the Congress does not advocate the drastic use of force, but a patient educational process which would root out the evil. (D) Directing the people's minds to subjects of common interest, e.g., condition of Indians outside India. (E) Adoption of the Roman script. The nationalist or Congress solution has not been in each learning the other's script but in adopting words in common use, so that the speech in Hindi or Hindusthani may be understood by all. The Roman script may do well in China, Malay and Turkey, but the Devanagari script has been pronounced by competent judges to be scientific, and the unwillingness to adopt it, seems to be another (maybe, only a passing) phase of communalism—which would prefer an imported commodity even when the home product is quite satisfactory.

The writer has treated the whole question in a fresh manner. He writes in a humorous, critical, graphic way, and he is optimistic in his outlook. He asks : "Why is there this insistence on Hindu-Muslim unity as essential for the attainment of Swaraj when it will automatically disappear with the attainment of freedom? Why follow this shadow and eternally attempt compromises?" Mahatma Gandhi had taken up this attitude as is now well-known through his public utterances during 1941-42.

P. R. SEN

CURRENTS OF THOUGHT IN THE EUROPEAN LITERATURE : By Principal Brojo Sundar Roy, M.A., B.L. of Lady Keane Girls' College, Shillong. Published by A. Roy & Co., 2A, Radha Proshad Lane, Calcutta. Pp. xvii+ii+vi+ii+164+xi. Price Indian Rs. 1-12, Foreign 4s or \$1.

The pagination of the book is rather cumbersome. And we are not sure if there is such a thing as *The European Literature*. Europe has produced so many literatures that the use of the definite article here must at least be considered misleading, if not a mistake.

The book consists of some twenty essays and are, according to the author himself, "mainly intended for the students of the B. A. Honours and M.A. classes in English." They are expected to supply the historical background necessary for a proper appreciation of English literature. But the author has another purpose. "European writers," he says in his Preface, "have a certain superiority-complex and we being a conquered race an inferiority-complex. These two factors have been working on our intellectual outlook during the last hundred years and are seriously interfering with the development of the Hindu intellect." The author intends "to undo this hypnotism" by pointing out the "limitations of the European ideals." Many will welcome it as a perfectly laudable endeavour. It is undoubtedly patriotic. But some may ask if it is literature.

In the *Introduction*, the author gives a summary of the main currents in European literature. These are Hellenisation, Romanisation, Christianisation, Orientalisation, Moralisation, Renaissance, Secularisation, Reformation, Rationalisation and Democratisation. He also speaks of Europeanisation of human life. "It means the mechanisation of industries and the administration of affairs on democratical principles."

This Europeanisation includes democratisation and uses science "more for destructive work and for the enslavement of the weaker races by the stronger." Hence the Europeanisation amounts to a sort of ani-

malization instead of divinisation of man." But "our old civilisation was developed for the purpose of divinisation of human nature."

In this enumeration of the currents of the European literature, Fascism or Nazism and Bolshevism find no place. We wonder why. They also are powerful tendencies and have already produced literature of a type.

In trying to combat the inferiority complex of his students, the author has interspersed his essays with frequent references to and quotations from Sanskrit literature. But it is not Sanskrit literature proper but the Sanskrit scriptures upon which he so often draws. In his *Appendix on Soliloquy*, we expected some reference to Sanskrit drama.

Some of the author's statements may appear to many as over-patriotic and therefore less critical than they should be. "In the European system of thought there has been an eternal divergence between reasoning and religion." "In India, on the contrary, since the earliest time, as we see in the Rigveda, reasoning has been the basis of belief and thinking" (p. 123).⁷ The Purans are nothing but the illustrations of the deeper truths of the Vedanta" (p. 124). "In India there have been many philosophies, but all devoted to the interpretation of the Vaidiki truths" (p. 126). "Even in most modern times philosophy has not dared in Europe to regulate religion" (p. 128). These and similar statements betray what might almost be called a partisan spirit. It should be the first endeavour of a historian and a critic to rise above it.

But the author has read extensively and the information that he has stocked in his book will be of use to our college students. Even those readers who have passed out of college will perhaps be provoked to think again their conclusions on literature, religion and philosophy.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

WITH NO REGRETS: By Krishna Hatheesing. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. 1944. Pp. 193+xxviii. Price Rs. 6-8.

Krishna Hatheesing, Jawaharlal's youngest sister, records in this narrative of personal reminiscences the pilgrimage of an ardent soul to the sacred precincts of life lived as an inner adventure with all its idealism and courage, its doubts and questionings, its joys and sorrows. She tells us the story of this adventure with the freedom and freshness of a mountain torrent, with the simplicity and grandeur of truth itself, and in words unmatched for their expressive quality. The story is naturally woven into the fabric of the domestic history of the Nehru family and the popular legends that have grown around the *Anand Bhawan* during the last quarter of a century. But the emphasis is more on the human aspect of the drama than on the political. The authoress gently lifts the veil of awe and mystery surrounding the historic *Anand Bhawan* with its world-renowned inmates, and leads us on to its courtyards and gardens, to its corridors and dining rooms at all possible hours of the day and night where the destinies of this family and this country are being shaped. Through the enchanting pages of this book, we live again, with the authoress, great moments which are well worth an eternity—moments of unconquerable faith and poignant despair, of suppressed tears and supreme courage, of unbounded love and graceful dedication. There are wonderful pen-pictures of the patriarchal Motilal, the passionate and intrepid Jawahar, the delicate and brave mother, the fragile and heroic Kamala with all their charms and frailties, and that unforgettable self-effacing aunt dedicated to the service of the Nehru household.

Across the landscape of this family history fall the bright lights and the half-lights, the dimmer and the deeper shadows inseparable from human destiny. Krishna Hatheesing confides in us some of her secrets as well—her romantic escapades, her unconventional courtship sublimating in marriage, and her reactions to new modes of living in new cities and unfamiliar environments. And above all, her portrayal of convict "Bachuli" whom she met as a fellow prisoner in the Lucknow Central Jail will remain unsurpassed in tenderness and sublimity of expression.

The personal and the national mingle wonderfully in the rhythmic current of living lines all throughout Krishna Hatheesing's reminiscent reflection, and indeed, "with no regrets" she weaves a unique pattern of autobiographical art. Her work belongs as much to the history of contemporary India as to the visions of a new India and a new humanity yet to emerge from the ashes of a soulless and spent-up civilization.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SYSTEM OF FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA: By P. J. J. Pinto. Published by New Book Company, 188-90, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 435. Price Rs. 15.

With the introduction of Provincial Autonomy in 1937, Mr. Wattal and Dr. Gyan Chand's admirable books on the subject became out of date and the need for a new book was keenly felt. Prof. Pinto's book now removes that longfelt want. The present volume is divided into three parts. The first part is theoretical, comparative and constitutional, and deals with the general principles of Financial Administration, the Budget procedure, the Indian Constitutional background and the financial organisation in India. Constitutional provisions affecting personnel and organisation have been discussed here. The second part deals with the Central and Provincial Budgets. It gives a descriptive and critical study of the preparation, submission, voting and execution of the Budget in detail. This part is "intended to provide a continuous account of the different processes of the budget system in India." The third part deals with the relations between the Centre, the Provinces and the Indian States, the Government and the Reserve Bank, and gives a graphic critical account of the Public Debt of India, Railway Board, the Railway Budget, the Defence Services, Post and Telegraphs, etc., have also been discussed.

The outstanding feature of the book is that both the theoretical and practical aspects of financial administration have been treated in it. This work is based on the assumption that the financial system of a democratic State is being dealt with. "Hence the criticisms and suggestions made take into account, first, the existing constitutional limitations and secondly, the changes that may be required when full self-government is achieved." It has also been assumed that the future Government of India will be federal.

The broad outlook with which Prof. Pinto has approached the subject is noteworthy. In the course of his examination of this vast and intricate subject, he has not hesitated to point out the drawbacks and in many cases has offered valuable suggestions. He has drawn attention to the chief defect of the Indian financial administration, namely, the combined system of audit and accounts. But he has gone to the root of the evil when he suggests that "the public must be educated in matters pertaining to financial administration by due publicity of the various stages. . . . The importance of public opinion in matters pertaining to economy can never be exaggerated. It is perhaps the best of controls,

for under the urge of public criticism both members of the legislature and the executive will be constrained to be more careful about their financial programmes." Prof. Vakil has rightly said in his Preface that a proper understanding of the system by which control over the public purse is exercised will assume great importance in connection with the reconstruction problems which countries will have to face after the War. This need is the greatest in India where exploitation has been easy, and is likely in future to be easier, for lack of the citizen's, particularly the legislator, the politician and the journalist's lack of knowledge in public finance. Prof. Pinto's book has proved that Indian public finance is not a dreadful subject even for a man of average intelligence.

HINDUSTAN YEAR BOOK, 1944: Edited by S. C. Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar & Sons Ltd., 14, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 480. Price Rs. 2-8 (paper), Rs. 2-12 (bound).

This is the twelfth annual issue of the Hindustan Year Book which has built up its own reputation all over India. In spite of great difficulties mainly due to the scarcity of paper, new chapters on Post-war Reconstruction in India and the World, Inflation in India, India's War Burden, New Schemes and Committees, Currency and Finance, etc., have been added. Valuable information have been collected in the newly added section on the Famine. The War Section of the book has been made exhaustive and up-to-date. All other sections of the book have been fully revised and brought up-to-date mainly relying on data supplied by the Government. This nicely edited handy Year Book has been a valuable storehouse of information for everybody. It has earned great popularity and is still going strong.

D. BURMAN

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

GITASARASAMGRAHA: Editor Swami Premesānanda. Assam Bengal Library, Dacca. Double Crown, 16mo. Pp. 1-120. Price annas eight.

This contains a selection of one hundred verses from the *Bhagavadgita* arranged into ten chapters of ten verses each. The text is followed by Bengali translation of and elaborate notes, exegetical as well as grammatical, also in Bengali, on every verse. These will be of immense use to the general reader. This is a good small book which may be read with profit by any one who has not the time or energy to go through the much bigger original. Moreover, the present booklet will serve as a good introduction to the vast literature of the Gita. An English or even a Hindi version, which would reach a wider public, would be welcome.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

YOGA DIKSHA: Initiation into Yoga. Sri Aurobindo's letters on the subject of Yoga. Compiled by Sri Anilbaran Ray. The Culture Publishers, 254, Bakulbagan Row, Calcutta. 1942. Pp. 79. Price Re. 1 only.

Sri Anilbaran Ray, a political prisoner in 1924, wrote a letter to Sri Nalini Kanta Gupta in which he asked some questions on Sri Aurobindo's yoga and sought for his guidance. Correspondence followed, and the difference between the Karmayoga of the Gita and the *Sadhana* of Sri Aurobindo was explained. A life of action, specially a political life in which there would be ample give-and-take with all sorts of people, would be

likely to disturb the mind and could not therefore be recommended to those who would follow the way of yoga. So Anil Babu gave up politics and devoted himself to yoga. The book will be a useful and interesting preliminary to the study of the subject, and it may be followed by Nalini Kanta Gupta's *The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo* published in 1939.

P. R. SEN

HINDI

MATRITVA-KI-OR: By Raghunath Prasad Pathak. Sharada Mandir Ld., Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 146. Price Re. 1-4.

In twelve short chapters, under the "camouflage" of stories, the author has dealt with the problem of preparation for motherhood with its corollary of care of children. The style is simple, while the subject has been handled with a delicate sense of idealism. As such, the book will appeal to those for whom it is intended and add to their understanding of the miracle of birth and the magic and mission of the upbringing of the child. Thus will the young woman become a good mother who, as they say, "is worth a hundred schoolmasters."

G. M.

ORIYA

KACHATATAPĀ: By Dr. K. C. Pal, L.M.P. With a Foreword by Major B. P. Pande, Dewan, Mayurbhanj State. Double Crown. Pp. 33. Price annas six only.

Medieval Oriya literature abounds in rhetorical composition. The poets of this period had a particular love for a peculiar type of alliteration which consisted of several lines with several words having the same letter as their initial. Such melodious style had not hitherto been adopted by modern Oriya writers. In the booklet under review the author has attempted to write in this old style about opium, tea, ganja, tobacco and betel. The essays have been humourous as well as informative. The printing and get-up are very nice.

B. MISRA

TELUGU

SRI SIVABHARATAM: By Vidwan G. Venkatasessa Sastry. Printed at Sri Janaki Press, Poddutur. Pp. 488. Price Rs. 3-8.

The book under review is a scholarly representation of the life of Shivaji, the well-known historical personage, in verse. As a biography it serves its purpose.

MATTER AND ENERGY, Vol. II: By V. Venkatarao, M.Sc., Maharaja's College, Vizianagram. Published by the Author. Pp. 89. Price annas eight only.

In this volume the writer has given in outline the principles of Modern Physics in relation with the later developments of science. The glossary at the end is very helpful. Students of science would welcome this edition.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

NAVAN VIVECHANO: By Navat Ram J. Trivedi, M.A. Printed at the Surya Prakash Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1943. Cloth Bound. Pp. 256. Price Rs. 2-4.

Mr. Trivedi has already established his position as a fair and competent reviewer and writer. In the present book he has reviewed several important and growing elements of Gujarati literature with ability and circumspection. His views on Novel, Literature and Humour are weighty and the other reviews maintain his reputation at the same high level found in his previous work.

K. M. J.

IN A QUANDARY

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

BELLOW the apparent calm in the economic, and also political, situation in Bengal there runs an undercurrent that do not inspire great hopes regarding the future of this unfortunate province. The muzzled cry of distress reaches the ears of all who care to probe a little deeper than what is visible on the surface. The actual state of affairs is, "we cannot afford to go in Bengal as we have been going" in the middle of March 1944.

The problem is, how can the Government be roused to the gravity of the situation and be made responsible for their many acts of omission and commission, if not for the past but for the present and the future. The principle of holding officers responsible for negligence of duty will import seriousness into the business in every step. The person immediately concerned in meeting a local situation will bring pressure on the next higher officer, till it reaches the top, for supply of food and other necessities. It will be able to keep the whole machinery alert and efficient in its working. A sense of levity is noticeable, where sobriety, brought about by a sense of being found guilty of gross negligence and adequately punished, should prevail. A simple expression of regret is never sufficient where thousands of lives and welfare of millions of others are involved.

The case of Munshiganj, in the Dacca district, is typical of hundreds of other cases and may be taken into consideration. As early as September 16, 1943, the *United Press* reported death of about 50 persons in the sub-division. On September 19, the same news agency reported :

"In rural areas the number of deaths from starvation has increased considerable. As no wood fuel is available, the dead bodies cannot be cremated and are thrown into the water."

On September 21, according to the local correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard*, figures "for death in rural areas would, up-to-date, exceed 1,000." On September 30, the *United Press* reported three deaths on the 26th and two more on the 27th morning. On October 1, 'a serious scarcity of rice' in the locality was declared. On October 23 (published in Calcutta on October 25) a correspondent wrote :

"In spite of the relief measures, the death-rate is appalling and it is reported that out of 7 lakhs of population in the sub-division the total number of deaths either directly from starvation or from after-effects of starvation has already exceeded 5,000."

An appeal, in the form of an advertisement, by the Munshiganj (Dacca) Central Relief Committee, measuring $4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$, appeared in the Calcutta newspapers on October 24, with heading in very bold types stating :

"The inhabitants of Munshiganj Sub-division are amongst the worst sufferers. They are now extremely in distress for want of food and clothing. Starvation is taking toll of men, women and children by thousands. The situation is being aggravated very quickly by the outbreak of epidemic as these famished people have lost all power of resistance. The unfortunate people have sold all their belongings, their homestead, but have not been able to solve their acute distress."

This appeal was signed by the Patron, President and Secretary, respectively, of the Committee. The diary of events for November, based on the reports of the *United Press* runs thus :

Nov. 1 : "Cholera, malaria, dysentery and small-pox have broken out throughout the sub-division. Owing to inadequate supply of medicine, it is difficult to cope with the situation. During the last four days, 25th to 28th Oct., there had been nine cases of deaths in the town area alone due to starvation".

Nov. 4 : "There were four deaths, on Nov. 2, among destitutes in the Munshiganj town.

A dying man was seen in front of the local Muktear's Library being devoured by jackals and dogs. The man died shortly after.

Arrangements have been made to bury the dead bodies, irrespective of caste or creed. Reports from the interior rural areas indicate that the people there are dying in large numbers without any care and treatment" —(Italics mine).

Nov. 13 : During Nov. 8 and 9, there were eight deaths among the destitutes in Munshiganj town. . . . In the rural areas in the sub-division it is reported that a large number of people are dying daily due to continued starvation, malnutrition and malaria and the death-rate has increased in November. According to unofficial reports, about 15,000 people have died in Munshiganj sub-division so far due to starvation and allied causes." —(Italics mine).

Nov. 28 : The Sub-Divisional Officer told the *United Press* representative that his estimate of starvation deaths in the sub-division, so far, would be fifteen thousand. Deaths due to starvation, malaria and other diseases might be over forty thousand. . . . He further observed that the people had been so much devitalised that most of the cases removed to hospital were proving fatal." —(Italics mine).

After all this press notices, on December 2, 1943, the Hon'ble Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Civil Supplies Minister, Bengal, during a tour of Munshiganj, "was shocked to see the distress of the people of Munshiganj sub-division, but he regretted report of the acute condition did not reach Government in time. He did not know that the real situation was so serious." —(Italics mine).

Where is that Commission who will find out the guilty person in the whole affair. We know that Mr. T. E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Cuttack Division, was degraded for mis-handling the famine situation in 1866. Several other high officials were punished departmentally. In Bengal the same Minister is in charge of the self-same department and going on merrily repeating the same old slogans in the same light-hearted manner with a new weapon in his hand,—a weapon that would not feed and clothe people more efficiently but would gag the leaders and the press from ventilating genuine public grievances! In my view, if the departmental rules regarding negligence in duty in spheres high and low be tightened up, the results would be both salutary and immediate in effect.

It is deplorable that the Government of Bengal and the Central Government should fail to find out among themselves as to their responsibility in supplying bad food to the consumers of Bengal.

The controversy has become a scandal of the first magnitude. On October 28, 1943, Mr. Suhrawardy said at Dacca that he had "to import that bad rice from other provinces and I had nothing to choose." On January 25, 1944, he asked the press representatives "to realise that they were getting their stuff from the Government of India." On March 1, Mr. Suhrawardy said in the Bengal Council that

"The bad rice which had been received from other Governments did not do credit either to their provinces or to the honesty of those gentlemen who had been entrusted with the task of procuring and sending rice to the Bengal Government."

Why are not those dishonest gentlemen referred to above are forthwith prosecuted?

Asked by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Legislative Assembly as 'to what did they think about the charge' preferred by Mr. Suhrawardy against them, the Food Member said, on February 7, that they 'did not know what to think of the charge'; and added :

"The fact of the matter is, that this was not brought to our notice when rice actually reached Bengal. It has been lying there for some time and it is difficult to determine where it came from at this stage."

On March 1, Sir Azizul Huque said that regarding action taken by the Government of India in this matter :

"The foodstuffs at the point of despatch was the responsibility of the Bengal Government itself. As complaints were not made to the Government of India, at the time supply was received, it was not possible now to trace the source of supply."

On March 24, the Government of Orissa in a Press Note contradicted "the allegation made on the floor of the Bengal Assembly regarding supply of bad rice to Bengal from Orissa" and stated :

"It is alleged in particular that rice was mixed with stone dusts.... The Government wish to make it clear that so far as they were aware there is no foundation for such allegation.... Vague and verbal complaint was made by representatives of the Bengal Government... but no specific complaints backed by samples of the alleged bad quality of rice and other details... were made to this Government.... Moreover under the arrangement with the Bengal Government, it is their responsibility to satisfy themselves as to the quality of rice before despatch."

Again, on February 1, in the Bengal Assembly "referring to the stacks of paddy that were lying on the Jessor railway platforms," Mr. Suhrawardy said that they had been trying to move them but they did not succeed because they could not get wagons." If wagons or other means of transport are not available, it is worse than useless to secure grains from the villages to go into waste on station platforms. But there is something more serious than what is known to the public. Sir Edward Bentall said on February 28, in the Central Assembly that

"Movements of foodgrains in Bengal are arranged in accordance with programmes prepared by the Bengal Government and this paddy was not included in these programmes."

It now remains to be seen if the Bengal Minister has got anything further to say on this. It reminds me of an old story of a controversy between the Railway and the Bengal Civil Supplies Minister in the last week of September 1943, when the Railway authorities through advertisement showed that they had done their part in moving grains to Bengal, while the Bengal Minister failed to do their duty subsequent to that. There is a further charge made against the Central Government on March 6, that they failed to send the Bengal Government their promised quota of salt for two successive months from the West Coast of India and the scarcity of salt in Bengal was due to the negligence of the Centre. It is not known if the Central Government will refute this charge in good time.

The Government of Bengal is busy in imparting lessons to the people in their charge, excepting those associated with the Secretariat and their supporters, to live happily and in health without clothing, kerosene, sugar, atta and flour, medicine, fuel and a few other trifles of the like. The Government may not know in their omniscience that there is difficulty in getting regular, or even the most irregular supplies of these articles in the mofussil districts and the people have been suffering immeasurably on this account. And this is possible when the war will be entering the sixth year in the next few months.

The Bengal of today is a proper land for study in contrasts. There has been a famine in 1943 and during the first months of 1944, severe scarcity prevails. The figures in the Budget for 1944-45 is an interesting study in this respect. If there is famine, the Land Revenue of the Province is bound to suffer. But it has increased from Rs. 3·61 crores to Rs. 3·80 crores in 1944-45.

Collective Fines will yield Rs. 1,00,000. The total receipts will be Rs. 21·41 crores against Rs. 15·88 crores in 1942-43. He will be deceived who will think that this increased revenue will give him respite from further taxation during this time of great distress and scarcity. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister, Mr. Tulsi Chandra Goswami, has "come to believe" in the motto : "Heaven helps those that help themselves" and told the House in his budget speech, for 1944-45 :

"During the course of the two years with which the estimates now in the hands of the honourable members are concerned, apart altogether from our larger receipts under Income-Tax, I hope to raise 10 crores more revenue than was raised in the two preceding years..."
—(Italics mine).

and he did not "wish to convey the impression that we have exhausted our own resources or that I shall not be called upon to make further demands on the tax-payer before the end of the year." This gentleman has refused to exempt "poor man's chaddar" from the purview of enhanced Sales Tax on the ground that it is not a necessity with him.

Against this picture of mounting taxation and gradual impoverishment of the middle classes, because the poor are already dead or cannot think of any other resources than living on government doles, a spectacle of horrible waste of public exchequer is visible everywhere. It is time that the ministers, after proper enquiry, should be made responsible for their actions.

It is a pity that the people of Bengal had to pay Rs. 16,66,000 for the 'anti-hoarding drive' carried on in June 1943. The Ministers, who have so efficiently managed the affairs of the State costing 25 lakhs of human lives, will receive in 1944-45, Rs. 3,96,000 against Rs. 2,66,000 in 1942-43 and their Parliamentary Secretaries from Rs. 4,800 in 1942-43 to Rs. 1,14,000 in 1944-45. The Jails will get Rs. 1,10,92,000 against Rs. 53 lakhs, the Police Rs. 3,02 lakhs against Rs. 2,63 lakhs in 1942-43 and Rs. 2,34 lakhs in 1940-41. All political suspects are in jail and about 10,000 known "criminals" have been put out of activity by detention. Everybody expected that there should be a substantial reduction in expenditure on this head. General Administration will claim a paltry sum of Rs. 25 lakhs over Rs. 1,51 lakhs in 1942-43. Under 'Famine,' the Budget Estimate for 1944-45 is Rs. 2,61 lakhs and out of this, 'Salaries and Establishments' will require a modest sum of Rs. 1,11 lakhs and 'Miscellaneous' Rs. 50 lakhs. I have searched the pages (pp. 395-96) of the *Civil Budget Estimate* to find out the details of such expenditure under Account No. 54A (1) and 54A (5) but in vain. Only the 'totals' have been given there and the readers have been allowed to draw their own conclusions from such a study. The 'Extraordinary Charges' in India will require Rs. 8,51 lakhs from the Provincial Revenue. Considering the peculiar condition of Bengal due to shortage of food and allied causes, it is a wonder why the Centre should not come forward to meet these "Extraordinary Charges" absolutely connected with the war. The other item (85A) 'Capital outlay on Provincial Schemes connected with the War, 1939' including such items as Grain Purchase Scheme, Purchase and Distribution of Standard Cloth, etc., will entail a loss, it is estimated, of Rs. 5 crores, and these are "attributable to such factors as shortages, damaged or unsaleable stock, etc.," and the Hon'ble the Finance Member thinks,

"In fact to a great extent Government's loss will be the measure of success of the operations."

Then why don't you make it Rs. 25 crores or more? There has been much adverse comment on such transactions in the past and the above direction will encourage larger 'losses' in the future. The public demand a closer supervision over the whole affair. Somebody should be placed in charge of the Department who will not indirectly encourage waste or loss in such a fashion. The Finance Minister has asked the

tax-payers not "to look askance at a loss of 5 crores." It is worthy of Mr. Goswami alone.

In dealing with other heads of expenditure, it is better to think of the rehabilitation scheme of the Government of Bengal. They have been able to rehabilitate their own position by spending Rs. 95 lakhs on the 'Rationing Scheme,' and under 'Extraordinary Charges' Rs. 1,45 lakhs on 'Direction and Organisation,' Rs. 86·5 lakhs on Fire Fighting Organisation and few other crores under A. R. P., Civic Guard, Rural Reconstruction Scheme, etc., etc. About the public, the Finance Minister said in his Budget speech that "no separate provision is included in these estimates for the rehabilitation of people who have been ruined as a result of the famine" but on March 1, 1944, in the Bengal Council he said "that his budget for the coming year... sought to lay down the basis for a permanent rehabilitation of Bengal; for an economic regeneration of the people..." (catching votes!) Everything is a paradox with the people of Bengal.

If rehabilitation means health, education, industry, agriculture, improvement of the cattle, etc., then grants under these heads would reveal that rehabilitation has been contemplated without taking any notice of these branches of the Government. Industry, Medical, Public Health, Scientific Department, Co-operation, Veterinary—all combined would not be receiving Rs. 2 crores in all and most of these would be required for the maintenance of the staff in the respective department. With regard to education, it will require Rs. 1,11 lakhs less than police and agriculture will spend Rs. 50 lakhs on "agricultural demonstration propaganda" etc., and Rs. 58 lakhs for 'other charges' including Rs. 45 lakhs as 'contingencies' and 'establish-

ment.' Nobody knows what these 'contingencies' are; there is no detail. When Jute Regulation has been abandoned, it is deplorable that the staff should be maintained at Rs. 2½ lakhs per year. There is the 'Grow More Food' campaign, while each day more than 200 plough cattle are slaughtered in Calcutta alone.

There is no plan on which to proceed. The indebtedness of the middle class, due to high prices of goods, has increased by Rs. 25 per head and for four million of such people it is now Rs. 100 crores. They are the next victim of the coming economic crisis. A 'rehabilitation scheme' is awaiting publication but there is no provision in the Budget for carrying it out into action. All the resources have been tapped and a new taxation of ten crores is impending. His Excellency, Mr. Casey wants to make Bengal a 'contented base.' Would he think of curtailing the annual expenditure that relates to his staff, specially band (Rs. 50,000), bodyguard (Rs. 1,04,000), *renewal of furniture and carpets* (Rs. 20,000), over and above Rs. 12,400 for the purchase of new, purchase and upkeep of motor cars and motor lorries (Rs. 26,900), *tour expenses* (Rs. 90,000), and a host of others, which is bound to set a good example to other members of the Government. I am sure His Excellency will deem all these expenses as extremely heavy in a country whose people die of starvation in millions. If 'base' is what it is in military strategy, then it is all right; because everybody concerned with the war, including the soldiers, contractors, etc., is 'contented.' If His Excellency means a 'contented' civil population, then we would like him to go into the affairs of the Province a little deeper and take such measures as will rescue the affairs of Bengal from the present quandary and bring order out of chaos.

MATA KASTUR BA IN NATAL

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

We are mourning the death of one who was virtually a mother to our nation and who was beloved and revered by all of us. Mata Kastur Ba has cast off her mortal frame, leaving behind her the immortal memory of an exemplary character. Possessed of a frail body as she was, she had an iron will. She feared no man, for she was God-fearing. In her life-time her grand personality indelibly engraved itself on the hearts of everyone with whom she came into contact. She was a shining example of service and sacrifice. So undaunted, so noble, so tender, so stern to evil, so simple, so generous, so heroic and yet so modest. How grand, how glorious a divine mother she was! Never did I see another lady so divinely gifted nor do I expect to do so.

More than thirty-one years ago, the very day of my arrival in the Union of South Africa, I saw Mata Kastur Ba for the first time at Phoenix, about fourteen miles from the famous

city of Durban, on the north coast of Natal, in an Ashram, the abode of Mahatma Gandhi. In this Ashram life would flow placidly and with a regularity broken only by an event of national upheaval. Every day was alike; the inmates of the Ashram were engaged in the morning in the work of the press to bring out a weekly journal for ventilating the grievances of Indian community domiciled in South Africa and in the afternoon worked hard to cultivate the soil and grow vegetables and fruit-trees of many varieties. When it was evening the settlers would meet for thanksgiving and prayer that one day more had come to an end; and after the night's rest, another day of human duties would begin.

The leader of this congregation was a spare figure—the hardest worker as well as the strongest man of the Ashram. Where the strength of youth failed he was called to the rescue! Verily he bore the brunt of the whole settlement. Dressed in shorts and a shirt made of Australian flour-sacks, having discarded the barrister's gown and a practice worth about £3,000 a year, Bapu was living the peasant's life.

The Phoenix Ashram was one might call a laboratory in which Bapu made his experiments in truth along with his life-partner Ba, who saw nothing beneath her position in playing second fiddle to Bapu for the accomplishment of his ideals. Living under such ascetical conditions and amid the aesthetical surroundings which have given Natal the name of the Garden Colony, Bapu and Ba strove hard to live a simple and natural life, realizing the theories of Ruskin and Tolstoy.

In this Phoenix Ashram I lived for a few months in 1914, after my release from prison, as the Hindi editor of the *Indian Opinion*, a weekly journal founded by Bapu in 1903. Here I saw a good deal of Ba, and the more I saw the more I liked her. Though, owing to her early marriage, she did not have the benefit of school education, she was more than a match to any educated person in respect of her capacity of understanding, power of reasoning and national spirit in fighting for our human rights in South Africa. I am proud indeed to have known Ba so intimately at the outset of her public career in Natal. My wife, the late Jagrani Devi, had an opportunity to enjoy her company as a co-prisoner in the Central Jail of Petermaritzburg. It was the first time in the history of our nation that our brave women courted and suffered imprisonment in the interest of the down-trodden indentured Indians, who were forced to pay an annual tax of £3 per head.

After her release from prison, my wife Jagrani fell seriously ill in Durban and the doctors who attended her were unable to effect a cure. Bapu kindly invited her to Phoenix. To meet her at the station waited Bapu himself with a hand-cart. He very tenderly helped her into it, pushing the cart alone, having refused all assistance, a distance of two and a half miles back to the Ashram. Ba was entrusted with the work of looking after her and she actually saved her life by tireless nursing, even though the health of Ba herself was almost shattered in prison and I can still remember what a distressing sight it was. After a week's treatment in which only mud plasters had been applied, Jagrani was able to walk about. In addition to his multifarious duties Bapu was also the 'medical officer' and Ba gladly helped him as a 'matron' of the Ashram.

Ba always kept herself regularly busy in the kitchen. She made the bread according to Bapu's recipe. She found the ordinary mill flour unsuitable for the purpose and tried hand-ground flour, which she thought would insure greater simplicity, health and economy. In the preparation of other dishes too she was able to make use of her knowledge of dietetics. She would eliminate the condiments which made up the curries so much loved by Indians and substitute boiled vegetables. Plain living and high thinking was to be the test. Once some of the young settlers became so tired of Ba's simple dishes that they sent for sweetmeats and spiced food from Durban. After the feast Devadas Gandhi, who himself had a share in it, made a confession to Bapu. At the time of the evening prayers, Bapu questioned them about it. All at first denied the charge, at which Bapu began beating his cheeks, saying, "It is not your fault but mine, because I am not a real *Satyagrahi*, the truth recedes from me." He continued striking himself instead of punishing others. This proved too much for them, and one by one they came forward and confessed. A few of those gathered round Bapu and Ba provided occasionally "cases" of human weakness. A moral lapse on the part of two of the young settlers at Phoenix led to Bapu's first fast.

The memory of those days will ever remain fixed and fresh in my mind. My close association with Bapu and Ba in Natal has changed the course of my life. I went there with an ambition to amass wealth and lead a comfortable life, but the day I saw Bapu and Ba at Phoenix, a divine inspiration forced me instantly to dedicate my life to the cause of my countrymen abroad according to my own lights.

Ba was Bapu's staunch and indefatigable life-partner whom she served spiritually and materially up to the time of her death. Who could follow Bapu more faithfully and tenaciously than Ba ! Her death is a great national misfortune as it is a personal loss to Bapu. She was divine soul, as godly as I ever saw in the shape of a lady. She was verily the incarnation of Sita, Savitri and Damayanti of yore. She has died a martyr's death in the cause of India's

freedom and she will live for ever in the hearts of Indian people.

To me it is almost a personal loss, my grief is inexpressible particularly as she died in detention in tragic circumstances which have left behind a bitter memory both for India and Britain. May her example be a source of inspiration to the daughters of India and may the cause she held so dear to her heart gather strength even greater in her death than in her life.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Indian Philosophy and Religion"

In the March issue of your esteemed journal Mx. Dr. Umesh Misra, in his article, "Indian Philosophy and Religion," makes against me a personal attack to which I feel obliged to reply, lest readers may be misguided by his gross and deliberate misrepresentation of me.

While pleading for progress in Indian philosophy I observed that such progress requires that Indian philosophers now should be well acquainted with both Indian and Western thought. I wrote : " Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western philosophy is necessary." I am surprised to find Dr. Misra conclude from this that, according to me, all the great ancient *acharyas* like Sankara, Ramanuja, Madhva and Nagarjuna were not philosophers as they had no knowledge of Western philosophy ! I do not mind what an elderly person like Dr. Misra says about me, but it pains me much that he falsely attributes to me such a view. It is for the impartial reader to judge whether the conclusion Dr. Misra draws follows logically from my statement.

Another conclusion he draws from my assertion is that, according to me, one should study Western philosophy in order to understand Sanscrit texts ! Here again I leave it to the reader to judge whether my meaning is rightly represented or wrongly, and whether the conclusion follows from the premises.

Further, Dr. Misra tries to prove my ignorance of Indian philosophy from the fact that I believe in philosophical progress ! He writes : "One fails to understand how a philosophy which deals with ultimate Truth can change with the change of cultural surroundings." Dr. Misra may fail to understand it, yet in the history of the world the search for Truth has been changing with the changing cultural surroundings. And I wonder how his conclusion follows from his failure to understand this change. The search for ultimate Truth can be consistent with changes in the form of the search, and the history of philosophy is a history of these changes.

I am still unable even to guess why Dr. Misra is so laboriously using these *nigrasthanas* or fallacies for making a personal attack against me. In another place he maintains that the study of Western thought produces prejudices against the Indian, as if ignorance of Western thought is a special qualification for the study of the Indian. I wonder whether Dr. Misra finds any progress in Buddhist philosophy and whether he admits that that progress has effected a corresponding progress in the orthodox schools. Have not the speculations of the schools progressed through mutual criticisms and the constructions which they necessitated ? Is it not necessary that philosophical progress at present should be the result of mutual and critical understanding of Indian and Western thought ? There are many other points on which it is not possible for me to write in a note like this.

By all means one may study Indian texts, scrupulously shunning Western thought. But if one proposes to be an interpreter of Indian philosophy in English according to Western methods—in fact almost every writer on Indian thought now does so by dividing his subject into topics like logic, metaphysics, cosmology, psychology, ethics, religion and so forth—will it not be better that one understands Western philosophy ? And how can one use Western terminology without understanding its philosophy ?

I, therefore, request the reader not to be misled by Dr. Misra's insinuations but compare what he says about my views with what I have written in the article concerned and form his own opinions.

I take this occasion to say, in reply to the reviewer of *The Progress of Indic Studies*, that Dr. B. N. Seal's work, *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, was not mentioned, not because I do not value it, but because it was published in 1915, whereas my article reviewed the work done in Indian philosophy during 1917-42.

Andhra University, Guntur.

P. T. RAJU



A NEST OF ARTISTS

By "AN ONLOOKER"

THE story is told of a village grand-mother who, when asked to bring forth her best possession for the inspection of the ruler of her province, presented her array of children and grandchildren saying, "These are my life's most precious treasure."

Likewise, might the grand old man of modern Indian Art, Abanindranath Tagore, say to Mother India, pointing to his disciple like Nandalal Bose and the latter's disciples like Benode Bihari Mukherji and Vinayak Masozi of Santiniketan,—that nest and nursery of artists,—"Mother mine, here are my jewels that I lay at your lotus feet."

It is a pity, indeed, that though a majority of the people have heard, or even seen some of the pictures of the illustrious founder of the school of Indian painting and his pre-eminent pupil, yet only a microscopic minority among them, including those who take interest in art, have any appreciable familiarity with the persons or paintings of the rising artists in the present-day group of their colleagues in the Kala-Bhavan of the Visva-Bharati :—Benode Behari Mukherji, Vinayak Masozi and Ramkinkar Baij, Gouri Devi and Bisvarup Bose.

Those who have been to Santiniketan, however, would be able to envisage easily these young, mostly middle-aged, artists. A bare-footed, bare-headed, bespectacled, fair-looking young man, with a close-cropped head, clean-shaven, a little over five feet in height, lean in body, going about wrapped up in his thoughts and fancies is Benode Bihari. His constant companion is Lady Nicotine, though other ladies he always tries to keep at an arm's length. His two anathemas are marriage and music. So far as his dislike of singing is concerned, he is the obverse of his teacher, Nandalal Bose.

He is a rare combination of the artist and the art-critic. His technique is not a slavish imitation of any set tradition, ancient or modern—though his tastes in certain things and in trends in thought are quite modern—be they eastern or western. It has grown with his life. His recent handiwork betrays, at least to a layman, more the spirit of Asian art. Maybe, this is a result of his silent reaction to the art of the Chinese and the Japanese among whom he lived for some time three or four years ago. He paints, further, more by insight than by sight. His pictures, therefore, are more suggestive than realistic. His knowledge of the various schools and styles of art-criticism in the world is encyclopaedic. That is why his appraisal of artis-

tic achievement or ideology is invariably marked by breadth of vision and keenness of judgment.

But his range of study extends as well to the frontiers of some of the other allied arts and literature, indigenous as well as foreign. He is, consequently, a charming conversationalist, once you have succeeded in breaking down the barriers of his reserve and reticence.

One will not be far from being right if he were to hazard the opinion that Benode Bihari believes in the truth of "art for art's sake." For, so self-sufficient and soul-satisfying is his joy in painting and sketching, etching and making lino-cuts that once the picture is finished or the job accomplished his interest in its future is at an end. Whether it should be sent to some exhibition or sold to an aesthete or art-connoisseur or preserved carefully as a milestone in the march of his own genius is no concern of his. So no one can tell correctly how many pictures he has painted, nor have the public had any opportunities of having a ready access to them.

Benode Bihari is more of an atmosphere than of an institution. It is said that whoever works in his house, even before he has been there for a few weeks, picks up the rudiments of his art and craft. The servant may hail from the village nearby and be steeped in abysmal illiteracy, yet, under the fostering companionship and considerateness of his master, he develops with surprising swiftness both an aesthetic attitude and an artistic urge.

In several respects Benode Bihari is an ascetic not only in life, but also in art. For "the one thing needful," namely, his dedication to his vocation, he has sacrificed many a comfort as well as convenience. And yet he has not that austerity, amounting to cynicism, which often characterizes a confirmed bachelor. For his being such a jolly good fellow, however, the credit goes to his inborn spirit of fun.

Then there is Vinayak Masozi. To see him is to be reminded of Goldsmith's dictum, "Handsome is that handsome does." For, not only has he an attractive appearance, but also everything that he does,—from painting to preparing tea and from organising excursions to arranging knick-knacks in his bachelor's house, which will cause a blush even on the face of the most efficient daughter-in-law,—has the touch of the genuine aesthete.

He has in him the wander-lust of the Westerner. He has trekked to the snowy regions of the Himalayas as also through the frowning forests. He has the courage and confidence of

the South Pole expeditionist. This has led him to keep himself always in trim. His physique has about it the beauty and the strength of the ancient Athenian.

Unlike Benode Bihari he has a passion for music. He plays on a variety of instruments as he does a number of games and that too with praiseworthy proficiency. But like him his ambit of interest in life and literature is also wide.

One has seldom seen Vinayak Masoji lose his temper. He has a statuesque silence and serenity which his smile, however, often thaws down into a delightful invitation to the stranger to make his acquaintance. But his equanimity has a touch of that maturity of mind which some great secret sorrow in life confers on a person.

He avoids smoking as much as scandal-mongering. He has a deep religious sense, though usually he keeps away from the church. For, he believes like most of those whom the modern expression of Christianity has disillusioned : "Nearer the church further from God" !

Parodying the well-known proverb, "know a good craftsman or artist by one fact," namely, whether he sings while he stitches or sketches, one feels sure of the inherent excellence of the art of Ramkinkar Baij. For, his studio rings almost all the time he is there with his song, sung in a sky-rending pitch. Once a psychologist, passing by his studio, remarked that, perhaps, Ramkinkar was trying to cover up some sort of emptiness in his life in that manner. His other "camouflage" for this secret vacuum within is his search, ceaseless and self-revolving, for originality. Looking at his pictures or at his models (he is also a sculptor with a striking stroke of his own), one does not readily perceive in them the effect of any particular tradition or teaching. He evidently believes in giving a free rein to his imagination so that his brush or chisel may have the swiftness of an equestrian. In short, he would not like to be a pedestrian in his sphere of creative activity.

Like Benode Bihari he, too, has a self-forgetting devotion to his art. To see him at work is to be reminded of the Master's words, "Man does not live by bread alone." For his poor boy-cook (who also has caught the art-infection of his master and become a little wielder of the brush) has to wait and wait for his master to come and take his freezing food. Not long ago a wag observed that it would be a very much needed discipline for Ramkinkar as well as Benode Bihari to get married, so that they

may learn the art of living together, to the tune of morning-tea and mid-day meal !

Ramkinkar is a great experimenter in figures and forms. And so they are of all sorts, shapes, sizes and suggestiveness. "I am like the stream always moving"—that is a part of the message and meaning of his pictures and models. Every inch of him he is a heterodox, in art, in ethics, in environment and in outlook on life. He may be a futurist in art, but he has certainly a future.

He is, however, in the midst of a constant struggle, so it would seem between the sculptor in him and the artist in him (the artist in him works in various mediums, including stage direction and acting). Now he wrests the secret from the heart of the stone and now from the fathomless mind of Nature, animate as well as inanimate. If there is anything which appears to be most fixed in him, it is his self-consecration to the cigarette !

Then there are Nandalal Bose's eldest daughter, Gouri Devi (now Mrs. Bhanja) and son, Biswarup. They have inherited, to a considerable degree, the fine aesthetic sensibilities of the father. Wherever they go, and in whatever they do, they carry with them the atmosphere of an art-studio. Mrs. Bhanja's garden, house, kitchen and children all bear on them the stamp of her "skill" (using the word in the *Bhagavad-Gita* spirit) as artist, housewife and mother. She is, like her artist-husband, an artist to her very finger-tips. She is at home both on the stage as well as in the studio. But what gives her an outstanding personality is her humility, behind which like her father, she hides her rhythm-suffused genius.

Biswarup has added to his study of art under his illustrious father, study also under some Japanese masters, with and among whom he lived for a number of years. One of his several specialities is litho-printing. His pictures have something of the 'economy' and angle of the Chinese artist, inasmuch as their "centrality" is quite obvious.

Such is the nest of young artists in the sylvan surroundings of Santiniketan. They are now fully fledged and so they have developed the spiritual appetite to adventure forth in the limitless sky without any parental prop. In them, rather in their art, is the spirit of the freedom of the experimenter, the adventurer of the infinite. So their artistic or aesthetic vitality has attained vigour and versatility.

With such a group of workers the future of Indian art is as far above the 'anxiety limit,' as the young artists themselves are above the average run of artists in the country.

IRON MEDICAMENTS

Iron is now the accepted remedy for all anaemias in which there is primarily a deficient formation of haemoglobin, the so-called 'hypochromic' anaemia. This deficiency is due to (a) deficient intake of iron or iron-containing foods either for economic consideration or due to ignorance, (b) increased demands in infancy and pregnancy, (c) defective absorption and retention due to various pathological conditions; and (d) a combination of any two or more of the above factors. Naturally the persons who suffer most, are the poor people, growing infants, girls after puberty, pregnant and nursing mothers and those who have been infected with Malaria, Kala-azar, Hook worm, etc. It is admitted that at least 12 gms. of food iron per day is a satisfactory standard. But seldom this amount of iron is even present in our average foodstuffs and the iron is but partly absorbed in the system.

Infants suffer from a type of anaemia primarily caused by deficient formation of haemoglobin. An administration of a little iron cures the disease. In the treatment of infants the possible deficiency of gastric acidity might make the iron form non-available. A stable and palatable *ferrous iron* in the form of a suitable elixir would be a useful preparation. Further, milk which mainly constitutes the diet in infancy, though deficient in iron, might be easily supplemented with an elixir containing iron.

In women the iron deficiency may occur due to two causes, (1) defective intake and (2) increased loss of iron during menstrual period, during pregnancy and during lactation. Recent dietary survey has revealed that it is difficult to

compensate by dietary iron the iron loss suffered by women during child-birth. All these suggest an iron therapy for women at different ages. There are again other factors which are responsible for the proper utilisation of iron. Thus copper, manganese, certain amino-acids, the secondary anaemia factor of the Liver Extract of Whipple and even the nature of carbohydrate in our food help the iron therapy.

Circumstances have so arisen that most of the infants are being half-fed or artificially fed, and these infants invariably suffer from an anaemia in which there is primarily a deficient formation of haemoglobin. This appears more or less manifest in almost all infants and is generally found during the latter half of the first year and early second year of life. The health of the mothers who are also prone to suffer, is really of utmost importance. If the mother is ill-fed and anaemic, the store of iron in the liver would surely be poorer in the mother during her pregnancy. Infants born of such mothers are certainly liable to develop anaemia. All these again suggest an extra need of iron for mothers. Our food cannot supply the necessary assimilable iron. The elixir of iron from the various HÆMOGENS assists in the removal of the nutritional deficiency of the mothers and their babies. This is of *national importance* as the health of the population depends largely on materials available for infant nutrition.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Western War-Time Thinking

The Aryan Path observes editorially :

Sir Norman Angell, under the title, *Let the People Know* (The Viking Press, New York), plausibly presents the thesis that this is the best of all possible wars, and that all is well with the world. Between the lines, the now conservative Angell reveals his "practical" philosophy. War is inevitable, but not all war. An enlightened Russo-Anglo-American balance of power, enforced by superior military as well as economic strength, can give maximum democratic security and the minimum of armed conflict. Angell first considers the Russo-Anglo-American power bloc and indicates that world conditions may be successfully regulated by practical political agreements between these three nations. World federation is to be dominated by these three powers.

Angell's central thesis is that enlightened self-interest demands a "world federation" to prevent the upsetting of a "good" balance of power. The basic motive of every nation, however, he says, is its individual security.

"The first and last claim of every nation is to be able to do injustice to defend its right to existence." It is rather difficult to see precisely how a world federation could permanently succeed if each contributory government felt that its only uniting bond was in terms of whatever national advantage persuaded acceptance of a federative bargain. What is going to happen when any one nation decides that its own advantage can be best served without honest co-operation? Angell's argument for world federation is weak because he believes such a consummation to be possible only when recognised as a measure of national expediency. This is basically what he "lets the people know," although his principal emphasis is upon the inevitability of the war and the necessity for the participation in it of each one of the United Nations when their economic or political security was threatened.

Such attempts to be "realistic" need improvement. Not only is Angell's world federation something far short of the humanitarian dream of many sincere internationalists, but it also raises serious questions as to its practicability.

Angell talks often of the need for protection against aggression from the "outside." What is this "outside"? By definition, who is "outside" world federation? Is it possible to have democratic vigilance to protect "world federation" of the majority from the minority without putting minority nations outside the world democracy? How can this be world federation in anything but name? Angell further suggests that the Western nations prove themselves capable of unity for protection against the Asiatics. After this disarming statement of trust in and respect for Asia, he continues to deplore the possibility that Asia should fail

to co-operate with "us." We do not think that this sort of directly racial counsel, inspired by purely Anglo-American considerations, can ever condition China or any other Eastern country to respond other than deplorably.

Sir Normal Angell was once awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. He has made a lasting contribution to much of the factual enlightenment necessary for peace education. (See his *The Great Illusion*). He is a sincere man, but his particular brand of sincerity at this juncture of history is rather discouraging. No hope of the "new world" that so many long for can be derived from the logical extension of his basic theses. No matter how delicately sugar-coated the pill, he still is recommending the perpetuation of the balance-of-power theory in a new and improved form. And, though this might mean a lesser number of difficulties before the next war, it can never achieve the cessation of war altogether.

No Justice Yet in Sight

It is the fashion today to indulge in expressions of sympathy with the political aspirations of weaker peoples. But unless these expressions are accompanied by the adoption of a policy which alone can ensure the fruition of those aspirations, they will not be taken seriously. *The Indian Thinker* observes :

The Norwegian writer, Dr. Arne Ord'gn, discussing the future relations of the Powers in the *Observer* of London, says that national feelings are strong in Norway and that "even the best-intentioned attempt to force our people into a mould shaped by external forces would arouse the most intense opposition." He also refers to the danger that federation between nations may become part of their policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence around the *Big Four* meaning America, Britain, Russia and possibly China. And Senator E. C. Johnson, writing in the *Rocky Mountain News*, has given details of this projected division.

"Russia would dominate the Baltic States, Northern Balkan States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany and France. Britain would dominate Norway, Holland and Belgium, including the latter's colonies; and it would also dominate the Dark Continent and the Mediterranean States of Spain, Italy and Greece. Britain would have the unique task of fighting communism within her sphere of influence and at the same time co-operating closely with M. Stalin!"

"Japan would be reduced to her original islands, and nationalistic China would be encouraged, and expected, to favour the white nations by granting valuable trade concessions. Britain, Russia, and the United States would exercise a sort of joint over-lordship in the Orient."

Anyhow, such a division of the world, however inevitable, will not be in the interests of the smaller nations, or for that matter, for the stronger nations themselves in the long run. This is exactly what India would and should say when it comes to it.

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The Four Freedoms, of which we have been hearing so much, must, if they are worth the name, confer on every nation, strong or weak, colourless or coloured, and on every individual within each nation, the right to live in its own home without the smallest fear of economic or other penetration in the name of free-trade or colonial expansion. If, on the other hand, freedom is only freedom to encroach on another's lands and markets, it is nothing more than the freedom of the licensed robber to take what does not belong to him—if a strong expression would be permitted. In both cases, it is a case of *Might*—physical, mental or both—overriding *Right*. Should this be allowed? Can this be allowed, and yet "peace on earth and goodwill among men" be looked for? That is the question.

Organisation of Scientific Research in the U.S.S.R.

Scientific Research in the U.S.S.R. is organised on the principle of 'Unity of Theory and Practice.' K. G. Naik writes in *Science and Culture*:

All the sciences grew out of practice. Theoretical problems are raised and solved in connection with general practical problems and vice-versa, viz., "the solution of practical problems are illuminated by theory. Hence in the U. S. S. R., all the Scientific Research establishments are brought close to industry and art utilized to work out a plan of activity answering the needs of industry. Economic growth and economic independence,

it was realised in the U. S. S. R., demanded the solution of a number of technical problems, which in turn raised the whole series of important theoretical scientific problems. "Great practice calls for great theory."

The planning of scientific work according to a clear perspective of technical and economical developments, results in a 'Social Synthesis' of Science and Practice.

The main groups of national problems would embrace (i) prospecting for natural wealth (deposits), (ii) finding the best methods and means (machines, etc.) of utilization, (iii) devising the best forms or organization for such utilization, (iv) rationalizing production and (v) problems of labour (study of the working man as the subject of the process of labour). All these presuppose the development of all branches of both *natural and social sciences*. In the U. S. S. R. "The Academic Studio" has thus been supplanted by the huge laboratories and the lone scientists by huge scientific organisations. Planning no doubt implies a certain amount of restriction, but a planned attack from various aspects brings the solution of problems quicker than by unorganised individual grappling. Consequently, the Soviet Government came to the decision that if they must overtake and even surpass, both technically and economically, the advanced capitalist countries, the net-work of scientific research institutions must grow at a colossal speed. In planning, the themes should embrace current economic problems as well as problems of to-morrow, even simultaneously. This is carried out through the system of *Head* and *Branch* institutions and factory laboratories, and by rational apportionment of these themes, among different research establishments. Mutual competition and secrecy had to be replaced by mutual information and joint elaboration of plans—the planning of *Construction and Means* had to become the product of the planning of thematics. The planning of scientific forces followed immediately. Vast reconstruction needed hundreds of thousands of qualified workers who had to be trained and distributed according to different branches of themes of scientific research work; and this was followed by the problem of securing a sufficient influx of reinforcements of all degrees of scientific qualifications. Naturally, all the problems enumerated above are inter-connected forming an organic whole—a functional part of the general *National Plan*.

Experience led to the necessity of establishing three basic types of institutes for research in the U.S.S.R. viz., (a) Subsidiary points, (b) Branch Institutes, (c) Head Institutes.

(a) The Subsidiary points serve industrial enterprises such as factories, mills, mines, farms, hospitals, etc. Besides fulfilling the elementary technical tasks, they include the elaboration of new methods, improvement of old methods, and so on. The subsidiary points, form an integral part of (b) the Branch Institutes which latter serve the interests of entire branches of industry, agriculture, etc., and carry out direct tasks given to them by the industrial organisations. Further, on their part, they raise a series of prospective problems of more general and profound importance, growing into the theoretical problems of a fundamental character, and thereby maintain contact with (c) the Head Institutes. The Head Institutes solve the moral general scientific questions arising from the whole complexity of the techno-economic plans. They also raise and elaborate the great fundamental problems of science—"problems of to-morrow." Such is the line of connections, traced from bottom up. The return road is also perfectly

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clear. The Head Institutes advise the Branch Institutions and help them in solving problems. The technical results of problems handled by the Head Institutes are passed on to the Branch Institutes for detailed technological treatment. The Branch Institutes in their return, advise the subsidiary points and through these latter, they carry out the adoption of new technical methods and improved models in industry. Thus a rational form of subdivision of labour, between different categories of research institutes, is created, assuring certain unity between the theoretical and applied problems of scientific work. Experience has shown that such a form of organisation has proved wholly successful. The gigantic growth of the scientific institutions in the Soviet Union, both qualitatively and quantitatively, irrefutably demonstrates that the fear of the debasing of science, to result from deliberate association of Science with Industry, is utterly unfounded.

Russia

The New Review observes :

General February was kind to the Red Army which scored gratifying victories. The whole front was set moving. In the north, a three-prong attack snipped off the bulge below Leningrad and the snippets were annihilated. The line was pushed back into Estonia and straightened from Novgorod to Narva. After a pause of a fortnight, the Russians, who had encircled Luga, developed a gigantic sweep southwards, forced the Nazis out of Staraya Russa and pushed them on the road to Pskov, whilst a east-west manoeuvre pressed them back towards the Latvian frontier.

A less spectacular but possibly a more important victory was won in Dnieper bend; the ten divisions cornered between Nikopol and Krivoirog were badly mauled and thrown back in disorder; the five divisions surrounded in the Konev salient were decimated.

In the meantime, Rovno and Lutsk were captured. This move carried the Russians further into Poland and put them in a favourable position from which they will make a south-west assault on the vital sector of the front to push it against the Carpathians and the Black Sea; once the railway Odessa-Lwow is cut, the whole German position will be threatened with disaster.

It is impossible now to make out what was forced retreat, and what was cautious evacuation in the Nazi movements.

But whichever was the case locally, the general movement was due to acknowledged defeat. The relative advantage of the Red Army lay in its far superior artillery and a recovery in relative air strength, both of which are largely due to the air offensive of Britain and America on the western front.

If Russian strategy on the battlefield was up to traditional standard, the change in the Soviet constitution was a masterful stroke of moral strategy. It was so worded as to rouse sympathy all over the world and prepare future developments; democrats salute the dawn of red democracy, communists the dawn of national communism.

A paper amendment is not final; the spirit in which it is carried out is more decisive. How far will each federated republic have its national army? How far will each shape its foreign policy?

Shall we see a Red *bloc* at the Peace Conference, alongside of the American and the British *blocs*?

Or was the measure passed only with a view to reinforce Red influence in the Border States? Now that the war is brought into Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania and may spread to the Balkans, was it not the time to rally nationalist movements to the Red Flag? A promise of autonomy was badly needed to counteract the national reaction in lands which were occupied by Russia as well as by Germany.

What was significant was that the first foreign commissar to be appointed was Ukraine's and that the choice fell on the Polish-born Comrade, Wanda Wasilewska. When circumstances will permit, the Ukrainians in Poland will clamour for union with Soviet Ukraine and the matter will have become an internal problem into which no foreign nation will be allowed to interfere.

Modern Novels

Vincent Brome writes in *The Twentieth Century*:

Novels, today, have not departed so widely from the old traditions. Of course, they are far more realistic and less verbose, but there are still writers of the first rank producing novels on the grand scale, like R. C. Hutchinson's "Testament," one of the most vivid stories of Russia ever written, with a flood of rich and living characters, and that undertone of compassion which has always marked out the best minds. It has no smart phrases. It does not experiment with form. But its total effect is overwhelming.

Hutchinson, however, is not nearly so well-known as Aldous Huxley, the high priest of the novel today. Huxley wrote "Point and Counter-point," "Brave New World," "Eyeless in Gaza," and many books all giving glimpses of new attitudes to people and things: fresh valuations.

Occasionally, he experimented with form, but generally, he was concerned with ideas more than with forms. His essays, too, explored some striking new lines of thought which tumbled many a cherished belief in the dust. "Do What You Will" is a good example of the essays. The title comes from Blake:

Do what you will
This world is but a fiction,
And is made up
Of contradiction.

It has several times happened that Huxley's attitudes to this or that matter, once considered novel, arresting, even perhaps revolutionary, have, years afterwards, become common attitudes for the majority of people. There is no question of his importance in modern English literature, and he has yet to reach the height of his powers.

Huxley's "Brave New World" was one of many books, giving an imaginative picture of the future, which together make up another important trend of modern literature. H. G. Wells began the vogue with stories like "The Time Machine." Olaf Stapledon took it up in "Last and First Men." Stapledon's book is a giant picture of the destiny of mankind, worked out with all the accuracy which physics, biology and philosophy can give, and yet touched with high imagination and very considerable art.

Wells does not only foretell and prophesy today. He continues to throw off overnight books which fall into that rapidly swelling type of literature best desig-

nated political-cum-sociological. English literature has an enormous field today, given over to analysing anything from the origin of a smile to possible world states. Today, first-class books on world affairs are being written in greater quantities than ever before. This development naturally follows the disturbance of international relations.

The Meaning of Responsible Government

The following is an extract from an article by Professor Rene Capitant as translated from the French by Diane Sen in *The Patiala Post*:

Responsible Government is something different from government by responsible Ministries. It can be summed up in two rules: the Government governs; the Parliament controls. Nothing more simple, nothing more commonplace apparently than this summing up. Nothing more useful, in fact, nothing more fruitful if one grasps its true sense. In reality, this means that responsible government is the reverse of separation of powers. No doubt it is derived therefrom through long and continuous evolution, so continuous that it disregards for the most part the conscience of the public and even that of the jurists or parliamentarians. When speaking of the separation of powers, both legislative and executive, one is still speaking in the language of constitutional monarchy.

An English Liberal, Ramsay Muir, writes that the main characteristic of the British Government is the concentration of powers in the hands of the Prime Minister.

He governs and he legislates. Supported by his majority, it is he who draws up and places before the House of Commons the legislative programme for the session. Parliamentary initiative is no longer exercised and the vote of the Commons is confined to endorsing the Cabinet's programme. Legislative as well as executive power has become a governmental power. Deformation, usurpation? Not so. These prescripts interpret the idea, the very essence of modern responsible government as it must and such as it should function today. Mirabeau visualised it in one of his speeches to the Constituent Assembly; and John Stuart Mill has said in his "Representative Government" that to govern is to legislate.

J. J. Rousseau assumes laws to be in the form of certain general and lasting principles such as an inspired Lycurgus suggested for the cohesion of the people.

Law is the frame of justice and equality wherein a simple and virtuous society unfolds itself. Law, as a general rule, equal for all, emanating from the common will and hence the reflection of justice, dominates the sphere of government. But legislation in a modern State is the very instrument of the Government. It is by means of legislation that the economy of a country is directed, industry is protected, customs duties are raised or lowered, the statute of the army is modified, provident or social institutions are encouraged or enforced.

To govern no longer means to work within the existing laws; to govern is to direct the course of legislation itself; to govern, in short, is to legislate.

The two ideas are henceforth closely linked up and responsible government can only be justified if this truth is borne in mind and the powers are concentrated in the hands of the Government.

Hence a powerful Government with a Prime Minister as powerful as a dictator holding in his hands and at his will all the prerogatives and machinery of the Government. That is the first rule of Responsible Government. But it is a Government, which is nothing more than a delegation, nothing more than an emanation of the legislatures and is responsible to them. That is what democracy requires; that is what constitutes parliamentary prerogatives.

The Ministers, in the first place, are issues of the Parliament.

The Cabinet is nothing but a kind of parliamentary commission; as Bagehot says, a selection from the heart of Parliament; as Max Weber says, a homogeneous parliamentary team selected from amongst the leaders of the majority.

The Ministers, in the second place, are responsible.

Responsible Government is a Government which one questions, which one forces to explain itself, which one subjects to a constant fire of criticism and which is plunged into limelight and publicity. Again, whose political doctrine is often so harsh, so absolutely negative, so hostile to the very idea of government has, at least, pointed out with praiseworthy emphasis and feeling the necessity for such control and for permanent adjustment of power.

This control, however, it must be clearly stated, implies the right of overthrowing the Ministry. The responsibility of the Ministry is the keystone of Responsible Government, and since we have agreed to remain faithful to it, there is no question of sacrificing it but only of examining under what conditions its working may be normal and healthy. The great problem is to combine responsibility with stability of the Ministry.

Bernard Shaw on Peace and War

AN INTERVIEW WITH A MEXICAN JOURNALIST

The Indian Readers' Digest quotes from the World Review :

Q.—When this War is over, will it have been useless?

A.—Until a war has produced its final results, no one can tell whether it has been worth while or not. War is always wasteful, cruel, mischievous, destructive, demoralising, and detestable to every humane instinct, yet it is not always avoidable, and often it effects social changes that occur only under its terrible pressure. The War of 1914-18 made an end of four empires which might have endured for four centuries more at peace. Whether it was worth the bloodshed and devastation it cost, depends on whether the new republics make their citizens better than the old empires did. But if they do, it still remains true that it would have been wiser to make the change reasonably rather than violently.

Q.—Will social revolution come in England, or in all countries, at the end of this war?

A.—Not necessarily. If the ruling and propertied classes give way to the proletariat sufficiently to offer an acceptable ransom for their privileges, then there will be no disturbance big enough to be called a revolution.

Q.—Is Communism now the only door open to mankind?

A.—Communism has a hundred doors; and they do not all open and close at the same moment. Everywhere already we have communism in roads, bridges, street lighting, water supply, police protection, military, naval and air services. These can be added to item by item without communising everything at one blow. In the U. S. S. R. Communism is the official policy; yet there is more personal property and private enterprise in Russia today than there was under the Tsars.

Q.—Is Mr. H. G. Wells right when he says as he did some days ago to another Mexican journalist, that if people do not understand his message, this war will rapidly be succeeded by another one?

A.—Ask Mr. Wells himself. Whatever he says is worth hearing by people with brains enough to understand him.

Q.—Will the Beveridge plan, the Keynes', the Morgenthau, the Elcereta plan have practical effects on the future of society?

A.—The Beveridge plan is a very moderate ransom assessed by a man who knows fifty times better than his critics what a wise government should do and can do under existing circumstances. Capitalism will be very lucky if it gets off as cheaply as Mr. Beveridge proposes. The other plans are incidental and technical: they will not become political issues.

Q.—Is there not a 'Shaw Plan' of social reconstruction?

A.—No. Social reconstruction is not a One Man Job. I can only lay a brick! I cannot build a house.

Q.—Are the Vansittart ideas on the re-education of the German people foolish or not?

A.—Ask Lord Vansittart. He is no fool: read what he has written not what others have written about him.

Q.—Ought the Germans to disappear as a Nation?

A.—Perhaps. Perhaps also the human race ought to disappear as a species. But as there is no likelihood of their doing anything so sensible, the question is an idle one.

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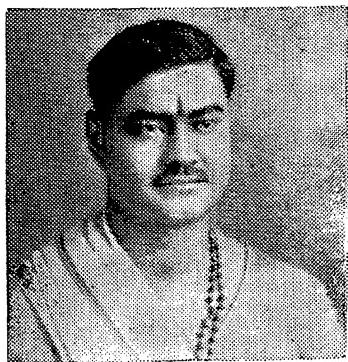
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Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc. and also many reputed personalities of the world (of England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.) have given many spontaneous testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India in 1943

In *The International Review of Missions* in January 1944, M. S. describes in brief the various activities of different Christian Missions in all parts of the world during the last year and while doing so gives a yearly survey of the political background of each country, from which we reproduce below the survey of the situation of India in 1943 :

The year 1942 came to its end with a situation in which the Government and the people of India were ranged opposite to each other in conflict. It is true, as was said in the Survey a year ago, that the outbreak that followed upon the arrest and internment of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress leaders was not 'an effective national movement, but it brought conciliation to an end and opened between the contending parties a chasm which a year later was not bridged. The deadlock continues, and every aspect of the public life of India, including the Christian movement, is deeply affected by that governing fact. Throughout the past year there has been little relaxation of the tension and only faint gleams of hope that a solution may be achieved. There are, however, some developments for evil or for good that may be noted.

There were and still are two conflicts creating the present impasse—the one a conflict that may be said in the main to be between Mr. Gandhi and the British Government, the other a conflict between the Congress and the Muslim League. If we take the second of these first, as that which most vitally affects India's future, we find no improvement in the position but rather a sharpening of the antagonism. Thus in April the Muslim League formally declared that any Federal solution of the constitutional problem would be rejected by Muslim India and 'would inevitably lead to bloodshed.' Mr. Jinnah in his address as President claimed that the League had 'formed ministries in Assam, Bengal, Sind and the Punjab,' and while this is not the actual position in these Provinces, the League appears now to be able to dominate the ministries. Mr. Jinnah reiterated in September his demand for Pakistan as 'an indispensable condition of any settlement in India.'

Similarly the position of the Viceroy *vis-a-vis* Mr. Gandhi remained unchanged up to the date of Lord Linlithgow's departure from India in October. Just as Mr. Jinnah calls repeatedly on Mr. Gandhi to come to an agreement with him, so with these other two antagonists. There is no yielding of any ground on either side. Mr. Gandhi's fast which formed the climax of this controversy was preceded by a correspondence between him and the Viceroy which was published immediately before the fast began on February 10th. That correspondence gives clear evidence on the part of the Viceroy of what he calls 'my anxiety to follow your mind and to do full justice to your argument.' Only in the final letter is there any evidence that his patience is giving way and there are similar indications on Mr. Gandhi's part as well. It might have been expected that Mr. Gandhi would have publicly denounced the violence and bloodshed which followed upon his arrest,

but he does not go beyond a general condemnation of violence. He refers in one letter to his having on previous occasions 'done public penance' for such violence, but he does not suggest that that is the significance of his fast on this occasion.

Of the profound emotion stirred among all sections of the Indian public by Mr. Gandhi's fast there can be no question, and in that respect it had an influence upon India that still remains. But with the conclusion of the fast without the tragic result that was so greatly feared its purely political significance ends. Its main political consequence, apart from the widespread exacerbation of feeling, was the resignation of two Indian members of the Viceroy's Council. Their action seems to have been taken purely on personal grounds and their political views remain unaltered. There would be general agreement with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's opinion that if Mr. Gandhi had died 'the task of reconciliation between Britain and the Hindus—nay, the Indian nation—would have become extremely difficult.'

That danger having been surmounted, the Government remained resolute in maintaining its policy. Again and again representations were made to the Government of India by various sections of the community outside the Congress Party—such as the Liberals, the Indian Christians and groups of influential missionaries—for a fresh approach with a view to ending the deadlock. Thus an appeal was made by twenty-five British missionaries for a resumption of negotiations. A more significant movement, taking its origin in the United Provinces and supported by some of the more moderate Congress leaders, proposed to consider the whole situation afresh. A pre-condition, however, of these attempts at reconciliation was that the Government should release the *detenus* and that the Congress should rescind its resolution of August 8th, 1942, and on neither side was there any indication that such action would be taken.

And yet by the close of the year the situation had greatly altered. The new aspect of the war that had come about when Lord Linlithgow's successor, Lord Wavell, took charge, gives some reason for hope that the stubborn attitude on both sides may be modified and that application of a fresh mind to the problem may make a new approach possible. Lord Wavell himself has declared that we should not suppose 'that there can be no political progress before the end of the war.'

Throughout the year Mr. Rajagopalachari has continued his efforts to reopen negotiations with the Government. In October he made an appeal for 'the organizing of a national acceptance of Sir Stafford Cripps' scheme of April, 1942.' He gave us one reason for this the change in the war situation, so that what was impracticable in 1942 is no longer so. An additional source of resentment has been the legislation in South Africa placing restrictions on the acquisition of land by Indians in Natal. Strong protests have been made against this proposal, which, it is declared, is a flagrant violation of undertakings of the Union Government. Great Britain too is charged with unwillingness to protect Indian interests.

These political agitations have been tragically overcast by the emergence early in the year of a serious condition of food scarcity, spreading throughout the country and causing great hardship. As the year

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advanced the situation in some parts of India seriously deteriorated, till famine with all its calamitous accompaniments had established itself. This was especially the case in Bengal and in Calcutta, into which many thousands of the starving village people crowded day after day and week after week. The number of people in Bengal who had to be fed had risen by the beginning of November to 2,100,000 and the number of 'free kitchens' to 5,500. In spite of this, from sixty to ninety famine patients were reported as dying every day in Calcutta hospitals. The causes of this calamity cannot yet be determined, but undoubtedly the situation has been aggravated by war conditions and by the disorganization and the fears that the events of the time have created. The Friends Ambulance Unit is among those who are engaged in relief work in co-operation with the Government in this area.

In all the agony and turmoil of the time the Indian Christian community has felt itself to be deeply concerned. The All-India Conference of Indian Christians in March passed a resolution calling upon the British Government to declare that India shall attain full freedom within two years from the cessation of hostilities. At the same time it 'earnestly appeals' for an agreed solution of the constitutional problem.

Aviation is 40 Years Old

Friday, December 17, 1943, is the 40th anniversary of aviation. It was on this day in 1903, on a sandy beach at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, on the eastern coast of North America, that the two bicycle mechanics, Wilbur and Orville Wright, achieved the goal of inventors and dreamers throughout the ages of flying like a bird. Other inventors in other countries had experimented with balloons filled with heated air or with

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motorless gliders. The Wright Brothers are generally believed to have been the first, or one of the first, to fly in a motor-driven, heavier-than-air-craft. As such they are in a sense the Fathers of Flight.

Commenting upon the significance of this anniversary, the American historian Carl Van Doren said in a broadcast :

"There were only five spectators on the lonely beach when the Wright Brothers got their clumsy machine into the air, and the newspapers barely mentioned the great achievement.

"To-day, just 40 years later, men use the skies as readily as their fathers used the seas. Germany and other aggressor nations set out to conquer the earth by lightning blows from the air. Their planes struck brutally at the defenceless men, women and children in a hundred cities. But the aggressors themselves are now being overwhelmed by the very forces which they turned loose so ruthlessly. The armoured eagles of the United Nations, which developed from that fragile machine which the Wrights flew at Kitty Hawk four decades ago, now pour ruin on the strongholds of our enemies by day and night."—USOWI.

Enough Penicillin for All in Six Months, Manufacturers Say

U. S. and Canadian firms manufacturing penicillin told U. S. war production officials that production of penicillin is increasing so rapidly that they will be able to meet all military and civilian needs within six months. This extract of green mould culture is credited by medical men with having saved lives when all other treatments failed, and the demand for the drug has constantly exceeded the supply.—USOWI.

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NOTES

The Present-day Condition of the Indian Civilian

The war has caused death and untold misery to countless millions of inoffensive and innocent people. Most of the sufferers have been the victims of enemy action, either being overwhelmed by invasion or being stricken down through other warlike acts. Many more millions have had to undergo privations due to shortage of essential requirements of life in order that the nation's war effort may be enhanced. But nowhere in this world has there been so much of suffering, misery and privations imposed on civilian life with such utter and absolute disregard for his welfare as has happened in India. If the resultant increase in the war effort had some parity with the tremendous sacrifice made in life, property and money, then this suffering might have had some semblance of justification. But the results show that the war effort today in India is not anywhere near what it should have been in the fifth year of this Great War.

Famine in Bengal, Orissa and Madras, i.e., in the rice-eating parts of India, has taken a tremendous toll of lives. Famine in the modern world is completely preventable. Its prevention was a dire necessity for the enhancement of war effort itself, if not for humanitarian reasons. But this tremendous man-made scourge was permitted to pursue its own course in the thick of a war zone. Army detachments and some army equipments had themselves to be diverted for the prevention of famine. The same story was

repeated in the handling of epidemics following the famine. Cholera, smallpox and such other preventable diseases took another heavy toll of some more millions where again the Army Medical men and medicine had to be drafted. An uncoordinated, unplanned and flimsy attempt was made by the Surgeon-General of Bengal to render medical aid to rural areas in imitation of the Army activities. Trained medical men could not be secured, and in their place, junior students of the Calcutta Medical College were tempted to join what was called a "Cadder Scheme." We do not know what achievements of this scheme have been recorded in the Secretariat, but we are in possession of definite facts which enable us to say that not more than 6000 patients received daily treatment by mobile units for a total period of two months in a province inhabited by 60 million people. The students were sent mostly alone to interior villages with instructions to draw money and medicine from headquarters dozens of miles away from the places where they had been sent. No arrangement had been made to safeguard their life and health in the midst of epidemic-stricken villages.

Equally callous negligence is visible in the matter of providing food and nutrition. Prices have been allowed to rise four times over the pre-war level. Cost of living has increased by leaps and bounds while income lagged behind. The purse of the average man can hardly meet his primary demands for keeping the body and soul together and he has to go without amenities. His reserves have been exhausted and no wonder he falls an easy prey to disease and death.

Rationing has been introduced but in the rice-eating areas it is not an unqualified boon. Prices are four times the normal level, choice has been completely denied and on occasions the food-stuffs supplied are so bad that no father can hand it over to his sons without apprehension of impending illness in the family. Already worn down human constitutions are rapidly disintegrating, resulting in disease and death by a forced feeding of unaccustomed qualities of rice with a weekly change in its variety and description. This evil could easily have been remedied by the provision of coarse, medium and fine qualities of rice and fixing different prices for them. The present Government works, but works without foresight, without sincerity and without sympathy for the people who provide its luxurious existence out of their own blood and toil.

The same is the case with travelling. The people are asked not to travel for pleasure. It is a deliberate falsehood to say that anybody in India except the fat salaried officials and the fatter war princes undertake railway travel for mere pleasure. The railway authorities have themselves put on permanent record the difficulties of travel by publicly advertising the tremendous hardships passengers have to undergo during a trip. The much advertised efficiency of the railway, the telegraph, the telephone and the post office have all broken down to a ridiculous and painful level at the stress of the war, and every one of them is being utilised as an engine of exploitation, not as machinery of public service. Normal channels of trade and industry have been stifled out of existence. Viciously selfish moves of every sort by foreign vested interests with a handful of Indian hangers-on, infest the entire national life today. People have been goaded into exasperation, have been compelled to lose all confidence in the Government with the inevitable result of remaining apathetic to war effort. Nothing beyond a thorough reconstruction of the entire constitutional and administrative machinery on a solid foundation of honesty, efficiency and foresight can bring back the lost confidence in the Government and promote war effort.

Stamping Out of Indian Concerns.

Most of the Indian industrialists and businessmen who are today flourishing with war-work do not seem to realise that they are being led through a blind alley into a hopeless morass of beautifully shining quicksand. The joy of amassing fabulous amounts of paper money has

made them blissfully ignorant about the future. The internal market has been completely neglected by them. Indian products for civilian requirement are practically out of the market and foreign manufactures are slowly and surely taking their place. It does not require much intelligence to realise that war orders will not provide them with future employment to any appreciable extent. The manner in which customers have been treated will leave a permanent stamp on them. At the conclusion of the war, such concerns will be at the end of their tether, for all their regular customers by then will have lost all sympathy for the concern and would surely turn with pleasure to the imported article which would be cheaper and probably much better finished than the home-made product. The British Agency houses here have accepted Indian products only as substitutes pending the arrival of foreign imports. Really good Indian products have never been placed on the market by them as they are unwilling to create a competition between British and Indian products after the war. The customers have this time been so shabbily treated by bountified and protected Industries that it will be wellnigh impossible for them to patronise the local markets again.

Those that are struggling on without war-work with a view to providing civilian needs have arrived almost to the point of a breakdown. Complete closure threatens them in the face due to the absolute stoppage of all supplies of machinery parts, replacements, etc., which are stringently denied to all except those who know how and where to apply the lubricants. If this war lasts another two years—and just now it looks as if it would last for four more—then the British exporter and his American cousin will have their dream fulfilled, the dream of an Asia of hewers of wood and drawers of water, without a single industry in all these millions of square miles, outside Soviet Asia, capable of standing on its own legs. The Western democracies are to be congratulated on the work of their henchmen and their satellites along this truly (Western) democratic ideal!

Mr. Jinnah and Punjab Politics

Mr. K. M. Munshi writes in the *Social Welfare*:

Mr. Jinnah came to the Punjab to conquer it. He wanted to break the Unionist Ministry and to establish a Muslim League Ministry pledged to Pakistan.

The Unionist Party, which is in power in the Punjab for many years, was founded by Sir Fazl-i-Husain. Sir Chhotu Ram is its Hindu bulwark now. A Jat by birth he agreed to the policy of what is termed in the Punjab "Agriculturists." It is based on

two bonds. First, of an economic programme of enriching what in the Punjab are called Agriculturists, a statute-defined group or caste of land-owners and agriculturists or their descendants whether they till land or not; secondly, as a tribal bond of Jat-brotherhood, irrespective of whether the Jat is by religion a Hindu, a Muslim or a Sikh. In a predominantly Muslim province, the basis of the party is a curious admixture of economic class war and changeless tribal spirit. This policy has alienated the cities, and the middle class Hindus and Sikhs.

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan carried forward this tradition, ably supported by Sir Chhotu Ram who, temperamentally, is a fighter. Sir Sikander, when Mr. Jinnah started his All-India movement of Pakistan, entered into an astute pact known as Sikander-Jinnah Pact. By virtue of this Pact, the Muslim members of the Unionist Party in the Punjab became members of the Muslim League on the curious understanding that they would be Leaguers in All-India politics, but Punjabis for Punjab politics. So Sir Sikander became a Jinnahite outside the Punjab, but remained a Unionist inside it. Sir Sikander died; Malik Khizar Hyat Khan Tiwana became the Premier. The President of the League descended upon the Punjab to wipe out the Pact, destroy the Unionist Party and attach the Muslim members of the Unionist Party to the cult of Pakistan. The martial airs were played. A local gentleman declared a total war for Pakistan. Polite receptions were treated as ceremonials of triumph. Mr. Jinnah indicated that Sir Chhotu Ram was his *bete-noir*. Premier Tiwana lost his father and left Lahore for his native village. Sir Chhotu Ram was summoned twice but was adamant. He was Unionist, will remain one, and will have to truck with Pakistan. Sardar Baldev Singh, the Sikh Minister, declined to have anything to do with Pakistan and immediately in a public meeting announced his intention to stand by Akhand Hindustan. Sir Manohar Lal, the other Hindu Minister stood aloof, so did other Hindu and Sikh leaders.

The Muslim members, to quote Mr. Jinnah, talked about the Punjab for the Punjabis. The war bugles bleated a plaintive note: "The Punjab Musselman is as good as any other Musselman in other provinces of India, but what he lacks is character."

"I have been told that the Punjab is with the League and in an All-India issue it is prepared to support the League, but so far as the Punjab is concerned the Punjab is for the Punjabis."

"It is a queer position. The League is not fighting for establishing Pakistan in Bombay. The Punjab is the very foundation of Pakistan. It is strange that while the Muslims in the minority provinces are ready to die for the achievement of Pakistan, I am told in the Punjab that so far as Punjab is concerned it must be left alone. Without the Punjab, Pakistan will be nothing."

"The Muslim M.L.As. were returned by votes. Now they are sitting there tight, even though they have outlived the term for which they were elected. They are now the support of the Ministers. I, therefore, ask you to make preparations from right now and, by God's grace, we will see that when we return our new representatives, they are true and honest men, ready to serve the community and are not selfish."

Mr. Jinnah then made his exit.

Mr. Jinnah left the Punjab with a parting threat to come again. So he did, but this time also he has failed to achieve his object. He had succeeded in rallying a handful of younger M.L.A.'s led by Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan, son

of the late Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, who was credited in the League Circles with the intention of resigning over this issue and crossing the floor of the House. Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan has however been dismissed by the Governor following a lengthy meeting of the Ministry presided over by him, by reason of a "very serious case of injustice, which had come to light, in the exercise of Capt. Hyat Khan's powers as a Minister." Mr. Jinnah's moves have been denounced not only by the Jats and Sikhs, but also by a large number of Muslims in the Province. With the refusal of the Punjab to become "the very foundation of Pakistan," it now remains to be seen what other "foundation" is sought by Mr. Jinnah to build up his house on sands.

Cause of Capt. Hyat Khan's Dismissal

The Lahore Correspondent of the *Statesman* has revealed the cause of Capt. Shaukat Hyat Khan's dismissal:

Details on which the Governor's order dismissing Capt. Hyat Khan was based have not been officially disclosed. It is, however, understood that the "serious case of injustice" relates to the dismissal by the Minister of Mrs. Durga Pershad, Lady Superintendent of the Lahore Corporation Girls' School.

Interviewed, Mrs. Durga Pershad told me: "As I heard the news on the radio last night the idea flashed across my mind that the young Minister had been dismissed for doing a grave injustice to me. My final appeal was submitted to the Governor as recently as the 19th of this month."

Asked to state her case, Mrs. Durga Pershad said: "Briefly my case is this:

Early in April last year I was asked by the Chief Officer of the Lahore Corporation to investigate a case against a Muslim lady teacher. The date was fixed for April 9 but strangely enough only a day before, the Chief Officer told me orally that I had been suspended by the Punjab Government. No reason had been given. The Chief Officer himself admitted that my suspension was a great surprise to him. After a lapse of four months a charge-sheet was handed to me detailing many charges of illegal gratification. An inquiry was held, which lasted five months.

"In January, this year, I was dismissed by the Chief Officer on the basis of an order of the Punjab Government. I filed an appeal before the Commissioner of the Lahore Division who pointed out that I had been exonerated as a result of a departmental inquiry of all the charges against me. The Commissioner, however, did not reverse the Government order on technical grounds. He advised me to file an appeal to the Governor."

Inner History of Jute Price Fixation

From the following interpellations in the Central Legislative Assembly, the inner history of the fixation of jute prices will become clear.

On July 28, 1943, Mr. K. C. Neogy asked the Commerce Member whether influence was

exercised by the Government of India on the Bengal Government for the cultivation of jute *in excess of the desire of the representatives of cultivators* on the Advisory Board on Jute Regulation. Sir Azizul Huq replied in the affirmative. The same question had been put by Mr. Neogy on February 11, 1943 to which Mr. N. R. Sarkar had also returned an affirmative reply. The second part of Mr. Neogy's question on July 28, was :

(b) Has the attention of the Honourable Member been drawn to a Press statement issued by the Chief Whip of the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party in the first week of this month, alleging—

(i) That an agreement has been entered into by the Indian Jute Mills Association for fixing certain maxima prices of jute for the coming season.

(ii) That this has been done with the full knowledge of the Provincial Government and "possibly of the Central Government as well."

(iii) That the prices have been fixed in view of the expectation that the Government of the United States of America would place a large order for the supply of hessian, provided its prices do not exceed a particular figure.

(iv) That there has been a tripartite understanding between the interest concerned in the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Indian Jute Mills Association in this connection.

(v) That the prices fixed are lower than what could be legitimately expected by the cultivator in view of the War orders from different parts of the world, coupled with the internal demand.

(c) Does the Honourable Member propose to lay on the table a full statement on the above allegations, and to explain what part, if any, has been played by the Government of India in this transaction?

Sir Azizul Huq evaded by asking Mr. Neogy to put this question to the Supply Member.

On November 8 following, Mr. Neogy put the same questions to the Supply Member. To clause (iii) of the question, Sir A. R. Mudaliar replied that the fixation of maximum prices for raw jute by the Committee was the outcome of the acceptance by the mills of an order for hessian for export to the U. S. A. He categorically denied the allegations contained in clauses (iv) and (v). Following this denial, Mr. Neogy asked : "Have the Government satisfied themselves that the interests of the jute-growers have not been adversely affected by this agreement among the Capitalists ?" Sir Ramaswami replied : "I can say that I have personally satisfied myself that up to now it has not been affected because when the maximum price is about 17, I understand the present prices are very much below that."

Mr. Neogy pursued the matter and on February 21 last, the following interpellation took place :

Mr. K. C. Neogy : Will the Honourable the Supply Member be pleased to refer to starred question No. 17 of the 8th November, 1943, and his answer thereto, and state :

(a) Whether it is a fact that on the 14th June, 1943, the Adviser on Jute Supplies on behalf of the Government of the United States of America placed an order in India for 70 crores of yards of hessian at rates below the then market price.

(b) Whether it is a fact that the Washington representative of Economic Warfare in India on behalf of the Government of the United States of America refused to pay any price for the said hessian above the domestic ceiling price in the United States of America and that the Government of India supported him in this attitude.

(c) Whether it is a fact that the above order was classed as a war order and, as such, given priority over others.

(d) Whether the Government of India satisfied themselves that this was really an order exclusively for the purposes of war effort, and was not intended to supply the domestic civilian needs in the United States of America to any extent whatsoever.

(e) The price of hessian at which these orders were executed, and the price of hessian ruling in the market in the country then.

(f) Whether it is a fact that the Members of the Indian Jute Mills' Association entered into an agreement amongst themselves not to purchase raw jute for the execution of these orders at more than Rs. 14, Rs. 17 and Rs. 19 per maund for Bottoms, Middles and Tops, respectively.

(g) Whether it is a fact that the Government of the United Kingdom agreed not to purchase jute in the Indian market at that time, in order to keep the prices at the level agreed to amongst the Members of the Indian Jute Mills Association.

(h) Whether it is a fact that the prices of jute ruling about the time when the American order for hessian was placed, were higher than those fixed by the Indian Jute Mills' Association.

(i) How the prices offered by the Indian Jute Mills' Association for jute compared with the average prices of other agricultural commodities, particularly food-grains, month by month, since June, 1943, in the principal jute producing areas ?

The Honourable Dewan Bahadur Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar : (a) No. The negotiations leading up to the placing of contract were conducted by Mr. Swerling, U. S. A. Representative with the Committee of Indian Jute Mills' Association.

(b) The price paid was the result of free negotiations between the U. S. A. Representative and the Committee of the Indian Jute Mills' Association and the question, therefore, of support by the Government of India does not arise.

(c) and (d). Yes.

(e) Basis Rs. 19-8 per 100 yards for 9 porters and Rs. 26 per 100 yards for 11 porters against ruling market prices of Rs. 21-10 and Rs. 28-8, respectively.

(f), (g) and (h). Yes.

(i) Information regarding prices of agricultural produce in Bengal is being collected and a statement will be laid on the table of the House. I may, however, state from such information as is readily available that the normal parity between jute and paddy did not prevail during the period, the price of paddy far outdistancing the price of jute.

After the definite assertion in the affirmative by the Supply Member of the Government,

of India to Mr. Neogy's pointed query, "Whether the Government of India had satisfied themselves that this was really an order exclusively for the purposes of war effort, and was not intended to supply the domestic civilian needs in the U. S. A. to any extent whatsoever," the following *Reuters* message was published which showed that the matter was worse. The message, which is an announcement of the U. S. War Production Board, states that jute from Calcutta was purchased for trading purposes, i.e., for reselling them to Cuba and Puerto Rico to be used as sugar sacks. The message perhaps relates to a subsequent agreement but it is difficult to avoid the impression that it may bear some relation to the transaction referred to by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar. The message runs :

WASHINGTON, March 24.

"The United States War Production Board tonight (Friday) announced the conclusion of negotiations for the purchase of jute from Calcutta for reselling to Cuba and Puerto Rico to be used as sugar sacks. Fifty per cent. of the supply needed will be bought now and the rest after the sugar crop in May or June at which time the amount needed for the next year can be estimated. Efforts have been made to grow Sisal in the United States and Latin America to provide fibre for sacks but so far insufficient quantity has been produced to meet the demands.—*Reuter*.

Jute Prices Unremunerative

The jute-growers have literally been swindled of their legitimate profits by the fixation of prices at Rs. 19, 17 and 14 respectively for tops, middles and bottoms. We have given an idea about the reason and process for this price fixation. That the prices have been clearly unremunerative has been admitted even by the *Capital*, the organ of the British commercial interests in Bengal. The following comment made by the *Capital* in its issue for March 16, is self-explanatory :

In a recent article we commented on the lack of encouragement to sow jute which was offered by the proposed maximum prices for raw jute which the Government of India intend to make statutory. Our argument was that the current maximum prices of jute and paddy would encourage the growing of paddy and discourage the growing of jute and that not all the propaganda that the Government of Bengal could bring to bear would induce the ryots to put down sowings which would be equal to eight annas of the recorded acreage.

According to a table submitted by our correspondent, the average yield of jute per acre in the districts taken is 15 mds. 35 srs, which is higher than the official reports of outturn for these districts. On the basis of man-hours for employed labour, the average cost of cultivation per acre is Rs. 159, or Rs. 10 per maund. If, on the other hand, the crop is cultivated by the ryot's own family, the cost is given as Rs. 113 per acre, or Rs. 7-1-9 per maund. This gives a profit

per acre of Rs. 31-7-8 where labour is hired and Rs. 77-9-6 where the work is done by the family, assuming that the ryots get Rs. 12 per maund for their jute crop. As we showed in a previous article, this rate of Rs. 12 per maund is not likely to be obtained by the cultivators. If it is, there will not be sufficient margin between the prices paid to the ryots and the maximum prices in Calcutta to cover the costs of handling, grading, transporting, etc.

The advantage of the mills is that they are now the only purchasers in the field, the shipping of raw jute bales being practically suspended. It is easier therefore for the British and American Governments to use the I.J.M.A. for their own purposes. Jute goods were so long being supplied to the U. K. and U. S. A. at cheap rates to the detriment of Indian interests, but now this country has been compelled to supply jute products to South American States at unreasonably cheap prices thus enabling the U.S.A. to make substantial profits. From the reply of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar it is not unreasonable to think that an unholy alliance had taken place between the U. K. and the U. S. A. as a result of which the U. K. agreed not to purchase jute in the Indian market at the time when the American purchase was being made. The American order was placed below the then market price and the agreement seems to have been made with a view to depress prices by stifling the market.

Bengal Food Situation

The *Bombay Sentinel*, in its issue for April 12, has made a comment on the Bengal food situation under the caption *Danger Signal in Bengal*, an extract from which is given below :

Officialdom in this country is notorious for its complacency. Its policy and pronouncements with regard even to a catastrophic situation often betray a flippant unconcern for public interests. It has reason to be so. Independent of popular suffrage, its cosy situation in the guarded secretariats and council houses blinds it to such eventualities.

This explains the irresponsible statement of Sir Firoz Khan Noon in London that the food situation in India is improving. Though he admitted the situation in Bengal is a difficulty, he assured his listeners in the imperial metropolis that the Government of India has taken adequate measures to feed the people in that unfortunate province.

Only an official representative of India could indulge in such a blatant misrepresentation of actual conditions in India, particularly, Bengal where the faulty procurement policy of the provincial government and threatened failure of the *Aus* crop are creating a situation which has all the aspects of another famine.

Sir Firoz's irresponsibility outweighs, Mr. Amery's obduracy. Even the stony-hearted Secretary of State for India had not the effrontery to draw such a complacent picture when he replied to Mr. Sorensen on the food scarcity in this country a few days ago.

He admitted that the total amount of food-grains produced this year does not guarantee a whole year's

sustenance of the people. In face of that the newly appointed Indian representative on War Cabinet finds the situation improving !

Official complacency must not be allowed to breed popular unconcern for the unfortunate victims of famine areas. The food situation is yet far from improving. In fact it is deteriorating, particularly in Bengal.

With a savage enemy trying to infiltrate into the heart of the province the people there are again faced with the prospect of a second famine.

Already the price of rice has gone higher than what it was this time last year. According to available reports the price varies between Rs. 18 to Rs. 22 per maund in each of the 12 deficit districts. In these districts there is a population of roughly two crores and a half of whom over one crore require supply.

But the procurement policy of the Government has failed to acquire sufficient store to provide these people with the needed quantity of grains. Though the last *Aman* crop yielded 27 crores maunds of rice, hoarders and black-marketeers have left very little for the famished people.

To add to the difficulty is the scarcity of seeds for *Aus* crop. Hungry peasants last year were forced to eat up even the small amount of paddy which they save otherwise for the coming year's sowing.

That is not end of the tale. Death, disease and under-nourishment have created an acute shortage of agricultural labour throughout the province.

A typical example of this new development is provided by the report that in the district of Noakhali the population consists of 75 per cent. of women, most of whom are widowed or forsaken. In a village called Bagna 95 per cent. of the inhabitants are now women. This will speak for the scarcity of agricultural labour.

Bengal villages, like those in any other parts of the country, are populated by agricultural workers and if the villages are deserted by the men who will till the soil ? From this it is apparent that there is grave danger ahead in Bengal. It will materialise unless concerted action is taken by all concerned, official and non-official to alleviate the situation.

Some mofussil news items published in Calcutta papers unmistakably point out that there is persistent tendency for the price of rice to rise above Rs. 20. It has been admitted even by the *Capital* that it is practically impossible to purchase rice at the statutory prices. We feel it our duty to draw attention of the people and the Government to the comments of the *Sentinel* which deserve serious study.

Citizenship Rights for Indians in America

Writing in the *Asia*, Mr. Anup Singh, of the India League of America, has pointed out that there are only about 3000 native Indians in the U. S. A. It may be recalled that Indians were entitled to become citizens until the Supreme Court ruled in 1923 that Hindus were not white persons, thereby depriving the Indian people of the right they once possessed in the United States. Thousands of Americans have always been accorded equal rights and privileges in India, and the least America can do is to reciprocate this treatment.

Lahore Judgment on Court Martial?

A full bench of the Lahore High Court consisting of the Chief Justice Sir Trevor Harries and Rahaman and Mahajan JJ., in the course of their judgment in the Meads Case, observed : "Section 270 of the Government of India Act is not applicable to a Court Martial held under the Army Act in respect of a British Officer attached to the Indian army." This question of law was referred to the full bench in a petition submitted by Capt. A. D. Meads of the Royal Engineers. The Captain was tried by a Court Martial held in Lahore Cantonment on October 12, 1942, and was convicted under Section 17 of the Army Act for alleged misapplication of public funds and sentenced to two years' imprisonment and cashiered. The petitioner urged that the act complained of was committed by him in the execution of his duty or in the purported execution of such duty. That being so it was urged that no criminal proceedings could be taken against him without the consent of the Governor-General in his discretion as the officer was employed in connection with the affairs of the Government of India. It was contended that as no such consent had been obtained the Court Martial had no jurisdiction to hear the case and therefore the conviction and the sentence were wholly illegal.

Delivering judgment the Chief Justice observed : "In my view, if the provisions of Section 270 of the Government of India Act applied to Court Martials, the whole object of a Court Martial, namely, to bring the offender to a more exemplary and speedy punishment than the usual forms of law will allow would be completely defeated."

The same point of law was raised in two other petitions which were dismissed. One petitioner was a civil assistant store-keeper in an Ordnance Depot and was sentenced to 2 years R. I. by a Court Martial and dismissed from service. The second was also a civilian store-keeper in an Army Depot and was sentenced to 5 years' R. I. (later reduced to 3 years) for alleged negligence in performing his duties as a store-keeper as to be unable to account for stores to the value of Rs. 29,000. It was contended on behalf of the petitioners that they being ordinary civil servants could not be tried by a Court Martial. The Chief Justice held that they were clearly amenable to military law and their trial by Court Martial was legal. The petitioners were persons attached to or employed with military forces raised in British India and that being so they must be deemed to be on

active service for the purposes of the Indian Army Act.

No Shortage of Cloth Stock

A press note issued by the Textile Commissioner from Bombay says :

The returns of stocks so far received have revealed the fact that the difficulty experienced by the smaller dealers in obtaining cloth and yarn has not been due to any great shortage of stock.

Out of the stocks which have been frozen by the Textile Commissioner he is now prepared to direct deliveries at controlled prices of reasonable quantities which will be fixed by him in each case to dealers in Bombay and upcountry. Complete information regarding the stocks is available in the office of the Textile Commissioner, Harawala Building, Wittet Road, Ballard Estate, Bombay, and enquiries may be directed to this address. Dealers who want cloth from the above stocks should forward along with their application a certificate from the appropriate Government authority dealing with cloth of their place testifying to the applicant having been in cloth business before 1943.

It may be added that the Textile Commissioner has been recently vested with powers to compel both manufacturers and dealers to sell their stock to any party nominated by him.

But how is it that in spite of sufficient stock, price of cloth does not tend to come down to a reasonable level ? Price of cloth rose five or six times the pre-war level and has come down not more than by something like 40 per cent. The present ruling prices are too high and beyond the reach even of the average middle class.

Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The Bengal Ministry have made their third bid to get the Secondary Education Bill passed. This Bill has always been a favourite with the reactionary Muslims of the Province and on the two previous occasions the Bill was supported by Ministries dominated by reactionaries and supported by the Europeans. On only one occasion, Bengal had something like a progressive Ministry independent of European votes and this Ministry did not proceed with the Bill.

The Bill provides for the creation of a Secondary Education Board under whom all the High Schools of the Province will be placed. This Board will conduct the Matriculation Examination, appoint examiners, approve textbooks, grant affiliation to new schools, provide grants-in-aid and appoint Inspectors. The Calcutta University will have nothing to do with the Matriculation Examination.

The Board will consist of 53 members of whom 21 will be Hindus and 21 Muslims. Of the 21 Hindu members, 6 will be from among the scheduled castes. The remaining 11 seats will

consist of the D. P. I., the Director of Physical Instruction, representative of European Education, etc. Election to the Board will be on communal basis. The President will be a nominee of the Government. For the conduct of day-to-day affairs, the Board will have an Executive Council consisting of 21 members including the President, of whom 9 will be Hindu (of whom 2 will be scheduled castes) and 9 Muslims, the D. P. I. and the Assistant Director of Muslim Education.

The constitution of the Board and the Executive Council shows that the Government will have a comfortable majority in both, the Muslim members being backed by the Government officials. Whatever progress has there been in Bengal during the British rule, has been almost exclusively due to the energy and sacrifice of the Hindus. Not unoften the progress had to be maintained despite Governmental apathy and opposition. Even now out of the 1500 High Schools in Bengal, about 1400 have been established by the Hindus and are conducted with money from them.

The most sinister thing underlying the principle of the Bill is its communal character. The present Bill is nothing but an attempt to arrogate all the benefits arising out of Hindu sacrifice by people who never made any material contribution towards the educational advancement of the country. Educational interests can never be promoted by a Board composed of members elected with a qualification other than educational and dominated by reactionary and communal groups and individuals. The present Bengal Legislature has outlived its tenure by more than two years. An artificial majority in such a body cannot be permitted to proceed with a highly controversial measure of this type and supported in their attempt to do so without a complete sacrifice of all principles of equity and justice.

Postal "Efficiency"

A post card addressed to the editor of a Calcutta periodical has been returned to the sender after 18 years on the ground that the addressee could not be traced. Every periodical is allowed to be published under a license and there must be some department within the administrative machinery where the addresses of these may be traced. We believe one week should have been sufficient for the Post Office to trace the addressee through proper channels, if their desire to deliver the post card were

genuine. Eighteen years for this simple work does not speak highly of postal efficiency.

Two cases of gross inefficiency in the Postal Department resulting in loss and harassment of the public have been reported to us. In one case, a money order for Rs. 150 (No. 3347) was sent from the Park Street Post Office on January 5 last to Janakpur Road P.O., Dt. Muzaffarpur till after three weeks it was not delivered. On January 27, the matter was brought to the notice of the Presidency Post Master. Waiting for another three weeks, a reminder was sent to the authorities on February 17. On February 28 a reply was received that the case was being attended to. The man waited till March 15, i.e., for two months and ten days, for the delivery of an M. O. to a place some three days' journey from Calcutta. Next day, a pleader's notice was served. This had some effect. The M. O. was delivered about a fortnight after the service of the pleader's notice. The second case, in respect of an M. O. for Rs. 30 is exactly similar and is undergoing the same process but upto now without any result.

Losses in transit of postal packets and parcels are also mounting up alarmingly. Ordinary packets such as those containing monthly magazines sent through the post are being pilfered at an increasing rate. Packets sent under certificate of posting, about which there can be no doubt regarding the actual delivery at the post office of despatch, are also being stolen and there does not seem to be any effort on the part of the authorities to remedy matters. Complaints bring stereotyped replies that the "matter is receiving attention" and that seems to be the sumtotal of the activities of the persons in charge of the Postal department. In some extremely rare instances some extraordinarily energetic persons seem to be able to call up hidden stocks of energy. On such occasions a second letter arrives, bearing the news that no trace of the article lost could be found and that of course ends the matter!

Telegrams have now become most uncertain, whether "Express" or "Ordinary." India is fast approaching the Golden Age in the matter of communications.

Satish Chandra Mukherjee

Death occurred on April 26 of Sj. Satish Chandra Mukherjee, proprietor of the *Basumati* concerns, at the age of 53. For some time past, Mr. Mukherjee was keeping indifferent health

which was aggravated by the sad untimely death of his only son. His father, the late Upendranath Mukherjee had started the weekly *Basumati*. Satish Babu, who had joined his father's concern at an early age, converted it into a daily. The *Basumati* was the first daily to be printed in a rotary machine and the first to subscribe the Reuter's service for a Bengali newspaper. These improvements were due to the untiring energies of Satish Babu. For some time he conducted the English *Basumati*, and published its monthly edition. Apart from these journalistic ventures, he built up a very popular publishing concern. He published cheap editions of well-known Sanskrit classics with their Bengali translations and also the collected works of great Bengali poets and novelists. It was thus due to his enterprise that the works of the greatest litterateurs of Bengal came within easy reach of the masses. At the time of the last Bengal famine the *Basumati* earned the people's admiration for fearlessly stirring the Government into action during a period of complacency, inaction and bungling.

Prafulla Kumar Sarkar

Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, passed away in Calcutta at the age of 61 on April 13 last. Mr. Sarkar was one of the founders of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika*, the *Hindustan Standard*, and the Bengali weekly *Desh*. He was a litterateur of high repute and wrote several books. Some of his novels had earned great popularity. His charming manners and unassuming character endeared him to all who came in contact with him. He was for some time the President of the Indian Journalists' Association, and was one of the founders of this body formed 22 years ago. In the pioneering efforts made by the first group of journalists of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* to make newspaper reading popular through the medium of Bengali, they had no progressive tradition to fall back upon, and most of what the Journalists of the Bengali dailies of Calcutta were using as technical terms for their day-to-day work were perhaps first introduced by these pioneers. In a meeting summoned by the Indian Journalists' Association for mourning the death of Mr. Prafulla Kumar Sarkar, Mr. Satyendra-nath Majumdar, the former editor of the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* who worked with Mr. Sarkar for about 20 years, pointed out that in this pioneering attempt of coining Bengali synonyms for English technical terms, the contribution of Mr. Sarkar was unique.

Ban on Bombay Sentinel

Following the Bombay fire, the D.I.R. was invoked to impose a ban on the publication of *Bombay Sentinel*. No reason was given for the promulgation of this drastic order. The City did not take it lying down. The Bombay editors lodged an emphatic protest against this executive action which was definitely asserted as unwarranted and arbitrary. The *Bombay Chronicle* wrote :

The first thing that we feel constrained to say today about the aftermath of the fire which broke out in the city on Friday is to register an emphatic protest against the ban imposed by the Bombay Government on the *Bombay sentinel*. That Government "is pleased to prohibit the publication of the *Bombay sentinel*." And why? Because, forsooth, "it is necessary for the purpose of securing the defence of British India and the efficient prosecution of the war" to impose the ban! No specific offence is alleged against the paper, though even a show of justice demands some specific charge. One can only presume that the paper's offence was that it left some columns blank as a protest against certain restrictions. But though opinions may differ about the expediency of this method of protest, it is one of the commonest and recognised methods and it is certainly not an offence. It is ridiculous to regard non-publication as a prejudicial act. Nor did the caption to the blank columns suggest anything beyond what had been already stated by Government themselves and published by the Press. The ban is unwarranted from every point of view. It is arbitrary and against the spirit of the Gentlemen's Agreement between the Government of India and the Editors' Conference.

Good sense has dawned at last on the Colville Government and the ban has been lifted.

"War Effort Plea is Rank Hypocrisy"

The application of the anti-Indian Pegging Act in Durban is to be withdrawn, and a Board is to be set up to control Indian occupation by licensing of dwellings in certain areas—these important decisions affecting the Pegging Act have been taken as the result of discussions between the South African Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior on the one hand and a deputation from Natal, which included members of the Natal Indian Congress.

The following official statement has been issued by the South African Minister of Interior, Mr. Clarkson :

"Discussions took place as the result of representations made by the Indian Congress to find an alternative method of controlling occupation of dwellings in towns and boroughs in Natal to that adopted under the Act mentioned."

"It was agreed that the situation would best be met by the introduction of an Ordinance into the Natal Provincial Council. This Ordinance would provide for the creation of a board consisting of two Europeans, and two Indian members under the chairmanship of a third European who would be a man with legal training.

"The object of the legislation would be to create a machinery for a board to control occupation by licensing of dwellings in certain areas and the application of the Pegging Act in Durban to be withdrawn by a Proclamation on the passing of this Ordinance."

According to this decision, some modification in the application of the Pegging Act may in future be made; the Act itself has not been withdrawn. The Board set up for controlling the application will consist of 3 Europeans and 2 Indians. Considering the attitude of the South African Whites, the result is not difficult to anticipate. The views of the Indian people in respect of the Pegging Act were unmistakably voiced inside and outside the Indian Legislative Assembly, although the Indian Government's attitude had never been strong. The demand for retaliatory measures against South Africa was made, and the Madras Corporation adopted it. The threat of retaliation appears to have gone home and brought about at least a slight climb down. A pamphlet urging the enforcement of economic sanctions against South Africa, circulated by Swami Bhabani Dayal, Mr. Muhammad Ahmed Jadwat and Dr. Lanka Sundaram, examined the character and extent of trade between the two countries. The pamphlet states :

According to official Union statistics, in 1939, India exported to South Africa goods valued at Rs. 35 lakhs and imported from South Africa, goods worth at Rs. 56 lakhs, while in 1942-43 our exports to South Africa were roughly Rs. 1,050 lakhs and imports from that country Rs. 250 lakhs. Any possible loss of this favourable balance even on the high basis disclosed in 1942-43 cannot be an argument against the enforcement of sanctions. When Europe fell to Germany, we lost some Rs. 200 crores worth of annual export trade to that continent, and that the declaration of war by Japan has led to a similar colossal loss of our trade with various countries to the East of the Bay of Bengal.

A quarter of a million Indians in the Union, all of whom are rice eaters, have gone without rice from this country during the past year at least and thus the theory that a ban on rice exports to South Africa would hit the Indian nations there does not hold water. The authors are convinced that the stoppage of textile supplies to South Africa would not mean that South Africa would be able to replace them in the quantities required from other countries for at least the next 3 years. They understand that considerable quantities of Indian yarn are being recently exported to keep South African factories going and any interruption of these supplies is bound to make the requisite impression on the Union Government and the white people of South Africa. The authors' enquiries show, that several tanneries in India have never so far used wattle bark and that babul and other indigenous materials containing the requisite tannic acid are being extensively used. Indigenous substitutes for South African wattle bark can be found in this country in quantities which will ultimately relieve our dependence upon the Union, even though they agree that the forthright prohibition of the import of this substance would create a short-term problem for the tanning industry.

The export of jute and jute manufacturers is handled by Europeans at both ends. The imposition of trade sanctions against South Africa must be accompanied by guarantees that countries which are contiguous to the Union, would not obtain goods from this country and pass them on to the Union.

The "war effort" plea declares the pamphlet, is rank hypocrisy used by South Africa or by die-hards in Britain. It concludes by asserting that trade and economic sanctions are the best and surest measure which India can adopt against South Africa.

How Australia Vindicates Freedom of the Press

The following news gives an idea of how Australia, a British Dominion, vindicates the freedom of her Press against executive encroachments on its rights and liberties :

Sydney, April 18

There were extraordinary street scenes in Sydney today after police officers had stopped the publication of two evening newspapers, *The Sun* and *The Mirror*. Crowds blocked traffic outside the newspaper offices while papers were thrown to them from windows. The newspapers succeeded in getting many copies on to the streets, and sellers were besieged.

Sydney University students headed a procession of 2,000 people which marched through the city streets. They sang "Freedom of press lies mouldering in the grave" and shouted "we want a free press—democracy must prevail."

There were many clashes with the police. Three young men were taken to the police station, but released after an-hour-long questions.

The High Court having granted an injunction to the *Sydney Morning Herald* on similar terms to that granted to the *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, both papers are to-morrow publishing the previous day's issue also. Meanwhile the Federal Government has instituted proceedings against the *Herald* and *Telegraph* for alleged breaches of censorship regulations. The cases will be heard on April 27.—Reuter.

Comments can be made only after the High Court judgments have been delivered.

"Within Five Years India Will Quit Empire"—Acland

Discussing Empire relations in the company of several Dominion correspondents, Sir Richard Acland, Parliamentary Leader of the Commonwealth Party prophesied that within five years India will walk out of the British Empire. As reported by the *National Call*, Delhi, Sir Richard said that nothing can stop India quitting the Empire.

Conservatives and other British capitalists knew it. That is why they are attempting even in the midst of war to strengthen their hold on India. But history repeats itself, and just what happened to America and Ireland is bound to happen to India—with this difference that we will have a better India than America and Ireland because unlike America and Ireland, India will come under the influence whether you like it or not, under Soviet philosophy and life and also at any rate under the Chinese way of thinking."

Simultaneously with this report, the same paper has published the following cable which reflects progressive opinion in America about India :

The newspaper "P.M." in an article on India entitled "When India Finds Her Voice" points out that unquestionably one day India will achieve Dominion Status, giving her freedom to quit the Empire.

The author Max Lerner says : "I do not say that the path of freedom will be smooth and eventless. I do say, as Pandit Nehru does, even the problems of religion, poverty, class power and caste rigidity will be solved when there is the will to solve them. That will must extend beyond India, for she can find herself domestically happy only within the framework of world peace. She must have the aid of American investment and technology and if she gets that the living standards of hundreds of millions of Indians can be raised. But she must also become part of the Far East federation so that it can develop without any serious military threats. That Indians are ready for partnership with China was made abundantly clear by historical interchange of visits between Pandit Nehru and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. Are these mere dreams ? I do not think. They are the great realities of the future—as we shall rapidly find out if we try to ignore them."

Sir Richard Acland on Revolution in Britain

In the same company of Dominion correspondents, Sir Richard Acland discussed post-war Britain and the British Empire. He said :

He and his party were convinced that within 15 years there will be a social revolution without the shedding of blood in Britain, which will result in the complete transfer of control to the people. There will be no company directors, no gilt-edged securities and even stock exchanges. There will be complete common ownership of everything even to the brass tacks. This may happen under the leadership of a revitalised dynamic Labour Party with the Commonwealth Party playing the role of junior partner.

The commercial rivalry between Britain and America is becoming more and more pronounced, and at the same time British public opinion is gradually drifting closer to the U. S. S. R. A series of sharp questions, many of which were aimed at British policies, recently embroiled the House of Representatives in a several hours' argument over the continuation of Lend-Lease for another year. Pressure was put on the Government by the Republican Party, and information was demanded from the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee as to whether it was true that Lend-Lease had been mishandled to the benefit of Britain and disadvantage of the U. S. A. Power of the President was sought to be restricted by moving amendments to the legislation. There is no doubt that an element of distrust in British promises underlies the demand for making the 99 year-leases of the bases perpetual.

The recent Gallup poll in England gives another indication of which way the wind is blowing. Mr. Eden has headed the list of the public's choice of Prime Minister if for any reason Mr. Churchill should have to leave office. He has scored 55% votes, while the amateur socialists Sir Stafford Cripps, Mr. Attlee and Mr. Bevin have received 5%, 4% and 3% respectively, and the rank diehard Beaverbrook only 2 per cent.

Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar

Dr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar, a former President of the Indian National Congress, who had been ailing for some time past passed away on April 19 at the age of 94. He was closely associated with the Congress from its very inception in 1885. He was one of the members of the committee formed at the third session in Madras to draw up a constitution of the Congress. He was a member of the Madras Legislative Council during 1895-1901 and of the Imperial Legislative Council for the years 1913-16. His profound knowledge of constitutional law earned for him the special place as an authority and his expositions and comments were always received with respect. In 1920, he presided over the Congress Session at Nagpur where Mahatma Gandhi emerged as the leader of a new line of action in the Congress policy and approach to the issue of freedom. In him, India has lost one of the oldest leaders of the Indian national movement.

"Worst Crime of Congress Leaders is they are Supreme Patriots"—Sorensen.

Mr. Reginald Sorensen, in an interview to the *United Press of India*, on the statement made by Mr. Amery in the House of Commons in the course of discussions on the continuance of Governor's Rule in India, said : "The statement made by Mr. Amery was both provocative and contentious to some of us. When he says that the Congress has instigated the disturbances I entirely disagree." Mr. Sorensen's comment has been cabled by the special correspondent of the *Tribune*, Lahore :

.... "*The proposals now made for continuation of these proclamations are in themselves a tragic confession of failure.* It is continuing the deadlock which cannot remain as it is. The only one other word I would say is that the sooner we move away from the standpoint of a censorious judgment on those detained in prison and internment camps in India and be realists, the better it will be for our future and the future of India.

"We may have our judgments regarding Indian leaders. We may think them wise or unwise, but *the worst crime they have committed is that of being,*

according to their lights, the supreme Indian patriots. Even non-Congressmen have pleaded again and again for some little step to be taken at least to ease the atmosphere.

"We have this proposal in an almost perfunctory way that we should accept criticism and censure of the *Indian leaders without giving them on the other hand a chance to answer back.*"

Mr. Amery, in his usual style, accuses the Congress for responsibility in the 1942 disturbances and demands that withdrawal of the Quit India resolution as the condition precedent for reopening negotiations with the Congress. Too much has been made, and is still being made of these disturbances *about which the Congress responsibility has not yet been proved.* Greater disturbances, amounting to armed revolution, had however occurred in Canada and Ireland, and South-Africa. But was any apology for these disturbances ever demanded from them at the time of accepting them as Dominions ?

Congress League Settlement Talk

The Political Correspondent of the *Leader*, Allahabad, reports that developments in India have made the Congress and the League to consider their positions afresh and come to some settlement during the war. Important discussions during and after the recent session of the Central Assembly were held at Delhi between the leaders of the Muslim League and the Congress. The League, the correspondent reliably understands, has agreed to drop the demand for Pakistan if the Congress agrees to a fifty-fifty arrangement at the Centre. The report, dated April 21, runs :

Prominent Congressmen made another offer also. They told the League leaders that the Congress would not offer opposition, if the League formed government at the Centre along with other parties. Mr. Jinnah, it is stated, does not like this idea because any settlement without the Congress will not be safe, and the League's prestige will also be undermined, if it lines up with other political parties and not the Congress.

Recently at Lucknow I was told by responsible persons that the hitch was over the "prize-post" of the premier and the attitude towards "Pakistan propaganda" during the coalition government at the Centre. The Congress presses for a plebiscite amongst the Muslims on the Pakistan issue, while the League is reluctant to accept it. Those who are in touch with political circles at Delhi go even so far as to assert that the questions of premiership and the League's attitude towards Pakistan will also be settled after some more discussions which are going on between the spokesmen of the Congress and the League.

It is stated that the Home department has also been acquainted with these talks.

We prefer Hindu-Muslim Unity as a collaboration between the two great communities in the service of humanity. A Congress-League Pact concluded on the basis of political conces-

sions, however useful for the time being, cannot to our mind, provide a lasting foundation for a Hindu-Muslim unity. We quote below the portion of a speech made by Sir Syed Ahmed who, contrary to facts, has been described by some Muslim leaders as the founder of the Pakistan idea and the 'two nations' theory. Sir Syed said at Gurdaspur on January 27, 1884 :

In old historical books and traditions you will have read and heard, and we see it even now, that all the people inhabiting one country are designated by the term one nation. . . . So that from the oldest times the word nation is applied to the inhabitants of one country, though they differ in some peculiarities which are characteristic of their own. Hindu and Mahomedan brethren, do you people any country other than Hindustan? Do you not inhabit the same land? Are you not born and buried on the same soil? Do you not tread the same ground and live upon the same soil? Remember that the words Hindu and Mahomedan are only meant for religious distinction—otherwise all persons, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, even the Christians who reside in this country, are all in this particular respect belonging to one and the same nation. Then all these different sects can only be described as one nation; they must each and all unite for the good of the country which is common to all.

Speaking at Lahore some time later, he again said :

In the word nation I include both Hindus and Mahomedans because that is the only meaning which I can attach to it. . . . We inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same governors, the fountains of benefits for all are the same, and the pangs of famine also we suffer equally. These are the different grounds upon which I call both those races which inhabit India by one word, i.e., Hindus, meaning to say that they are the inhabitants of Hindustan.

Need for a Free Press during War

The *Bombay Chronicle* writes :

A free press is never more valuable than in these days of war. "We need a free informed people to fight a war of freedom," said Governor Thomas E. Dewey in a recent broadcast on the role of the free press.

Mr. Cordell Hull disclosed last week that he had protested to the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, as far back as in November, 1942, against British political censorship. At the same time he had written to the Chief U. S. Censor—that "fundamentally long-range interests of international friendship are best served by permitting the people of any country to know what the people in friendly countries are thinking and saying about them, however unpleasant some of these opinions may be." We do not know what response Mr. Hull obtained from British censors but it appears that, however, free and fully informed the press in U. S. A. and Britain may be, it seems certain that rigorous censorship is enforced with regard to both the incoming and outgoing news concerning nationalist politics in India. Nor does the U. S. A. seem to have made any attempt to be helpful to India in this respect.

Yet it is only when the press is free everywhere that it can be a beneficent world force to safeguard world peace. In the course of an article written for "Journalism in War Time" symposium, Mr. Kent

Cooper, the Executive Director of the Associated Press of America, rightly remarks : "If universal dissemination of truth could be guaranteed in the post-war world, the chances of new wars occurring will be remote. The cause of the wars is perverted presentation of international news. It is the truth that makes men free." Accordingly, he proposes that international freedom of news exchange be made a cardinal principle of any future treaties. He had made a similar suggestion to the Allied peace-makers after the last war. But he got only very limited support. We trust he will succeed better now. We cordially commend his suggestion and his appeal to journalists to "unite and demand a peace treaty clause on Press Freedom."

No comment, but a comparison of Executive opinion in this country with that in the U. S. A. is needed.

University of Music for Allahabad

The plans appear to have matured for the establishment of a University of Music at Allahabad, to be associated with the name of the late Pandit Vishnudigambar, a great exponent of the art of Indian classical music. It is likely that the Vishnudigambar University of Music will be inaugurated some time in the middle of October on the occasion of the annual convocation and music conference of the Prayag Sangit Samiti, the sponsors of the University scheme.

Wagon Allotment Scheme

In reply to a letter from the Secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce regarding a meeting of the representatives of the Chamber with Sir Edward Bentall, an Indian Company dealing in Tea, Provisions, Fertilisers and Tea Garden Stores has made the following representation which deserves serious attention :

I. That extreme difficulty is being felt by us in despatching our goods and that it is always difficult to obtain correct information as to the place where to enquire and when certain classes of foods may be booked.

II. That very often, it has been found that after sending the goods to the station as per their date of permission, goods were refused booking causing loss and inconvenience.

III. That tea chest and tea garden stores were so long difficult to transport but now the same has been taken up by the Indian Tea Association, which body has appointed Messrs. Williamson, Major & Co. as distributors of wagons. But no arrangement has been made for despatching less than one wagon load. Most of the small suppliers and the gardens they serve, cannot take at a time one wagon load. The Railway refuses to accept smaller consignments on the plea that wagons have been allotted to the Industry. This causes hardship to the smaller gardens and suppliers, with consequent congestion in storage arrangement, etc.

IV. That fertilisers for tea estates are most difficult to transport. In this item also Messrs. Atlas Fertilisers Ltd., a firm dealing in this line and supplying to the industry, has been appointed distributors for wagons and arranging river transport. But this fact was not made known to other suppliers either by the transport

company or by the distributors. When after repeated enquiries and many months' labour, we ascertained the above fact, we approached the controller of wagons, who after preliminary enquiries ordered wagons to be allotted to us. But unfortunately until now no wagon or river transport has been allotted to us. We sent our representative many times to the above distributors only to get hopes which were never fulfilled. But ultimately we had to refrain from useless persuits. The season for manuring tea estates being over, we had to sell our stock at a heavy loss after five months.

The transport of goods, such as tea chests, garden requisites, fertilisers, tea, etc., has been arranged in a manner so as to put maximum obstacle in the way of small suppliers and if this continues, many small firms doing honest and steady business will soon be out of the market. We do not know if this is pursued as a policy.

Many other defects such as short delivery, theft in transit, etc., may be pointed out.

A copy of this letter has been forwarded to us. It reveals a startling state of affairs which merits severest condemnation. The public has a right to know what led the Transport Authorities to abdicate their function of allotting wagons in favour of the British vested interests who are rivals of the Indian industries and would only be too willing to kill them whenever there was an opportunity to do so. The letter categorically states that (1) it was difficult to ascertain correct information about booking, (2) harassment by refusal of booking even where previous permission was secured is frequent, (3) no facility is given for small consignments either by rail or by river, (4) false hopes were given causing loss to the company and that (5) maximum obstacles have been placed in the way of small suppliers. Para IV of the letter shows that the controller of wagons is himself helpless against these companies and that no heed was paid to his orders by the Atlas Fertilisers.

These are very serious allegations which should be taken up not only by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, but also by all other Indian Chambers of Commerce jointly. We hope some member of the Indian Legislature will pursue the matter there with a view to stop this practice of favouring foreign industry and trade. By arming British companies with the power of allocating wagons to the same trade, the deadliest weapon for crushing Indian firms in these days of transport difficulties, has been handed over to them under an ostensibly innocent garb.

Agricultural Education in Great Britain

The British Government's plans concerning the future of agricultural education have been announced by the British Minister of Agriculture. The *Nature* reports that the reactions to

the recommendations contained in the Luxmore Report were varied but two matters have been determined. The first concerns the future of the provincial and county advisory services, which are to be unified into one national service for the whole country directly under the Minister of Agriculture, and financed entirely by the Exchequer. It is the same system that has governed county advisory work during the war. War Agricultural Executive Committees have assumed the full responsibility for this work, and the majority of County Council Staffs have been seconded to these committees, while considerable additions to technical staffs have been made direct. The provincial advisory service has always been financed by the Exchequer, but the new proposals will remove this work from the control of the provincial colleges and university departments of agriculture. In India, the exchequer has provided money for the departments of Agriculture in the provinces which remained completely out of touch with one another without the slightest attempt to forge anything like a centralised link among them, although England has been tending more and more towards centralisation in this vital national department. At the first touch of a real test during the last famine, the whole structure of Governmental machinery in the Central and Provincial fields of agriculture crumbled to pieces. It was nature, and not the Government, which saved Bengal after her terrible ordeal of 1943. In England exactly the reverse is the case. The U-boat war in the Atlantic which threatened starvation for her, was partially overcome through a well-planned agricultural policy. Supplies were obtained long ahead at great risks, large stocks were built up and a thorough system of equitable distribution was developed. Within a short time the entire system worked well, the people were supplied with food, sufficient and nutritious. In India, the Government virtually limited itself to the publication of advertisements.

Withdrawal of Madras Prohibition

Mr. Frederick Grubb of the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* says that opinions may differ as to the practicability of prohibition in the West but in India it commands almost universal approval. Mr. Grubb writes :

"Since administrations favourable to this reform resigned in 1939 for political reasons, the policy of restriction had been suspended in one district after another by official order, regardless of public opinion to the country and without any appeal to the electorate."

The climax was reached in Madras. Prohibition was withdrawn in four populous districts where it had been in successful operation for several years."

Mr. Grubb adds, "The deplorable example of the Madras Government has unhappily been followed in other parts of India, where official influence predominates, but apparently no effective action can be taken in this country in support of Indian opinion.

It was laid down in Parliament some years ago that as excise policy and administration had been transferred to Indian control no questions could be raised in the House of Commons.

But Friends of India can at least show their sympathy with every practicable effort to secure re-establishment of Responsible Government and permanence of measures designed only to promote the highest interest of Indian people."

The withdrawal of prohibition in four populous districts of Madras after it had been in operation for a number of years had been challenged by the people of that Province as a gross betrayal of constitutional principle. The champions of democracy in the British Cabinet had not a word to utter against this disgraceful action of the Madras Executive.

Frontier Congress Leader's Challenge

Mr. Bhanjuram Gandhi, a Frontier Congress Leader, has challenged the League Ministry to produce the signature of 25 out of 49 M.L.A.'s in its support or resign. In a statement to the Press, Mr. Malik-ur Rahaman in behalf of the League Ministry had claimed that the ministerial party commands a majority in the Frontier Assembly. Challenging this claim Mr. Gandhi said, on April 15 :

"Anyhow let us now be bold and frank. Let Mr. Malik come forward with 25 signatures from among the 49 members constituting the House and I undertake to persuade successfully my leader to issue a whip to his party to cease in future to talk about the unconstitutional nature of the League Ministry, or let his leader agree, of course, with a heavy heart, to vacate the office, if Dr. Khan Sahib comes out with more than 25 signatures (including the 10 M.L.A.s who are in jail) expressing no confidence in the Ministry. I am sure the gallant and chivalrous Malik would accept the offer and make no attempts at evading the issue."

No reply seems to have come forward from the Ministry blessed as a 'democratic provincial government' by Mr. Amery.

Terrible Food Situation in Malabar

The *Free Press* reports :

CALCUTTA, April 14.

The warning recently issued by Mr. V. R. Narayanan of the Servants of India Society against complacency in the matter of the serious food situation in Malabar, is reinforced by events reported from various parts of the district. The *Mathrubhumi* publishes a sad story from its Chokli Correspondent, about a mail runner going on his round, despite extreme weakness on account of having had to go without a grain of rice or even rice-water continuously for five days—he was afraid that he might lose his job. He falls unconscious on the road with his bag of tapals. Some kindly folk take him to the post office.

Chokli is in Kottayam taluk. Villages round Chokli are very short of rice and whole families have gone without rice for 5 or 6 days. Peralarsi, in Chirakkal taluk, fares no better and rice was not offered for sale over a week in both these places. Small-pox is on the increase.

Chokghat in Ponani taluk (south Malabar) reports that on Easter Sunday, several Christian families waited on the Deputy Tahsildar for rice. But he was helpless, as there was no stock. Even in Calicut rice is on short supply and ration depots are selling partly raw rice to card-holders.

In the meanwhile the Tellicherry police are reported to have prevented a public meeting proposed to be held there on April 9 to consider the acute food situation. An order under D.I.R. 56 (3) was served on Mr. T. Narayanan Nambiar, who was to have presided over the meeting and on persons who were expected to take part in it. The meeting had therefore to be abandoned.

As in Bengal, so in other parts of the country, the Government have utterly failed to stabilise the food situation. But everywhere prompt attempts have been made to stop publicity of the Government's failure to discharge their primary responsibility of feeding the people. In Bengal, the gagging failed; in Malabar it seems to have met with success.

Srimati Kamala Devi's Address

In her presidential address to the All-India Women's Conference at Bombay, Srimati Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya discussed the food problem with special reference to children. She said :

"As long as India's economy continues to be throttled and perverted by foreign interests, hunger and starvation must stalk this land of plenty. Only a careful development of its vast untapped wealth based on an economy designed to meet the needs of the people by a free Indian people's government, can aspire to overcome this dreadful scourge of perpetual famines. The worst sufferers in this tragic drama are the children. In every responsible society they have the first claim on the available resources, particularly milk. But today in our country the man who pays the price gets the milk. So, while adults who are not wholly dependant on this article are able to get large supplies and sometimes even thoughtlessly waste it, children who solely subsist on it are forced to go without it if they do not have sufficient means. Ways and methods must be sought by us to alter this and see that our children are not hopelessly undermined. We shall be guilty of a grave crime if we do not get this righted immediately."

No action whatsoever has yet been taken to ensure the supply of pure milk for children.

Profit-making by Government

Seth Sakarlal Balabhai, President of the Ahmedabad Mill-owners' Association, said at the Association's annual general meeting : "I would like to know why the Government should make or endeavour to make profits from the purchases and sale of foodgrains. I venture to suggest

that even if for the purpose of control purchases by the Government are necessary, a periodical note should be published for each district indicating the stocks, purchases, sales and balance."

The best result from Governmental transactions can be expected only where these are performed under the widest possible publicity. If the people know the actual stock position and its location, it helps in maintaining confidence. Where the Government's purchase prices are widely advertised, it would have the best soothing effect on the market. But unfortunately the Government have so far followed a completely hush hush policy in regard to their dealings in foodgrains which has served only to open up the royal road to misery and suffering and death. Only the total amount of losses, amounting to several crores of rupees, have been communicated to the people. And that again has to be realised from the innocent sufferers themselves! People believe that overhead costs on account of rationing have been enormous and out of all proportion, but no remedy is possible.

All-India Library Conference

Inaugurating the All-India Library Conference at Jaipur, Sir Mirza Ismail said :

A librarian's prime duty was the actual service of his readers in two ways : making the right book as readily accessible as possible, and giving each reader the kind of friendly encouragement and guidance of which he stood in need. There was no genuine librarian, high or low, who could not attain this ambition and no librarian who neglected this was worthy of recognition.

Most of our libraries need the right type of librarian as envisaged by Sir Mirza Ismail. Helping the reader with the right kind of books is rather an exception than a rule in our libraries, small or big. In big libraries the librarians are inaccessible figureheads with a number of clerks under them whose duty it is to find out just the book requisitioned. This is the case even with the Imperial library of Calcutta. The case of smaller libraries is even worse. In one Calcutta public library, Rolland's *I will not Rest* was classified as 'economics'; when a reader pointed out that it was wrong to classify the book like that, the librarian replied, "In our library it is economics."

National War Fronts' Grow More Food Campaign

The *Bihar Herald* points out :

Bengal, Madras, Assam and Orissa National War Front advertisements are asking people to grow carrots and onions. Those who frame these advertisements have no notion of the sowing time of these two vegetables. What is the sense of telling people in mid-March to

grow something that is to be sown seven to eight months hence? Why can't they print a sowing calendar of vegetables month by month if they want to be really helpful?

After the above was written we have discovered that our National War Front is also telling people in March to grow sweet potatoes, beans, peas, tomatoes, carrots, potatoes and onions,—all winter vegetables that are sown in October-November.

In the official world, this is known as "grow more food" campaign and not wastage of public money.

Indore's Lead in Food Rationing

The authorities of the Indore State has proved that the food problem of the country can easily be solved and poor consumers helped successfully to tide over their difficulties caused by shortage of food supply if a proper plan of rationing and procurement of foodgrains is carried out. The Indore plan of rationing envisages a good scheme of procurement and a solution of the price problem. Capt. H. C. Dhandha, Commerce Member, Indore, writes about rationing in his State :

"There is complete control of food-grains from the threshing floor to the consumer. We ensure as correct estimates of the yield of each cultivator as possible by assessment of the produce at the *khala* and lately by checking such estimates by means of crop experiments. Each village has a simple register showing the yield of each cultivator, the details of all his requirements and figures of surpluses in token of the correctness of which the cultivator, appends his thumb impression or signature. The cultivator is allowed and expected to sell his surplus at the *mandies* and some other purchasing centres have been added and here all transactions take place under the eye of a Government officer and are recorded. From the Patel of the village the cultivator takes a chit when he goes to his market and from there he brings back the receipt of the *Mandi* officer to be deposited back with the Patel. This ensures a complete check against the cultivator passing his surplus to unauthorised purchasers. We have not eliminated the trade and whoever amongst them desires can purchase, stock and sell grain. He can, however, purchase only at the approved *Mandies* stock and sell under an approved procedure. Government supervision at all purchasing centres ensures in all cases a fair deal to the cultivator in respect not only of prompt payment but also freedom from the usual complaints of under-weighting and unauthorised deductions."

With regard to the question of prices the Commerce Minister writes : "We pay to our cultivator generally such prices at least as he can command in the neighbouring and outside markets and subject always to a minimum generally considered to be fair. The State has always pleaded for an all-India solution and we believe that there can be no all-India approach to the price problem unless a common policy in essentials is not merely advised but actually enforced in the whole country in respect of procurement. And the control over procurement cannot be effective unless it is a thorough-going control from the initial to the last stage. . . . The need is to eliminate effectively and everywhere private control over the custody of all surpluses and substitute it by that of Government. Price control without this is not possible."

"Rationing and a procurement plan on the above basis is costing the State only 5·4 annas per head whereas in Bombay it is costing Government Re. 1 per head."

The Minister concludes : "An appeal was made to the rich of the State to subsidise cheap food for the poor. They produced Rs. 25 lacs for one year. With the help of this, people with an income up to Rs. 60 p.m. get wheat in Indore at 4½ seers to the rupee and *jwar* at 6½ seers; those whose incomes range between Rs. 60 and Rs. 120 get wheat at 4½ seers and *jwar* at 6 seers per rupee. The rest get it at cost."

This plan shows that the surplus foodgrains are procured and distributed under the eye of the Government with the willing co-operation of cultivators and without destroying normal trade. Sufficient food has been ensured to everybody with a minimum of wastage, and at a very low overhead cost. The Mysore rationing plan is also working smoothly and very successfully. But bungling, inefficiency and corruption have been the watchwords in Bengal, India's premier province within the war zone.

Supply of Soft Coke

The recent reply of the Deputy Secretary of the War Transport Department to the Marwari Chamber of Commerce, Calcutta, is misleading and has given rise to the impression that our ills regarding coal and coke are not due to scarcity of wagons but to a fall in the raisings of coal. It states that "unfortunately owing to the unprecedented fall in coal output which set in soon after the introduction of the rationing scheme, the total target set for All-India distribution was not reached with the result that, as Railways and public utilities must at all costs be kept going, quotas for other consumers have been cut by varying amounts in accordance with their stock position and essentialities,.....until raisings exceed the target figure for distribution, it will be impossible to give the full 2600 wagons for Bengal. This is unfortunate but is unavoidable in present circumstances." The cool and masterly tone of the concluding sentence seemingly full of an overabundant sense of justice between conflicting claims is worthy of note. At least ten thousand tons of soft coke are lying ready at Mugma and Jharia collieries situated at a distance of 147 and 173 miles respectively from Calcutta where poor and middle class people, much impoverished by the prices of rice at Rs. 40 per maund last year and Rs. 16—nearly four times the 1942 level—at present, are forced to cook food once a day and eat it in the morning and in the evening to the serious detriment of health. If an adequate number of wagons can not be

supplied to soft coke producing collieries now, how can the state of things improve when the target figure is exceeded and a larger volume of coal has to be handled ?

—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya

Agricultural Income Tax in Bengal and Profits of Jute

The Bengal Ministry proposes to tax agricultural income exceeding Rs. 3500 per annum. This will be laying the axe at the root of the Permanent Settlement which rendered Bengal prosperous in the past. Economists like Romesh Chandra Dutt on this ground advocated the extension of Permanent Settlement to other parts of India where it was not in force. The zemindars of Bengal established schools and colleges and helped to spread English education not only in the province but over the greater part of India as scholars in these institutions became schoolmasters and professors in other provinces for decades. The great Swadeshi movement generating active political consciousness throughout India and paving the path of protection of industries would never have gathered momentum but for the munificence of landlords. With the passage of time the estates have been subdivided and a large, strong and healthy middle class has arisen reducing the rich landlords to a handful. The income of large and small landholders who are all our countrymen is not more than ten crores of rupees. By legalising the disparity between the prices of raw and manufactured jute the Ministry has made a present of nearly 40 crores of rupees to the jute mills which are mostly under British management. From accounts given in the last two issues of this journal the cost of production of 100 yards of hessian can not exceed Rs. 17. Allowing Re. 1 as profit the figure becomes Rs. 18 and presents a striking contrast to Rs. 28 fixed recently by the Government as the price of hessian. 69 lakhs of bales of the last jute crop=3 crores 45 lakhs maunds=138 crores of seers which divided by 35 and multiplied by 10 give Rs. 394,285,714 as the unearned income of the mills. But for the Excess Profits Tax the whole of this huge amount would have been appropriated by them as during the last War and succeeding years. Sir Jeremy Raisman declared on the 19th February 1943 that if any industry remained content with making standard profits, he would be very glad and base his budget accordingly.—Siddheswar Chattopadhyaya.

INDIA RULED THE WAVES

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SHIP-BUILDING was a prosperous industry of ancient India and was unrivalled by any maritime countries of the past. In spite of a great dearth of literature on the subject we come across many a reference in Rig Veda and classical Sanskrit, Tamil and Pali literature regarding shipping and ship-building in our land. Yakti Kalapatara mentions the building of ships of 27 different types, the measurement of the largest being 276 ft. \times 36 ft. \times 27 ft., and of about 2300 tons. Besides the above and innumerable archaeological and numismatical records, evidence of the existence and excellence of the industry in India, before the Christian era, is borne out by a number of foreign writers, such as Pliny, Strabo, Agatharcides, Arrian, the various Greek ambassadors to Indian Empire of the Mauryan and Gupta periods, and later by Chinese and Arab travellers who visited our country at intervals.

Prof. Radhakumud Mukerji talks of Indian shipping in eloquent terms. India was, according to him, one of the foremost maritime countries of the world. She had many colonies far off its own shores, had trade relations with the whole of the then civilized world,

"and both the East and the West had become the theatre of Indian commercial activity, and had given scope to her naval energy and throbbing international life."

Mrs. Annie Basant gives us the idea of a ship, manned by Indians, on their way to colonise Java, in A.D. 75, and Dr. Buist remarks :

"The correct forms of ships—only elaborated within the past ten years by the science of Europe—have been familiar to India for ten centuries."

The Pali books, Mahavamsa and Raja Villiya describes vessels that carried 700 passengers. The Indian ships, seen by Marco Polo, carried ten small boats, slung on sides, like modern life boats, with 60 cabins below the main deck for berthed passengers and with 14 water-tight-compartments separated by stout bulkheads. It may be remembered that right up to the 17th century the European ships averaged about 250 tons, and the first convoy of the East India Company to India had five ships, the *Hector* being the largest among them, was only 600 tons. So it proves beyond doubt that the largest ships built before the 17th century were Indian ships, and even a Portuguese

vessel of 1500 tons, when brought to Indian waters, was found to be much smaller to *Rehemy*, a Gogha vessel which was described by them as the largest vessel in the Indian seas.

INDIA'S GREATNESS

During the 16th and 17th centuries when the European nations were fighting amongst themselves for the sovereignty of Hindustan, they were so humble in face of India's greatness in the art of ship-building that "they were more than content to sit at the feet of Indian master ship-wrights as eager pupils." The records of the East India Company mention a vessel, *Deria Dowlet*, which was sound in limb and body after 87 years of strenuous life in deep waters, while "every ship in the Navy of Great Britain had to be renewed every 12 years." The East India Company being primarily a body of traders, found it paying to have their ships built in India to which the British built ships were no match at all. In 1668, therefore, they imported an English ship-builder, Mr. Warrick Pelt, and he built two ships at Surat for them. These ships had a very short life, but he, however, established a yard at Surat which was transferred to Bombay in 1735 where Lowjee Nuserwanjee took its charge, and he and his family held the position of master ship-wrights and ship-builders of the Company for a century and a quarter.

THE NUMBER OF SHIPS BUILT

At the Bombay Dockyard 300 ships of various sizes were built between the years 1736 and 1863, many of them being for the Royal Navy of England, carrying from 14 to 32 guns. *Asia*, of 2289 tons burden, carrying 84 guns and bored for 96 guns, was launched in 1824. She was the Flag Ship of Admiral Codrington at the battle of Navarino and played "a glorious part in that long drawn out action." In fact the whole river Flotilla of Indus, Tigris and Euphrates was built in Bombay.

The Company owned many other ship-building centres as well in Hoogly, Sylhet, Chittagong and Dacca. Between 1781 and 1821 no less than 272 ships of a total tonnage of 1,22,693 were launched by the Hoogly dockyard,

BRITISH OPPOSITION

In the meantime the British opinion about the Indian ship-building industry got divided

into two. A section of the ship-builders of England opposed the scheme of getting ships built in India. Another section consisting of the merchant class people preferred to carry on their trade in Indian built ships because of their durability, longevity and lower rates. Lord Wellesley favoured the development of ship-building in India. He advocated that the ships for the British Navy and the British trade should be built in India. His policy was resented by the Court of Directors which was dominated by British ship-builders and ship-owners whose interests clashed directly with those of the merchant class, and Lord Wellesley was reprimanded by them.

Parliament was, however, pressed to stop the East India Company from building ships in India, but the superiority of Indian ships was so great that the Company could not resist the temptation of building ships in India. Several enquiries were made to see how it affected the British interests. In 1811 Col. Walker wrote officially, giving facts and figures, that it was better and advantageous for them to build ships in India for the British Navy as "enormous saving in building expenditure would accrue to the British Government if ships were built in India."

But the opposition to Indian built ships, built at lower costs and manned by Indian sailors, grew in magnitude, as they offered a crushing competition to English built ships, manned by English sailors. Writes Dr. Taylor :

"The arrival in the Port of London of Indian produce in Indian built ships created a sensation among monopolists which could never have been exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared in the Thames. The ship-builders of Port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm, they declared that their business was on the point of ruin and that the families of all the shipwrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation."

ENGLISH CHARACTER

The Court of Directors of the E. I. C. who wanted to benefit by cheaper and better built ships of India, opposed the employment of Indian sailors on the ground which excites a laughter of ridicule.

The Indian sailors, said they, "are, to the disgrace of our National morals, on their arrival here, led into scenes which soon divest them of the respect and awe they had entertained in India for the European character.... The contemptuous reports which they disseminate on their return cannot fail to have a very unfavourable influence upon the minds of these Asiatic Subjects, whose reverence for our character, which had hitherto contributed to maintain our supremacy in the East . . . will be gradually changed for most degrading conceptions . . . and if an indignant apprehension of having hitherto rated us too highly or respected us too

much, should once possess them, the effects of it may prove extremely detrimental."

So the British Parliament set up a select committee with Sir Robert Peel as its Chairman to collect evidence on "issues relating to the East India ship-building." The opinions of the members in the said committee were sharply divided, for and against ships being built in India. In 1814 the report was submitted to the Parliament and an Act was passed whereby Indian sailors would not be deemed "British mariners" and any ship even though British, which had not on board three-fourths of its crew of British mariners, or seven British mariners per 100 registered tons, would be liable to forfeiture, and that "no ship was to enter the Port of London whose master was not a British mariner" . . . and that "only English built ships should import goods from South and East of Good Hope." But for many reasons these restrictions imposed by the Act were partially ignored, and ships continued to be built in India up to 1863 and even later.

STRANGLING SHIPPING

In India itself acts and laws were promulgated to bring the ship-building industry of the land to an end. Separate rates of import duties on goods carried by British and non-British ships were fixed, and by these they tried to stamp out Indian shipping from its own waters. Writing in this connection, Sir William Digby says :

"As, again and again, I have wandered through the records of obscurant administration in India during the past century, growing more and more woeful as instance upon instance forced upon me, the unteachability of the Anglo-Indian civilian, scarcely anything has struck me more forcibly than the manner in which the Mistress of the Western world has stricken to death the Mistress of the Eastern Sea."

MISLEADING ARGUMENT

Here we come to the most misleading and mischievous argument put forth by the opponents of Indian interests that the ship-building industry of India perished because "wood and sails" were replaced by "iron and steam." If between the years 1839 and 1857 a score of iron and steam vessels from 240 tons to 1450 tons, and most of them being armed with guns, could be built in Bombay dockyard, was it any difficult for our country to retain its hold on the said industry, especially when she had great abundance of raw materials and efficient labour available in the country? But the question was not of India's ability. It was of British interests which clashed with those of ours. Otherwise "had ship-building been allowed to have its

natural development in India, British ship-building industry would never have prospered, perhaps hardly survived." In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, " Indian shipping had to perish so that British shipping might flourish."

REVIVAL OF SHIP-BUILDING

The history of the modern shipping in India is closely associated with the birth and development of Scindia Steam Navigation Company. No doubt, there were many other shipping concerns in India even before Scindia's came into existence. 102 such companies, with a total nominal capital of about 46 crores were registered in India between 1860 and 1925. But a large number of them could not survive the competition and the opposition of the British interests. Scindias succeeded in fighting their way through the heavy odds and they expanded their business during the last decade, and have come to the rescue of many other dying Indian shipping concerns. In spite of all this, at present only 23 percent of the total tonnage plying on the Indian coast constitutes Indian shipping. It carries only 25 percent of India's coastal traffic, and with the exception of some share in the Haj Pilgrim traffic, and that too for a couple of years, they have no share in long distance overseas trade of the country.

"The Scindia Co. has symbolised, as it were, the endeavours and aspirations, struggles and disappointments, failures and triumphs of India to build up a national mercantile marine adequate for her needs, economic no less than defensive and worthy of her traditions."

In 1919 a steamer, S. S. *Loyalty* of a gross tonnage of 5934, then owned by the Gwalior State, was on the market. Mr. Walchand Hirachand, a well-known industrial magnet thought of purchasing the vessel and forming of an Indian company to run it. Consequently, in co-operation with the late Narotam Morarjee, the late Sir Lallubhai Samaldas and the late Kilachand Devechand he formed the company. The ship was purchased and a passenger service between England and India was established.

Soon after that six steamers more, belonging to the Palace Shipping Company in England, were purchased by them and were engaged in the trade between India and the Continent, as well as between India and Burma. This sort of Indian enterprise created a great sensation among "British shipping interest who wanted to annihilate this infant enterprise in the initial stage." A rate war broke out. The British shipping companies brought down the rate of Rs. 18 per ton on the rice from Rangoon to Bombay to Rs. 6. To stand this malicious rate war,

Scindias began to buy and sell rice on its own account for supplying cargo to its own ships. British shipping interest were handicapped. Therefore through the late Lord Inchcape tempting offers were made in 1922 to the Directors of the Scindia to sell the Company to B.I.S.N. This offer would have enormously benefited the shareholders, yet because of purely patriotic considerations, the offer was rejected outright. Then efforts for a settlement were started, and on March 14, 1923, an agreement between British and Indian shipping companies was signed. By virtue of this "slave-bound" and "humiliating agreement" Scindias could not go out of India. Burma and Ceylon, and could not have any passenger service in spite of the fact that the company had inaugurated its work by a passenger service between Bombay and England. The Company started working with seven steamers of about 30,000 tons. It was prevented from increasing its number beyond fourteen, not more than 64,000 tons in all, even at the end of ten years. All this was tolerated by Scindias simply because of the absolute absence of any Government support, and such an unfavourable agreement was explained by them as the "only alternative to virtual extinction." The agreement, however, admitted for the first time an Indian company to Indian coastal conference which had been till then dominated and controlled by the British shipping concerns.

INDIA ACT OF 1935

At about the same time, on the strength of the resolution of Sir Sivaswami Iyer in the Legislative Assembly the Government of India appointed the Indian mercantile marine committee which recommended unanimously the reservation of Indian coastal trade for Indian shipping and the establishment of a training ship for Indian youths. But the Government remained indifferent.

In 1935 some "stringent and unprecedented sections were embodied in the Government of India Act ostensibly to prevent discrimination but really to prohibit any such measure as that of reservation of coastal trade for Indian shipping or the giving of subsidy or bounty to national shipping industry."

SCINDIAS STRUGGLE ON

In March 1933 the first agreement, mentioned elsewhere in this article, expired and the Scindia Company was able to improve its position a little by the new Tripartite agreement with the two British shipping companies. The tonnage of the company was increased to 1,00,000 and it also entered passenger trade in the Bay of Bengal.

Having established its existence, Scindias now began to render help to some other smaller as well as larger (for instance, the Bombay Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., one of the biggest Indian shipping concerns) dying Indian shipping concerns, and gave every moral and financial help to guarantee their success.

In 1937 the Company acceded to the public demand, and began to take part in the Haj traffic. They got two ships, *El-Madina* and *El-Hind*, specially built in the U. K. for the purpose. The standard of comforts in the ships was raised, and the steamer facilities, service and catering provided by the Company made them very popular in the Muslim world. But this was not liked by the British shipping interests who, therefore, put many obstacles in the way of Scindias.

The establishment of the training ship *Dufferin* for training officers and engineers in Bombay was solely due to the efforts of Scindias whose Chairman and General manager have ever since been on the governing body of the training ship. Over 54% of the total number of cadets trained in the *Dufferin* have been absorbed by the Scindias. Scholarships are provided by the Company for students in the *Dufferin* and for training marine engineers abroad. It was due to Scindias that Indians were trained as wireless operators and the personnel of the wireless department in the whole fleet of the Company is entirely Indian. Again, the admission and employment of Indians in the Bengal Pilot service and Port Trust service have been, to a very great extent, the result of the Scindias' efforts.

SHIPPING AT VIZAGAPATAM

The plan to build ships in Indian yards was first conceived by the Scindias simultaneously with the starting of the Company in 1919. But due to innumerable handicaps nothing could be done till 1935 when negotiations were started for obtaining a suitable site for the proposed yard. No suitable site was available in Bombay. So Calcutta became the next choice. But the scale of rent for the site proposed to be charged by the Port authorities in Calcutta was "unjustifiable" and "unbearable," being about Rs. 1,78,000 per year at the initial start and would have gone beyond Rs. 3,00,000 per year in the course of next 30 years. At last the Company, due to the untiring efforts of its Chairman, Shriyut Walchand Hirachand, succeeded in securing a site for the yard at the port of Vizagapatam.

The Company then immediately started to

lay out at least two slips and this would enable them to build at least four ships per year of 8,000 to 10,000 tons each. The project when fully developed would be capable of laying out 8 slips wherein 16 ships of 6,000 to 10,000 tons could be built in a year. The Company expected to employ about 10,000 people in the yard, and it was proposed to lay out a colony for the workers near the shipyard and was intended "to give them such amenities as will enable them to live according to the modern standard of comforts of life."

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDE

But the rulers of India decided "not to encourage actively the merchant ship-building industry in India as a part of their war effort." Such being the case the Company could not get steel or machinery for the purpose. They were not permitted to import from England a few technicians to help them in their work. They then wanted to get a shipyard bodily transferred from U. K. to India with the definite understanding that the ships built in the said yard during the war-time would be placed at the disposal of the Government of India or U. K., on reasonable terms. But all in vain. The Chairman of the Company explains in the following words the attitude of the Government in this respect :

"It is really a tragedy of India's position, in the midst of the growing dangers, that while every National Government have been doing everything possible to build up those key industries in their land which would help the operations of safety and of defence of their peoples both at sea as well as in the air the Government of India have been a glaring exception to this important devotion to duty. I cannot therefore help observing that when I look at this blank picture of "nothing doing" on the part of the Government of India and compare it with the brilliant picture full of life and colours, depicting the solid work which is being done on other lands in the spirit of true devotion to duty for the safety and defence of the people, my heart sinks within myself and I am reminded of Nero playing the fiddle when Rome was burning."

IT IS HOPE

Such has been the position of the ship-building industry in India up to 21st. June, 1941, the day on which the foundation stone of "Gandhigram," Scindia's ship-building yard, was laid by Babu Rajendra Prasad at Vizagapatam.

India had a flourishing ship-building industry and owned a navy which was the envy of the world. India ruled the waves. But that is the story of the past. Today India has a tottering ship-building industry and an apology of a navy. She will revive her glorious past when the war clouds are shattered and the Axis defeated and take her place in the galaxy of first-rate maritime powers, it is hoped.

POST-WAR AVIATION PLAN AND INDIA

By RAJANI BANERJEE

THAT air-force has changed the face of modern warfare is a fact to be unhesitatingly recognised. The air-power is about to determine the complexion of the present war. The superiority of the air will lend an unquestionable strength to the belligerents for gaining victory over their opponents. But if the aerial supremacy helps a power to make an easy walk-over on its adversary, no less preponderant a part will aviation play in winning economic peace in post-war years. The most predominant factor that can usher in an era of enduring peace to humanity will be the lever of economic prosperity of nations to shape the things to come. It cannot be gain-said that stupendous expansion of productive forces and the means of their speedy and effective distribution will serve as a collateral to the post-war material progress of the people of the world. And aviation as a medium of transport and communication must carve out a way to make the distribution of commodities on a gigantic scale. So it is no wonder—rather a logical concomittance—if a dash and drive by some commercial and industrial magnates of wide influence is being made to forge out schemes and methods for augmentation of aerial transport as a vital link in the chain of post-war reconstruction plan.

But even before the present global war started, aviation was existent and utilised in carrying passenger traffic, postal mails and light weight goods, though within a restricted scale. Still it exercised some influence on the international communication system and hope was entertained in many quarters to work out plans for increasing and gradual development of aerial transport. Therefore, it is quite natural to expect that when hostilities cease, there is a great possibility, that the countries now engaged in war will switch over to the manufacture of large-scale cargo and transport planes for post-war commercial traffic. Even in this war, gliders are used to carry troops and heavy armaments in some theatres of war. So there is every chance that a great deal of improvement both in the technique and method of aerial traffic will be attained as a medium of carrying passengers and goods in a large measure in different parts of the world in post-war years.

Already the captains of commerce and industry in U. K. and U. S. A., are engaged in envisaging new ways for moulding the future of aviation policy and programme of United Nations. The Joint Air Transport Committee of the Association of British Chamber of

Commerce, the London Chamber and the Federation of British Air Transport have made an insistent demand that the British Government should, as a first step, adopt a well-thought-out and co-ordinated policy within the Commonwealth for air traffic without being interfered by any other power. After the unified air policy within the empire countries is complete, negotiations can be conducted with U.S.A., on the basis of a parity between British Empire and United States in terms of a mutually acceptable yardstick. Mr. W. A. Wakefield, M.P., has urged upon the British Government for planning an adequate air transport system with virile, up-to-date and well-organised method so that British civil air lines may not be compelled to use American aircrafts for some years, after the war. In his opinion an Empire Air Board should be formed with the accredited representatives of the British Governments and the Dominions. The House of Commons have recently displayed some zeal and earnestness in this matter. The Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Attlee, and Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Air Minister, have emphasised upon the necessity of aviation scheme. It is increasingly evident from the discussions of the House of Commons that British people will not only be a sea-faring race but a great air-faring race also in future years.

An Empire Air Conference held its session in London from the 11th October, 1943 to 13th October, 1943, under the chairmanship of Lord Beaverbrook, and attended by delegations of Canada, India, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand, for the co-ordination of British Air policy in post-war period. This is a clear indication that the British Government are up and doing to go ahead with their post-war aviation policy immediately. From the brief report of *Reuters* cable it can be gathered that the discussion of the conference were informal and exploratory. Unanimous agreement was reached as to the recommendations which should be made on the way civil aviation ought to be developed after the war and as to the contribution which the Governments of the Commonwealth and Empire could make towards international co-operation in this field.

On the 13th October, 1943, Mr. Churchill said in the House of Commons on a discussion of the post-war civil air transport policy of the British Government, that the conversations in the Empire Air Conference held in London were undoubtedly a family talk and had been in no way prejudicial to the interests of the U. S. A.

They would in future discuss about this matter with the U. S. A. and also with Russia.

In the House of Lords on the 20th October, 1943, Lord Beaverbrook threw further light on the policy of the British Government towards civil aviation scheme likely to be adopted after the war. He said that according to his estimation Britain would need 2000 planes after the war for the development of civil aviation. He hinted that there was an intention of the British Government to go forward to an international conference in future. He was of the opinion that the question of private enterprise must wait upon the decision that must have to be taken at the international conference.

He mentioned that there were questions of high policy that arose at the Empire Conference. One was the question of international authority. The conference came to a unanimous decision though that again waited upon the approval of the Governments concerned that the International Transport Authority should be intimately associated with, and responsible to a United Nations' security organisation which might be established—the Air Transport Authority being an authority, which would be brought into existence if the Empire Conference decisions had a happy passage through all the Governments of the Commonwealth. Lord Beaverbrook made a remark in his expression that the British Government would have to go to the Conference confessing that they had not any aircraft suitable for passenger traffic across the Atlantic at the present time.

Though the British Government have not officially adopted any fundamental and declared policy and have been slow to make any decision in future air policy of the British Empire, still organisations such as the Society of British Aircraft Constructors have tendered a memorandum to Mr. Churchill embodying proposals of a far-reaching significance. Besides this, two other independent committees have submitted their reports. Their common point of agreement converges upon urging on the Government to take proper measures so as to enable Great Britain to take the lead in the Civil Aviation Plan with British-designed and British-built Craft.

The suggestions and recommendations of British Air-craft Constructors are detailed and comprehensive. The following are some of the items containing their proposals :

(a) Establishment of a complete understanding with the British Dominions for co-operative action in matter of civil aviation with the object of ensuring maintenance of a technical standard at least equal to that of the United States and Soviet Russia. (b) Immediate

Government decisions on the future ministerial control of Civil aviation. (c) Abolition of the "single chosen instrument" policy to avoid the evils of monopoly and to ensure vigorous development of Commonwealth and world airways and the highest level of the technical development of British transport air-craft. (d) Immediate large-scale production of British air transporters derived from conversion of existing British heavy bombers. (e) Provision of prototypes of new commercial aircraft, as a short-term policy by direct subvention for that purpose of reputable potential British operators of Empire and world air routes. (f) Provision with state aid for the larger and most costly apparatus of research needed to cope with the growing size and complexity of modern transport aircraft. (g) Encouragement at universities and in the industries of schemes designed to provide Great Britain and Empire with an adequate and continuing supply of technicians, engineers and skilled mechanics. (h) Immediate review of airport facilities in Great Britain and the Empire, with the object of providing the most efficient ground organisation for civil air transport. (i) Decision on the licensing of internal air services, which should be conducted on lines somewhat similar to those governing road transport and directed to encourage the operation to efficient and economical services, and to ensure safe and regular operation; and (j) the provision for full interchange of operational data and experience, at home as well as abroad.

There are other suggestions from responsible organisations interested in the development of civil aviation. Their line of presentation of the suitable air transport policy should be the reaching of an agreement between U. S. A. and U. K. Except this, they demand that that Government should exercise sufficient control to ensure efficiency, safety and the maintenance of international relations.

The Dominions of the British Empire are also alive to the necessity of future potential role of civil aviation. In Australia the opinion is rampant that the question of post-war civil aviation is irrevocably linked with the industrial development and defence purposes of the Commonwealth. There is strong belief that the safe existence of Australia and New Zealand will depend largely on the strength they will have in air force.

In this connection Australia's aviation needs are defined more or less in the following terms : (a) production of aluminium (b) production and fabrication of light metals and their alloys (c) production of air-craft and aero-engines (d) control of aviation fuel supply (e) maintenance of aviation as an industry or profession on a scale making it attractive for Australian men.

Further light is thrown on this matter by Mr. Arthur Drakeford, the Australian Air Minister who has unfolded a plan which embodies that all small towns in Australia will be linked up by air and that there will be aerodromes over 150 to 300 miles with feeder services to small towns linking with air lines between

big cities. It is thus intended that no two towns in the country should be more than 24 hours apart by air. Mr. Drakeford is very emphatic on the common viewpoint of empire countries, and says that Australia's interests and that of the other sister dominions within the British Empire should not be overlooked and the aeroplane services would be controlled by the Government.

Besides Australia, Canada also desires to take an increasingly active part in the sphere of commercial aviation after the war. Already she is conducting Trans-Canada Air Lines now flying about 8,000,000 miles a year and the Canadian Pacific Air Lines which are flying 5,000,000 miles yearly. Mr. C. D. Howe, Canadian Minister of Munitions and supply, said that Canadian net-work aviation required playing a predominant role in flying between other countries. Canada at present has about 200,000 employed in military aviation, and about 41,00,000 in building air-craft.

U. S. A. is evincing a tremendous zeal to seize the large advantages that are likely to be in her possession owing to her present worldwide operational activities in air power. There are also immense possibilities in her vast internal area for the fostering of a large-scale aviation for domestic purposes. It is learnt that a number of influential businessmen in U. S. A. have begun to voice the opinion that their Government should gain some facilities and concessions in lieu of U. S. A.'s substantial help in their successful prosecution of war efforts. There is an idea and feeling among some of the U. S. A.'s prominent men in public life that a large number of airports have been constructed in countries allied to U. S. A. by her monetary help. But after the war is over, these air fields will come under the possession of the countries to which they now belong.

According to them, if there is any specific provision in the reciprocal give-take policy relating to Lend-Lease operations, then U. S. A. should demand full facilities for using these airports of foreign countries by U. S. A. for her commercial aerial traffic in the post-war era. There is also responsible opinion for the expansion of world air lines by international settlement on the following terms and conditions : (a) renewal of 1939 system (b) internationalisation of all air lines except domestic services (c) freedom of air by a system roughly analogous to peace-time freedom of the seas (d) freedom to cross national territories with technical stops en-route but without the right to pick up commercial traffic, and (e) some plan similar to the

fourth course coupled with international allocations of services.

It may be mentioned in this connection that an official report published by the United States in June, 1943, reveals the phenomenal expansion of air transport and aircraft production in response to war-time requirements in U. S. A. The total value of the output in the United States including both transport and combat planes which amounted to only \$280 million in 1938, rose to \$11,800 million in 1941 and to \$16,400 million in 1942, and is expected to reach the height of \$120,100 million at the end of 1943. President Roosevelt recently has estimated that the production of air-crafts in U. S. A. will register a further colossal gain of 55 per cent in 1944. The Air Transport Command of the United Armed Force in U. S. A. alone is larger than all military and transport organisations in the world before the war. In addition, U. S. A.'s Naval Transport Service is operating several hundred planes, including many flying boats over 50,000 route-miles.

In the United States alone 2,500,000 trained workers are now producing cargo and combat planes and there is authoritative assertion that almost all the plants are capable of total conversion to the production of Civil air-craft. At the close of the war there will be approximately 3,000,000 men from the United States Air Force who are now trained in the war emergency as pilots, navigators, radio operators, airport engineers, traffic controllers, etc., and their skill and experience will in most cases be transformed and absorbed into Civil aviation in post-war years.

Organisations and bodies vitally concerned with exploring avenues for the expansion of U. S. A.'s air-craft industry, such as Pan-American Airways, United Air Lines and American Export Airlines, have expressed fears of a British monopolistic policy over aviation in post-war years and so they have advocated a similar policy to be pursued by U. S. A. also. They apprehend that the global airlines after the war will be crowded with Government-dominated and Government-owned companies of other countries, notably the British Empire, thus making it difficult for the high competitive United States airlines to operate profitably. In their opinion it would serve the best interests of United States' policy if America have one strong operating system in entire zones rather than have a number of American Companies competing with each other and with strongly subsidised British, Dutch, French and Swedish lines.

But there are speculations afloat in the air that the United Nations will adopt a free air policy after the war. There is ample room for such a conjecture in a recent disclosure made by President Roosevelt that the Allies would have a free air policy in post-war world with the limitation that internal aviation ought to be owned and operated by the individual countries concerned. He also gave out that Mr. Churchill also concurred with him in this view on post-war aviation. President Roosevelt also expressed the opinion that where private routes could be operated with success, the private firms should be permitted to undertake the task of maintaining them and the Government would not step in to interfere with it. Government would only come in to manage new air-lines which the private companies would be unable to manage or conduct. By free air policy the President signified free use of airports now constructed. He declared that there was no intention of the United States retaining their sovereignty over airports built in foreign countries and emphasised that the free air policy would in no way upset the ownership of such airports. Thus it is apparent, that both the heads of the U. K. and U. S. A. Governments have also embarked upon formulating a tentative post-war aviation policy. It is not out of even practical possibility that there would be severe competition going on with break-neck speed between U. K. and U. S. A. in the race of contemplated mastery of air and expansion of their respective spheres of influence in regard to their commercial activities in future.

But it is in England that there is more feverish activity to tackle the post-war aviation problem in right earnest in order to unite her far-flung empire in a consolidated whole. The air-power of the British has got to be harnessed to the full pitch and the task is no less an uphill one. Therefore, the cause is not far to seek that a notable commercial establishment in Great Britain, *viz.*, Saunders Row has already commenced the manufacture of flying planes with a fair capacity to carry two hundred passengers easily and those that are now utilized for transport purposes will be transferred into passenger-borne traffic in future.

The question of opening up aerial commercial traffic will put forward a great handicap to shipping concerns. The mercantile marine has every chance of facing a severe competition in aviation transport in post-war period. For expansion of trade and commerce of Great Britain in large dimension, all resources will probably be tapped to rear up a gigantic air fleet on the

line of British mercantile marine. Also efforts may be made on the part of industrial and commercial organisations of England for securing complete monopoly in civil aviation transport. But there is a sharp and resolute opinion in responsible quarters opposing the grant of any such monopoly to any organisation. The holder of this opinion believes that persistent subsidy to commercial aviation would retard genuine progress and might necessitate a corresponding aid to sea transport also. Therefore, to set up an economic equilibrium some judicious ways and means must be devised to balance the respective costs and advantages of airborne and surface transports. It is, therefore, palpably clear from all sources of information that the place of post-war aviation will loom large in the scheme of post-war reconstruction to be launched by the United Nations.

Now the most pertinent question will crop up as to the future of India's aviation in the ambit of the plan of the United Nations. In August, 1943, Sir Gurunath Bewoor, Secretary, Posts and Air Department, Government of India, gave a statement in reply to a question in the Central Assembly on the topic of India's role in post-war aviation scheme. He said that there had been exchange of views of a purely exploratory and provisional nature between the Government of India and the British Government and he also gave out that the question was in the formative stage. However, he assured that Government of India would consult public opinion in regard to the development of civil aviation if and when the necessity and occasion for this would arise. But still the full implications and significance of Sir Gurunath Bewoor's statement were by no means adequately clear to convey any definite assurance relating to Government of India's task in this matter.

Be that as it may, the Empire Air Conference was held in London from the 11th to 13th October last and the Indian delegation composed of Sir Samuel Rungadhan, High Commissioner in London, Sir Frederick Zeymms, Director of Civil Aviation, Government of India, and Mr. Rumbelo of the India Office participated in it. They are official spokesmen regimented more or less to give opinions from Government standpoint and there is great apprehension that the full outlet of the public viewpoints would be retarded by the stereotyped official red-tapism if the leaders of Indian Commerce and Industry are not consulted and if their weighty views are not respected.

However, in the commercial circles of India, there is a growing and insistent demand that

the Government of India should take up the all-important question of post-war civil aviation scheme for evolving a constructive national policy on this subject in full consultation with Indian commercial and industrial interests. The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has already drawn the attention of the Government to this aspect on the policy to be adopted by the Government. The Federation has also urged upon the Government to see that in the event of convening of an Empire Air Conference, India's non-official men of weight and position belonging to commerce and industry should be offered the opportunity of delegation to voice the legitimate interests of India. The prevalent Indian opinion is that India should get a square deal in any post-war civil aviation planning and that India's rights should not be allowed to go by default.

A vast country like India holds out considerable geographical and strategic importance for playing a vital role in shaping the future civil aviation programme. The opportunity offered by present war to establish plants and factories for building up a gigantic aviation industry and for manufacturing aero-engines and air-crafts in India, has not been utilized for want of any encouragement on the part of the Government of India. So it is not unlikely that the post-war civil aviation would be financed, controlled and monopolised by the foreign capitalist organisations and India's legitimate interests would be completely ignored. Like Indian shipping industry, the aviation industry of India may not expect from the Government of India more than a step-motherly affection.

India can open up huge fields for civil aviation not only for traffic purposes but also for services such as surveying land, spraying agricultural fields and carrying relief measures to ravaged areas of the country. For covering the Land with a net-work of aviation centres, a large number of aerodromes must be constructed and pilots, groundstaffs, mechanics, wireless operators, meteorologists and other auxiliary personnel should have to be recruited.

There is some visible sign that the Government of India have to some extent shaken off its proverbial lethargic ways to tackle any new scheme. Some activity in this direction by the Government of India is in the offing and it is quite in the fitness of things that the Government should be galvanised into a fresh zeal for building up at least the framework of post-war civil aviation scheme at this opportune moment.

It is learnt that to discuss about the matter of the post-war aviation the Policy Committee on Reconstruction of Communications is expected to hold a session in early part of 1944 where each province will be represented on the Policy Committee. The deputies of Indian states and also the representatives of trade and industrial interests will also be asked to participate in it. The plan of the committee will include air routes and air services to be developed in India with trunk routes, feeder routes. The question of the cost of maintaining the aircraft and personnel will also form the subject-matter of the conference. But what is genuinely apprehended is that the conferences of this kind will not matter much unless and until full effect is given to the decisions of the cogent non-official opinion to be outlined in the true interest of India on this all important question.

In an international agreement on the proposition of post-war civil aviation plan, the Government of India should try to safeguard the interests of India and duly ascertain the apportionment of traffic that ought duly fall on the share of India. One most important problem that will confront India is whether she would be allowed to construct her requisite transport aircraft or she would have to rely on the imported stocks. Besides this, another factor would arise as to how the aircraft factories, if allowed to be built up, will get their capital. There is ample chance that Indian capital will find a very good opportunity for its flow of investment through this conduit. This will unfold a long vista for India's material prosperity and economic development. But what is a matter of paramount importance and great desideratum in this case is that the Government of India must take the full initiative in collaboration with the people of India and specially the commercial and industrial magnates to have a definite say in the matter by fully representing India's case in an international conference that may be held to plan the post-war aviation scheme. Any slackness on the part of the Indian capital and indifference or impervious attitude shown by Government of India towards this mighty question may lead to the inevitable result that foreign enterprises will rule and capture the immense field of Indian post-war aviation as the foreign mercantile marine is practically monopolising India's coast-line traffic at present. So in such a case India's post-war aviation problem is fraught with many conflicting interests and contradictory possibilities.

FAMINE'S TOLL IN 1943

BY KALI CHARAN GHOSH

THE Bengal Famine of 1943 is now slipping into the pages of history. This article is the seventh in a series giving documentation of a tragic occurrence that took place not only in Bengal but also over a still wider area. The author, therefore, requests the reader to view the whole in a historical perspective uninfluenced by events that are no longer present. But to chalk out a plan for meeting any future emergency whenever it may occur, one must have a correct estimate of the past and on this exactitude of estimates that the author has laid particular stress all along. If exaggeration is bad, underestimation is worse, because that leads to adoption of measures based on estimates falling short of actual requirements. With this object in view the declaration of Mr. Amery on March 23, 1944, in the House of Commons "that the total number of deaths (in 1943) in excess of the last five years' average" as 688,846 has been openly challenged.

Apparently Mr. Amery based his estimates on information contained in the Government of Bengal Press Note of March 11, 1944, to the effect that

"The total mortality rate of the Province in 1943 from all causes shows an increase of 58 per cent. over the average of last five years. The average number of deaths per year is 1,184,903 and in 1943 the actual number amounted to 1,873,749, the excess over the average being 688,846."

The Government of Bengal decided long before the census of the dead had been taken that the figure should not exceed 6 to 7 lakhs. The Hon'ble the Minister for Public Health, Bengal, stated on February 9, in the Bengal Council that

"On the basis of figures so far received it was accepted that the total excess, in the number of deaths during 1943 over the average of normal years would be between 6 and 7 lakhs. These figures included deaths from all causes, cholera, malaria, small-pox as well as sheer starvation."

This was certainly a great improvement on what Mr. Amery said in the Commons on January 20, 1944. According to him, as there were no reliable figures available up to that time, "the Government of India on the basis of the present information consider that the abnormal mortality due to famine and to disease in the last five months have not exceeded one million."

The statistics stood at not exceeding one million in the last five months; i.e., it might be

something well over 900,000 for five months. And the Bengal Cabinet came to his rescue.

There was an attempt in the Bengal Council to ascertain the number of deaths due to direct starvation. On February 26, 1944, the Government was

"not in a position to give the number of deaths that had occurred from starvation" because "*the chowkidars are the persons who report deaths and it is not at all safe to give them the authority to find out the real cause of death.*" (Italics mine).

We were told that 'starvation cases' were being entered at that time in a column under the head "Deaths from Other Causes" in the death register kept by the chowkidar and he is the only source supplying information to the Government of Bengal and Mr. Amery. In reply to a question of Sir Frederick James in the Central Assembly on March 14, 1944, the Secretary for Education, Health and Lands to the Government of India, said that

"The machinery for the collection of these statistics were *exactly* the same in 1943 as in previous years."

The chowkidar is then the primary source from whom emanates the vital statistics of the Indian Empire. Who is a chowkidar and what are his functions? The chowkidar is a paid 'officer' of the Government drawing a salary of Rs. 6 to 7 per month. The payment of this magnificent sum is always irregular due to dearth of funds in the coffers of the public bodies. There are cases where the salary is in arrears for months. He is a night-watchman of the village (including watch over 'dagis' or habitual offenders, or other suspects), the bearer or chaprasi in the office, courier boy of official correspondence and a domestic servant of the President and of the distinguished members of the local bodies. He has to satisfy the 'Daroga Saheb' or the 'Jemadar Saheb' of the Police Outpost by carrying out their departmental and extra-departmental behests including marketing and the tending of cattle. He is to guard the railway track (and in this act he sometimes falls victim to the attack of wild animals) for safe travel of *very high* officials and to look after the comforts of the 'sahebs' from the Sadar when they are pleased to pay official visits in the locality and put up in the Dak Bungalow. He is to prevent boundary disputes and watch safe harvesting of crops, give peaceful possession to one successful in litigation and help the pro-

cess server, an officer of the judicial service, in the identification of persons and premises for the services of summons. He has, from time to time, to report himself, at a distance of several miles, to the Sadar, for his 'blue-black' kits and to appear in District Courts as material witness of the Crown. Such a hard-worked man is the supplier, or more properly, the compiler of all Government statistics relating to acreage and yield of all principal crops, livestock, carts and vehicles, sugar-cane crushers, ploughs and tractors, date and palm trees for assessment of the total production of 'gur' in the land. He is the Government Reporter 'of market prices of commodities.' He is in charge of the birth and death registers of the countryside. To keep away the cares and anxieties with which he is always beset, in most cases, these poor men find solace and comfort in some strong narcotics or exhilarating drinks.

Such is the man who has supplied the 'vital statistics' of the famine. He must have been perplexed by inflation, want of food and other necessities of life, and troubled by disease that overran the land. Perhaps he was ill and still he is so; or he was taken away from his station in search of food or for shifting his family from place to place. He might have gone elsewhere to attend on *sick destitutes* or to perform their last rites. *The Associated Press* reported the following from Dacca on December 10, 1943 :

"Six Muslim families consisting of 4 to 10 members each including the family of a village chowkidar, have been entirely wiped out." (Italics mine).

How could this chowkidar enter all the deaths referred to in the message in his register?

It is a common knowledge that the chowkidar does not enter all cases of births and deaths in normal times. Let us take the census figures and the vital statistics given in the Public Health Report of the Bengal Government. In 1911, Bengal, including Bihar and Orissa and excluding the Eastern Bengal (and the States), had a population of 52,468,818. Due to readjustment of boundary, consequent on the introduction of Reforms, the population came down to 45,329,247 in 1912. In the census of 1921 it was found that the population had increased to 46,522,293, i.e., an addition of 1,193,046 persons during a period of nine years (from 1912 to 1920). The Government Reports on births and deaths recorded an increase of 394,983 persons only. It means that presence of 799,063 persons in Bengal at the end of 1920 could not be accounted for. The figures prove that 67 per cent of the increase in population was not recorded in the official registers.

A repetition of the same error will be evident from the statistics for the next decennium. We find that the 'natural increase' in population according to provincial reports was 1,463,384. But the census disclosed that the population had actually increased to 49,901,080 from 46,522,293 in 1921, i.e., an accretion of 3,378,787. It means that 56 per cent of the total increase in Bengal in 1931 happened unnoticed. The same phenomenon is noticeable in the census of 1941 and we have been asked to believe that the figures supplied by the Bengal Government and based on the reports of the village chowkidar is correct.

Under the law, the parents or relatives of persons entrusted with the final disposal of the dead body are to report cases of death to the proper authorities. Was it possible to observe the letters of the law when people could not move out of sheer exhaustion and died for want of food in hundreds and thousands ?

Then there were the cases of dead bodies that had been devoured by vultures, dogs and jackals, dead bodies thrown away in the out-of-the-way places in villages, both by the villagers or by the authorised agents of the Government. The case of Mathurapur on the Lakshmikantapur Railway Line and Satui (on the opposite bank of Berhampore on the Ganges), Murshidabad, are cases in point. Any casual visitor will find thousands of skeletons strewn over wide tracts of land and the Government will do well to institute an enquiry whether all these cases of death in the locality have been entered in the death register of the chowkidar.

There was such a pestilence in the land that even a casual visitor to India, fleeting through the main thoroughfares of big cities or travelling in comfortable railway carriages, did not fail to mark dead bodies on the wayside. On October 20, 1943, Senator Ralph A. Brewster,

"one of the globe-trotting Senators, described the Bengal famine as terrible and said (at Washington) that the Senatorial Committee saw dead people lying around the streets, and women and children in the last stage of starvation."

Is it possible for a citizen to perform his civic duties regarding reporting of deaths to the proper authorities and the chowkidar to keep note of such mass massacre under the circumstances described by Mr. Brewster ?

Nobody could take care of the dead bodies thrown into the water. On September 11, 1943, a report was received in Calcutta from Noakhali that

"Men, women and children are dying daily in great numbers, some on roads and at other public places. Disposal of the dead bodies has become a problem with

the living. Some dead bodies are thrown into the river instead of being properly buried or cremated."

On September 17, 1943, Madaripur reported:

"Cremation of Hindu dead bodies have become quite a problem. Dead bodies of destitute persons are often thrown into the river or buried."

From Manikganj on September 2, 1943 was received the following report:

"Cases of death of famished people are being daily reported from the interior. Dead bodies are occasionally seen floating in the river."

From Contai, September 17, 1943, wrote a member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit:

"There are not enough able-bodied men to burn the dead, which often are just pushed into the nearest canal. If you go down the canal from Contai to Panipta, you will feel sick; for the bloated dead bodies you will see will be numerous."

An American lady reported to the special correspondent of the *Hindusthan Standard* at Dacca on or about the 20th October, 1943, that

"Towards the end of October while she was going to Hasnabad from Dacca, a distance of 25 miles, by boat, she counted six bodies floating down the river by the day time. She also found a number of bodies by the side of the waterways being devoured by jackals and vultures."

On October 25, 1943, Mrs. Vijayluxmi Pandit said:

"In several places bodies had been thrown into a wayside pool and the stench of decomposing flesh was foul."

From every part of Bengal came reports of dead bodies being thrown into the river either for want of able-bodied men to carry the corpses to the cremation or to the burial ground; or for want of fuel or to make a short shrift of the whole affair for want of physical strength and competence to meet the costs of disposal.

How could a chowkidar count the dead bodies floating on the water in all parts of Bengal or disposed of without his knowledge?

Evidence of impartial public men, such as the Hon'ble Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Sir Jagadish Prasad, etc., goes to show that death ran rampant in the land and it was never possible to enter in the register all cases of death in Bengal during the concluding five months of 1943. Wrote the special correspondent of the *Times of India* on November 16, 1943 :

"One class of labourers, Namasudras, alone numbers 3,000,000 in Bengal, and it is not impossible that a third of these have died." (Quoted in *Why This Starvation* by M. Masani, p. 2).

The report of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University published in the press

on February 21, 1944, placed the total deaths at about three and a half millions on the following basis:

".... The statistics for eight districts have been tabulated. They cover 816 family units with a total membership of 3,880. The total deaths in these groups during June-July, 1943 to November-December, 1943, has been 336 of 10 per cent. (i.e., 100 per thousand) in six months.... As the death-rate for Bengal does not exceed 30 per thousand per annum in normal years, i.e., 15 per thousand in six months the excess mortality (or 100—15) or 85 per thousand, i.e., eight and half per cent., has to be ascribed to famine and the pestilence that followed in its wake. As some of the areas in North Bengal were much less affected than Western or Central Bengal or the deficit areas of Eastern Bengal, some reduction has to be made to estimate the total mortality figures for Bengal. It will probably be an underestimate of the famine to say that two-thirds of the total population were affected more or less by it. On this basis the probable total number of deaths above the normal come to well over three and half millions. The estimate is subject to probable error inherent in all sample surveys."

The report certainly admits of improvement, but it is undoubtedly better than the guess-work indulged in by the Government. In corroboration of this statement there are reports of respectable correspondents of responsible newspapers and also reports of dependable news agencies working in India which go to show that the mortality was extremely high and distress of the people boundless. A summary of some typical reports from the districts is given below:

From Bhola (Barisal), a correspondent wrote on December 11, 1943, that there had been no less than 40,000 deaths owing to malaria, dysentery and starvation. In Chittagong Town 3,000 died in the last five months (from December 22) out of a total of 30,000 inhabitants. "Out of 21 lakhs, two to two and half lakhs have already died and about two lakhs more are almost on the verge of death in the Noakhali district," according to a correspondent writing on December 21, 1943. In Nilphamari (Rungpur) and Kandi (Murshidabad) the number of people reported to have died exceeded 50,000 in each sub-division up to the third week of December. In the Faridpur district, 546,971 people were affected by malaria during the five months preceding December 23, out of which 30,057 died. An official estimate placed the number of deaths in Munshiganj (Dacca) at over 60,000 from starvation and allied causes up to December 23, 1943.

Similar reports can be collected from the newspapers (and all cases have not been reported). It is absolutely impossible to ascertain the number of deaths due to starvation and the attendant evils unless a house to house census is undertaken. At the present moment it can be safely said that death from all causes in Bengal in 1943 could not be less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ million and might come up to 5 million. The onus lies with the Government for proving by incontrovertible facts that the popular contention is not true.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHANGE IN THE SOVIET CONSTITUTION

By SUDHINDRA PRAMANIK

THE recent declaration of the Soviet leaders to give freedom to the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R. "to establish autonomous relations with foreign countries," and to maintain their own army units, has naturally evoked widespread interest throughout the world. British authoritative quarters made no comment on the Soviet constitutional reform "beyond expressing full appreciation of important developments involved."

President Roosevelt stated at a Press Conference that

"he was following the shifting political scenes in Russia with great interest, although he could not immediately interpret the meaning of the latest Russian move giving diplomatic and military powers to 16 individual Soviet Republics."

Cordell Hull liked

"to wait for full facts" and "declined to speculate on whether subdivisions would give an advantage to Russia at future international conferences."

Mr. Joseph Davis, former United States' Ambassador in Russia, stated that

"The changes in the Soviet regime should commend themselves to all democratic countries as an indication of Russia's intention to develop along democratic lines."

Reuter's diplomatic correspondent observed :

"The 'Commonwealth' Constitution of the Republics of the Soviet Union is a climax in M. Stalin's evolutionary programme."

Many hailed it as "a master stroke of Stalin's leadership." The London Press "welcomed Russia's decision to federalise the Soviet Republic." Paul Winterton considered the new plan to be "logical extension of Soviet solution of the problem of nationalities." It "has stirred varying diverse interpretations" in the Press. Let us therefore closely examine the nature of the change suggested and try to understand its implications.

Undoubtedly, this transfer of remarkable powers in the spheres of foreign relations and defence to the Constituent Republics of the U. S. S. R. by its Supreme Soviet envisages far-reaching constitutional development. It may well be considered as a daring experiment in the midst of a deadly war with the Nazi Germany, however diplomatic and time-serving it appears to be in certain quarters. The comments are naturally guided by different motives and interests. That explains the sources of varying interpretations. But it is worthwhile for all those who have no special interests to serve to study the constitutional change critically and attempt to see the truth behind the new move

of the Soviet Union that is likely to have a great bearing on the national and international problems of the day.

Let us first see what the Soviet leaders have to say about it. The press report of the proceedings of the Supreme Soviet and comments of the Soviet leaders and the Soviet Press is very scanty and even defective. That increases our difficulty in understanding its real nature and implications. Molotov observed in his opening speech :

"It is now proposed to give full powers to the Soviet Republic to enter into relations with foreign States and make treaties with them. That makes it necessary to set up foreign Commissariats of Soviet Republics and, in addition, a foreign Commissariat of the Union of Republics."

The Moscow Radio on February 2, 1944, announced the text of two decrees putting into force M. Molotov's proposal for the constitutional change in the sphere of foreign relations and defence. According to the Reuter's message of February 2, the preamble to the first decree which gives the Republics of the U.S.S.R. "powers in the sphere of foreign relations," defines its object as

"to extend foreign relations and to strengthen collaboration between the U. S. S. R. and other States."

It grants the Union Republics the right "to enter into direct relations with foreign States and to conclude treaties with them."

"The second decree dealing with the transformation of the U. S. S. R. Commissariat for defence into the Union-Republic People's Commissariat grants the Republics of the U. S. S. R. the right to organise battle units of their own."

In this connection M. Molotov said "that there could be no doubt that the formation of independent battle units of different nationalities would strengthen the structure of the army and increase its might."

He emphasised that "every effort must now be made to liberate Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Moldavia and the Karelo-Finnish Republic. The enemies of the Soviet Union need not doubt that the outcome of the measure will be a further strengthening of our State."

The necessity for this change in the New Constitution arose according to *Pravda* "because of a change in the international position of the Soviet Union,"

and also because

"the political, economic and cultural needs of the Union Republics can not be covered completely by general representation of the Soviet Union abroad and by Treaties and Agreements of the U. S. S. R. with other States."

If we keep these significant observations in view, it would not be difficult to interpret the true meaning of the two new decrees. If we read the new changes in light of other articles of the Soviet Constitution, "their meaning would be fairly clear to all impartial observers and friends of the Soviet Union.

The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* in its leader (February 2, 1944) has given a wrong interpretation of Molotov's observations regarding the proposed

"transformation of the two People's Commissariats of Defence and Foreign Affairs into the Union-Republic People's Commissariats."

According to its writer :

"Power in regard to Defence and Foreign Affairs is transferred from the central authority to a composite body."

This conclusion he has reached evidently on the erroneous assumption that

"in the Russian Constitution there are three classes of Commissariats or executive organs of the State," namely, "(1) All-Union Commissariats which deal with all matters delegated to the centre; (2) Republic Commissariats which deal with the residuary field belonging, as it does exclusively to the constituent Republics; and (3) Union-Republic Commissariats which dispose of matters assigned to them in accordance with a specified procedure laid down in the Constitution."

I don't know wherefrom he has got this idea. But this assumption is not at all correct. In fact, the Soviet Constitution provides for only two classes of Commissariats, the All-Union People's Commissariats and the Union-Republic People's Commissariats. The meaning and functions of the Union-Republic People's Commissariats he has misunderstood.

Article 74 clearly lays down :

"The People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. shall be either All-Union or Union-Republic."

Articles 75 and 76 define the powers and functions of the two Commissariats in the following words :

"The All-Union People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them throughout the territory of the U. S. S. R. either directly or through organs appointed by them."

"The Union-Republic People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them, as a rule, through like-named People's Commissariats of the Constituent Republics, and shall directly administer only a definite limited number of enterprises according to a list confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R."

The Union-Republic Commissariats, therefore, do not at all mean any "composite central authority," but only branches of State administration of the U. S. S. R. in relation to the Constituent Republics with evidently limited powers and functions. Articles 77 and 78 clearly

differentiate the sphere of operations of the Union-Republic Commissariats from that of the All-Union Commissariats in the following words:

"The following People's Commissariats shall be All-Union People's Commissariats : Defence; Foreign Affairs; Foreign Trade; Railways; Communications; Water Transport; Heavy Industry; Defence Industry."

"The following People's Commissariats shall be Union-Republic People's Commissariats: Food Industry; Light Industry; Timber Industry; Agriculture; State Grain and Livestock Farms; Finance; Internal Trade; Internal Affairs; Justice; Health."

As there are two classes of Commissariats on an All-Union scale, similarly there are two classes of Commissariats in each constituent Republic. Article 86 clearly lays down that "the People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic shall be either Union-Republic or Republic." Their powers and functions are defined as follows :

Article 87. "Union-Republic People's Commissariats shall direct branches of State Administration entrusted to them and shall be subordinate both to the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republic and to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariate of the U. S. S. R."

Article 88. "Republic People's Commissariats shall direct the branches of administration entrusted to them and shall be subordinate directly to the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republic."

If we read these two articles along with the two articles 75 and 76, their significance will be quite clear. The Republic Commissariats are merely administrative branches of a constituent Republic and it is, therefore, misleading to classify it as another class of Commissariats in relation to the two classes of Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. as a whole. It is also clear that the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic is subordinate not only to its own council of People's Commissars but also to the corresponding Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U.S.S.R. that do not constitute "a composite authority" but a central authority inasmuch as they are empowered "to direct the branches of State administration entrusted to them, as a rule, through the like-named (i.e., Union-republic) People's Commissariats of the constituent Republics." The two newly-created People's Commissariats of a constituent Republic will, therefore, constitutionally remain under the corresponding commissariats of the U.S.S.R. Thus, there were before the enforcement of the new decrees eight All-Union Commissariats and ten Union-Republic Commissariats. The only consequential changes that will follow the new decrees shall amend the articles 77 and 78 to the effect that henceforward there shall be twelve Union-Republic People's Commissariats including

Defence and Foreign Affairs both in the Centre Constitution. The Soviet Constitution strives and in each constituent Republic. That is the true meaning of the "transformation of the All-Union Commissariats into the Union-Republic People's Commissariats."

Now the all-important question is how far do these changes really affect the Central Authority and give freedom to the constituent Republics in the sphere of foreign relations and defence, in terms of the Constitution, as amended. So far as we know, there has been no change in the Constitution affecting the powers and functions of the Central Authority, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which is the highest organ of State Power of the U.S.S.R., as a whole, in terms of Articles 30 and 31, or of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of People's Commissars, "the highest executive and administrative organ of State Power of the U.S.S.R., in terms of the Article 49 and Articles 64 to 76. Nor has there been any fundamental change in the relations of the Constituent Republics to these highest Central Organs of the Soviet State Power. There has been also no reported change affecting the Sovereignty of the Central Organs and the nature of Sovereignty of the Constituent Republics, as defined in Articles 14 to 21.

Evidently therefore, the new changes only extend the autonomous powers of the constituent Republics (that have all along been enjoying that kind of autonomous powers in other spheres) to the spheres of foreign relations and defence as well. How far each constituent Republic can actually exercise this newly-extended power surely depends on the nature of its Sovereignty and of the Central control over it in terms of the Constitution as well as in terms of the realities of the situation as it is.

Article 15 clearly lays down that

"The Sovereignty of the constituent Republics shall be restricted only within the limits set forth in Article 14 of the constitution of the U. S. S. R. Outside these limits, each constituent Republic shall exercise State Power independently. The U. S. S. R. shall protect the sovereign rights of the constituent Republics."

Article 16 permits each constituent Republic to have "its own Constitution, which shall take into account the peculiarities of the Republic and be drawn up in full conformity with the Constitution of the U. S. S. R."

Obviously therefore, the nature of the sovereignty of each constituent Republic—the sovereignty which is the essence of independence, is very clearly defined and it is undoubtedly of a strictly restricted nature. It has to be necessarily so in order not to impair the central authority and the central unity of the Soviet

Constitution. The Soviet Constitution strives to give maximum possible freedom to each constituent Republic within the framework of the unified structure of the U.S.S.R., without impairing the central unity. That is its dominant keynote. Many have misinterpreted the real intention of the Soviet statesmen for their failure to grasp this essential foundation of the Soviet unity and the nature of the sovereignty of the constituent Republics in relation to the supreme sovereignty of the U.S.S.R., as a whole. *It has hardly anything in common with the idea of Pakistan* which not only denies this central unity but also is based not on homogeneous cultural and economic units but on a group of people of a particular religion residing in widely separated areas. The Soviet Constitution gives the right of self-determination to all peoples of different religions, sects and nationalities residing in a particular territory which is fit to be an autonomous unit with due regard to its tradition, culture, economy and geography. India may well profit by the lessons of the Soviet experiment in solving her peculiar problem of nationalities. But it is simply misleading to draw loosely an analogy of the Soviet Constitution to the Pakistan scheme. The Soviet Union is a *voluntary union* of self-governing constituent Republics and autonomous Republics including autonomous provinces and national regions of different peoples and nationalities with equal rights, *based on a single Union Citizenship throughout the U. S. S. R.* It gives maximum possible freedom to the self-governing units within One Unified Soviet Union. It is a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics in every sense of the term. But disunity, based on separate religions is the dominant key-note of the Pakistan scheme that seeks to divide India into two or more completely independent States, Pakistan, Hindustan, Drabiristan, and so on, based on the long-explored and out-of-date separate-nation theory of different religious groups, without the least regard to their tradition, culture, economy and geography, and even racial unity. The Pakistan even denies the like-right of self-determination of the other religious groups and even the same racial group of peoples to reside in the areas of their ancestors not under the Pakistan of other religious group but under their own self-governing State or States. "It will be remembered that there are 16 separate Republics in the Soviet Union, 22 smaller autonomous Republics, and 20 National areas set aside for the minorities. Within the borders of the U.S.S.R., no fewer than 180 tongues are spoken, and many nationalities and religions

exist. Equal rights for all peoples, regardless of race, colour, creed, and degree of civilisation, epitomises the fundamental conception of political democracy in Soviet Union. The structural form of administration enables each national and racial minority living within another entomographic area to maintain its own identity, if it so wishes, and helps to nurture many distinctive cultures of several peoples. In this way the Soviet Government has solved the centuries-old national, tribal, social and religious conflicts which existed under Czarism." In spite of all these differences the Russian people has laid the foundation of a solid unified socialist State that has grown from power to power and defies today the Nazi military might in a manner history has never seen. It is therefore idle and even harmful to compare so loosely the Pakistan scheme with the Soviet Constitution.

It is also misleading to talk loosely of 'decentralisation' in the Soviet Union without explaining its real nature and emphasising on the fundamental unity of the Soviet constitution and the Soviet State. Article 17 surely gives each constituent Republic "the right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R." In theory, the sovereignty of each constituent Republic is, therefore, complete and restricted by no check whatsoever. It is quite free to break away from the U.S.S.R., if it so chooses. But in practice, the sovereignty is undoubtedly and quite necessarily much restricted in the best interests of the entire undivided people of the Soviet Union, based on a single citizenship. So long the Supreme Soviet of a constituent Republic does not choose to exercise its right to freely secede, it has to operate within the framework of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., which surely vests the supreme sovereignty in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., consisting of two Chambers, the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. Under Article 31 the Supreme Soviet is empowered

"to exercise all the rights vested in the U. S. S. R. in accordance with Article 14 of the Constitution, in so far as they do not, by virtue of the Constitution, fall within the competence of organs of the U. S. S. R., i.e., the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U. S. S. R., the Council of People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and the People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R."

Therefore, the sovereignty of the Supreme Soviet is also limited as certain powers and functions are delegated by the Constitution itself to the fore-mentioned Organs of the U.S.S.R. But there can be no doubt about the supreme authority exercised by the Supreme Soviet, its Presidium, the Council of People's Commissars, and the eight All-Union People's Commissariats,

in many important and vital spheres, as clearly specified in the Constitution.

The Article 14 which restricts the powers of the constituent Republics and their formerly ten and now twelve Union-Republic People's Commissariats, and under which the Supreme Soviet exercises its powers, enumerates as many as 23 central subjects. They include international relations, questions of war and peace, "supervision of the observance of the conformity of the Constitutions of the constituent Republics with the Constitution of the U.S.S.R," defence and direction of armed forces, foreign trade, establishment of national economic plans, the unified State Budget, administration of banks, industrial and agricultural establishments and enterprises, transport and communications and trading enterprises, direction of monetary and credit system, organisation of the State insurance, and establishment of principles of labour legislations, education and public health, and for the use of land as well as for the exploitation of its deposits, forests and waters, among others. That certainly means that the Constitution takes away all these important subjects from the jurisdiction of the constituent Republics. The Soviet Constitution has, however, taken great care to include as central subjects only those that are quite essential for the development of the Socialist Union and for the welfare of the entire Soviet people of one United Russia. That is also apparent from the division of functions between the All-Union Commissariats and the Union-Republic Commissariats. Article 68 also clearly gives the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R. the right

"to co-ordinate and direct the work of the All-Union and the Union-Republic People's Commissariats of the U. S. S. R. and of other economic and cultural institutions subordinate to it."

It is, therefore, still open to the Council of people's Commissars of the U.S.S.R., to exercise this central authority of co-ordination and defence in spite of the freedom given recently to the constituent Republics in these spheres. The position is simply this—they will have to either exercise this freedom with the approval of the central authorities of the U.S.S.R., in consultation with them, and under their general direction and supervision in the interests of the entire people of the U.S.S.R., or they will have to decide to secede from the U.S.S.R. There is, therefore, an element of truth in the remark of the London *Economist* that "their 16 Republics will hang together for reasons invisible to the constitutional lawyer." They will surely hang together, we may be sure of that.

But they will hang together not merely for these visible constitutional reasons, but also for so many real rights and privileges, the self-governing Socialist Republics enjoy in a Socialist Union, although they remain conveniently 'invisible' to the keen eyes of the astute defenders of capitalist democracy.

Article 69 also gives the Council of People's Commissars of the U.S.S.R.

"the right, in respect to these branches of administration and economy which come within the competence of the U. S. S. R. to suspend resolutions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the Constituent Republics."

Under Article 17 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., has also the right

"to interpret the existing laws of the U. S. S. R. and issue decrees," "to rescind decisions and orders of the Council of the People's Commissars of the U. S. S. R. and of the constituent Republics in case they do not conform to the law."

These powers and safeguards to preserve the central authority of the Soviet Union do not permit anybody to talk loosely of 'decentralisation' and complete freedom to make separate treaties on the part of these Republics, though they will certainly enjoy maximum possible freedom within the spheres of foreign relations and defence without impairing the essential unity of the Soviet Union. That is why Molotov was so boldly proclaiming that

"The formation of separate battle units of different nationalities would strengthen the structure of the army and increase its might."

Yet it must be regarded as a most daring experiment in the midst of a deadly war—an experiment worthy of the Soviet Union and the proletarian democracy.

In this context, there is, however, little ground to suppose that all these Republics will actually exercise this right to conclude separate treaties with other States. Most of them would choose not to do that unless and until they consider it really necessary in their own interests. They will be content to be guided by the Central Organs of the U.S.S.R., wherein each of them has its own representatives and all of them collectively have a quite effective voice in shaping their own destiny according to their free will, through the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. No important matter can be passed save in agreement with the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R. The Constitution provides sufficient safeguards expressly to protect the right of self-determination of all constituent units and gives full scope for the self-expression of all nationalities. The very decisions of the Central Organs of the U.S.S.R., will be, in fact,

their own decisions, because they are elected directly and indirectly by all the adult citizens of the entire U.S.S.R., and the constituent Republics, autonomous Provinces and national regions. Therefore, there will be little practical difficulty for them in willingly falling in line with the central foreign policy and defence plan of the U.S.S.R.

The real difficulties and needs of the hour that have necessitated this remarkable change, have arisen not in respect of most of these constituent Republics, but in respect of the Soviet Ukraine, the Polish Ukraine as well as in respect of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Moldavia, and the Karelo-Finish Republic, to liberate whom Molotov significantly gave so much emphasis on this occasion while moving for the adoption of the new decrees. It should not be forgotten that none of these Baltic States, though Sovietised by their free will, have been recognised by the Allies as the constituent parts of the U.S.S.R. Similar difficulty faces the U.S.S.R., in case of the Polish Ukraine. It remains also a thorny problem to be solved whether the Soviet Ukraine and the Polish Ukraine will remain separate Republics or they should be allowed in their interests to combine into one. The very fact that the Ukraine is the first and still the only Soviet Republic to appoint a foreign commissar immediately after the passing of the decrees, goes to confirm our view. This right was exercised by the Soviet Ukraine and some other Republics at the initial stage of the U.S.S.R., and if they are again permitted to exercise that right, that is welcome, indeed. By giving this right to these States—the right which forms an essential part of the sovereignty, the U.S.S.R. will be, no doubt, in a better position to tackle the peculiar problems of nationalities of these countries and also to effectively silence any possible Allied opposition to the incorporation of these Soviet Republics within the U.S.S.R. Incidentally, it also may give the U.S.S.R. a large representation in the future comity of nations. The London *Economist* rightly considers it "minor." But it is perhaps right to divine its purpose, that is, "to smooth the path for acceptance by the outside world of incorporation within the U.S.S.R., of territories which did not belong to it in 1938." But they will not surely belong to Russia in the sense the London *Economist* understands it, but will belong to all the self-governing peoples of the socialist Soviet Union. And none can justly object to their freely deciding to remain within the U.S.S.R. That would be, indeed, a great moral victory to the Soviet democracy.

MALARIA AND ITS INFLUENCE ON WORLD HEALTH

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II

TWENTIETH CENTURY—FIRST QUARTER

DURING the first quarter of the twentieth century it was natural that interest in malaria should be centered around control measures based on the newly demonstrated specific etiology. For malaria control had been an ancient and persistent hope. Records of empirical prophylaxis



A U. S. Army Engineer dips stagnant water from a jungle pool in New Guinea in a search for breeding places of mosquitoes

extend all the way from early centuries in ancient Italy to the late nineteenth century in the United States. For instance, one can cite Nerva, who in 96-98 A.D., was praised for his hydraulic works which improved Roman health because the water of his drains "removed the causes of bad air." Some seventeen hundred years later, still in the empirical age, the transactions of the American Medical Association (1874) were three of many.

largely filled with a symposium on drainage as related to public health and especially to the malarial fevers. This subject was first explored in the United States apparently in 1832, in the course of a medical survey of New York State.

Mosquito nets were mentioned by Herodotus. They have been used ever since to exclude mosquitoes from sleeping individuals. For instance, in the middle of the last century the wife of the first Bishop in Capetown presented a mosquito net to David Livingstone when he was in Central Africa. He responded with a charming letter which began as follows :

14 July 1863.

My dear Lady :

I feel exceedingly obliged by your kindness in making such a beautiful mosquito curtain for me. Beyond a doubt it is the handsomest that ever appeared in this country, and I am a great admirer of the invention . . .

Wire screen cloth for use in excluding mosquitoes and other flies was manufactured in the United States as early as 1865.

Larvicides date back to about 1793, when oil (probably whale oil) was used in Philadelphia rain barrels to kill mosquito larvae. Howard, in 1892, was one of the first to use petroleum oil for this purpose. Dust larvicides such as Paris green were apparently not used against mosquito larvae until about 1920.

The technique of warfare against mosquitoes developed rapidly after Ross disclosed the fundamental etiology. Indeed, Ross himself in 1899 in Sierra Leone carried out the first anti-malarial work based on his own discovery. It is notable that Ross later wrote :

" My work had been done not at all for the sake of parasitology, but in order to find a method for reducing the incidence of malaria amongst the inhabitants of warm countries."

His prime interest remained, to the end, malaria control.

Outstandingly successful anti-malaria projects in the first quarter of the century, included besides those mentioned below, that initiated in Malaya in 1901 by Malcolm Watson, that by Oswaldo Cruz and Carlos Chagas in Brazil, and by Ronald Ross in Ismailia, to mention only

STATEN ISLAND

At the turn of the century, Staten Island was not only malarious, but also had an uncomfortably high density of pest mosquitoes. In 1901, Dr. Alvah H. Doty, Health Officer of the Port of New York, found that in one section of Staten Island 20 per cent of the inhabitants had malaria. He also discovered that the problem was twofold—pest mosquitoes breeding in salt marshes and Anopheles mosquitoes breeding in collections of fresh water, inland. Doctor Doty himself one evening collected twenty-two mosquitoes in a house, and found more than half to be anophelines, while on the opposite corner there was a patient with acute malaria.

A fairly large-scale antimosquito campaign was planned and carried out effectively in Staten Island under the direction of Dr. Doty and with help from the Department of Health of New York City.

Although there is no reference to this project in Winslow's biography of Biggs, the following statement has significance.

"The New York City Health Department (of which Biggs was General Medical officer) from 1902 to 1913 was in large measure the concrete expression of the mind of Hermann Biggs; and the history of its development is the history of the progress of his sanitary statesmanship."

It is also made clear in this biography that Doty and Biggs were close friends (indeed Doty was best man when Biggs married in 1898). Therefore, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that, in this Staten Island malaria and mosquito pioneer control project, one of the earliest, and one of the most effective of the early campaigns, in the United States, inspiration and advice stemmed from that great sanitarian—Hermann Michael Biggs.

Except for this work in Staten Island, and in one or two other areas, as in New Jersey, Long Island, and California, this country was slow to react until the Panama project had dramatized the subject of malaria control. Intensive malaria control in the South began with practical demonstrations in 1912-1916 in North Carolina, Virginia, and Mississippi by Henry R. Carter and R. H. von Ezdorf of the U. S. Public Health Service, and, in co-operation with the International Health Board, at Crossett, Arkansas, in 1916.

During the World War in 1917-18 the Public Health Service carried out an extensive extra-cantonment, and the Army an intra-cantonment anti-malaria program in fifteen states over a total area of 1,200 square miles. This very successful project not only protected considerable numbers of troops but it also

demonstrated malaria control in a practical way and resulted in the training of a large personnel. In the years from 1919 to 1922, The Rockefeller Foundation, co-operating with the Public Health Service, demonstrated that malaria control in the South could be done for from 75 cents to a dollar per capita, with maintenance costs of 25 cents a year, about one quarter of the average yearly malaria payments per capita for quinine, doctors, and undertakers. These



A U. S. soldier checks the oil supply in a drip can suspended from a foot bridge by malaria control experts near a U. S. Army camp in New Guinea.

experiments proved that malaria control by antimosquito measures in the South was not only economically feasible but a sound business proposition.

GORGAS

The greatest early twentieth century demonstration of the usefulness of mosquito control measures was furnished by William Crawford Gorgas, who like Laveran, Bruce, and Ross, was an Army medical officer. In the words of Sir William Osler, "There is nothing to match the work of Gorgas in the history of human achievement." Not only did Gorgas completely control yellow fever by anti-Aedes measures (following the work in Cuba of Finlay, and of Walter Reed

and his colleagues, which disclosed the vector of epidemic urban yellow fever) but, as the result of his Anopheles control, the malaria rate in Havana was reduced from the figure of 909 per thousand in 1899, to 151 in 1901, 44 in 1904, and 19 in 1908.

Because of his outstanding success in Cuba, it was natural that medical authorities should suggest that Gorgas take charge of sanitation during construction of the Panama Canal, where yellow fever and malaria had turned engineering efforts into shambles. Mosquitoes, at that time

outstanding assistance of Henry Rose Carter, of the U. S. Public Health Service.

The Anopheles carrier in Panama bred in ponds, marshes, swamps, and standing water. The problem of controlling this widespread rural insect was much greater than that of controlling Anopheles breeding in Havana. The malaria rate in the Canal Zone in July, 1906, was equivalent to 1,263 hospital admissions per year per 1,000 of population. But Gorgas, with his unusually efficient sanitary organization and inspectors, reduced the numbers of canal workers admitted to hospitals for malaria from a yearly rate of 821 per 1,000 in 1906 to 76 per 1,000 in 1913. This work by Gorgas, with his concomitant success against yellow fever and dysentery, was a superb accomplishment, described by Sir Malcolm Watson as "the greatest sanitary achievement the world has seen."

If it be assumed that without Gorgas and his sanitary victories the occurrence of disease among our employees would have paralleled that among the French employees, who were without such help, then it can be stated that Gorgas saved the United States some 39½ million mandays of illness between 1904 and 1914, and not only so but he prevented some 71,000 deaths in the ten years of canal construction. Gorgas himself estimated that the sanitary work on the isthmus during the ten years of construction saved the United States some 80 million dollars, if indeed the canal could have been built at all in the presence of such intense malaria and yellow fever as that experienced by the French.

It is easy to forget and time rapidly dims even the brightest records. Hence, it does not seem amiss to recall once more the tremendous world-wide impression made by the sanitary victories in Havana and Panama. For instance, when Gorgas visited London in 1914 he received, according to Osler, the greatest ovation ever given a medical man in England. Oxford University held a special convocation to confer upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Science. At home, the President made him Surgeon General of the Army, and the Congress about a year later made him a Major General, at that time an almost unprecedented rank for a medical officer. He served his country with distinction in this high office during the World War. After retiring from the army in 1918, at the age limit, he went to South America as director of a yellow fever commission, under the auspices of The Rockefeller Foundation.

In 1920, in London, Gorgas became ill and was taken to the Queen Alexandra Military



A U. S. Army Engineer attached to a malaria control unit in New Guinea inspects a newly completed channel to drain off stagnant water from a jungle pool near a U. S. Army base

not yet unmasked, had administered to man the greatest engineering defeat ever known. The French losses in eight years were over 200 million dollars and 50,000 lives.

When the United States undertook to build this canal, Gorgas was put in charge of the Sanitary Department of the Canal Zone by the Surgeon General of the Army. He was aided by an exceedingly capable Chief Sanitary Inspector, Joseph A. Le Prince, by the brilliant laboratory studies of Samuel Taylor Darling, and by the

Hospital. There he was knighted by George V, receiving from the King's hand the insignia of Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. A few days after receiving this knighthood, Gorgas died and was given the funeral of a British Major General in St. Paul's Cathedral, the highest honour that Britain could bestow. Later, his body lay in state for four days in Washington, and at the Church of the Epiphany an illustrious assembly gathered to pay last respects to this man whom the *Lancet* called "the best known and most uniformly successful medical administrator not of his age alone but of any age."

In this second quarter of the twentieth century malariology has shared in the general advance of science.

THE CONTROL OF MALARIA THE SYNTHETIC ANTI-MALARIALS

Paul Ehrlich found, in 1891, that methylene blue will stain malaria parasites and he hoped that it would therefore act therapeutically by damaging the parasites in human blood. When its chemotherapeutic action was found to be slight, investigators modified its chemical structure, hoping to enhance the plasmocidal effect. This line of study finally led by devious paths to the synthesis of plasmochin, in 1924, by Schulemann and his colleagues in Germany, and of atabrine in 1930 by Kikuth, Mietzsch and Mauss in the same place. Neither of these drugs is synthetic quinine. Plasmochin is a quinoline derivative. Atabrine is a yellow dye derived from acridine. Plasmochin was found to be unique in its effectiveness against gametocytes, especially those of *P. Falciparum*, and in its relative ineffectiveness against the schizonts of this same species. Atabrine was found to resemble quinine in its action against all species of schizonts and in its weakness in affecting any of the gametocytes. Quinine, plasmochin, and atabrine are alike in their inability in a percentage of cases to cure without the occurrence of relapses, and in their failure, in safe doses, to prevent infection by sporozoites. None of the three has been found to be a true causal prophylactic, although each in small doses tends to suppress clinical symptoms. All three may exhibit toxic effects, quinine least and plasmochin most often.

Atabrine is by no means a perfect substitute for quinine but it is, nevertheless, a fairly effective anti-malarial, now (fortunately) being manufactured on a large scale in the United States, England, and Russia. The Germans also are using extensively tablets of their own manufacture.

There is still no drug which is sufficiently effective to justify the use of chemoprophylaxis to eradicate malaria from communities. However, in spite of the fact that neither plasmochin nor atabrine has proved to be that potent chemical wand so earnestly desired, yet these drugs do represent a notable forward step in malaria therapy.

PYRETHRUM SPRAY-KILLING

There is a chrysanthemum indigenous to Dalmatia, growing in the fields like a small yellow daisy. The full blown flower of this plant contains active principles, called pyrethrins,



Stagnant water from a mosquito-breeding swamp in New Guinea is drained off through a canal dug by U. S. Army Engineers

which are deadly to insects. This latter fact has been known for many years in agriculture and public health and the dried pyrethrum flowers have become an important item of trade, so that large pyrethrum plantations have been developed in Japan, Kenya, and lately, in India.

Pyrethrins are contact poisons to which the cuticle of a mosquito is permeable. The toxic effect is seen chiefly in a destructive action on the central nervous system. Kerosene extracts of pyrethrum have long been in household use against mosquitoes but only recently has it become apparent that pyrethrum spray-killing

in many rural tropical areas is the best weapon available for malaria control, in fact it is the only one which is financially feasible in much of the rural tropics. Standard use of larvicides or of drainage and filling, or of screening has been far beyond the pocketbooks of these areas.

If the adult malaria-carrying mosquitoes of a community can be destroyed before they have lived long enough to become infective then malaria transmission in that community ceases. In villages where the malaria vector mosquito species tends to remain inside huts, cowsheds or out-buildings accessible to spray-killing, it is possible by spraying thoroughly once a week with pyrethrum to break the chain of infection and thus to control malaria, at a cost which is considerably less than the cost of malaria and is not beyond the economic potentialities of the tropics.



A U. S. Navy medical officer studies with a microscope blood specimens of a malaria patient in a tent laboratory on Guadalcanal Island in the Solomons

This is notable progress which may be further enhanced by newer methods of dispensing the spray. In 1935 it seemed true to state about the tropics that

"So far as average rural areas are concerned, the problem of control is still unsolved . . . it appears that we have no economically feasible control measures."

In 1942, experiments in rural South India proved that the malaria chain can be broken, in typical small villages, at per capita costs around \$0·08 per year.

SPECIES ERADICATION

In 1930, Shannon, an entomologist on the staff of The Rockefeller Foundation, reported

that he had found *Anopheles gambiae* in Brazil. This was of great interest because *gambiae* is a notorious African species. Apparently a fast French destroyer had taken this deadly mosquito from Dakar to Natal, and the stowaway had succeeded in colonizing in the New World.

By 1931 the species had spread 115 miles up the coast stimulating local anti-malaria campaigns along conventional lines. These had some success and lulled the Health Department into a sense of complacency which was completely shattered in 1938 when *gambiae* caused what was probably the greatest epidemic of malaria ever seen in the Americas. During the first six months there were over 100,000 cases with at least 14,000 deaths. It became apparent that the African invaders had colonized for more than 200 miles north and west of Natal. This African species threatened to invade all of northern Brazil from which it might push on into Central America, with devastating results.

Displaying great courage, the Brazilian Government decided to attempt not merely the usual anti-malaria measures but an actual eradication of every *gambiae* mosquito in the country. This complete extirpation of a species of mosquito had never been accomplished in any land at any time. A poll of experienced malariologists would doubtless have judged it an impossibility, for *gambiae* has the habit of breeding in all types of water collections, large and small.

By presidential decree, in 1939, the Malaria Service of North-east Brazil was created.

It was organized as an anti-*gambiae* rather than anti-malaria service. Under the guidance of Soper and Wilson, of the staff of The Rockefeller Foundation, this Brazilian organization, much of which had had years of training in anti-*Aedes* work, grew to be 4,000 strong, and was allotted total budgets of more than two million dollars. The whole infested area, and a little beyond, was divided into squares of workable size; an adequate control gang was assigned to each square; and there was simultaneous and meticulous application of Paris green to breeding places and of pyrethrum spray-killing to adult resting places. The result of this determined, systematic

and overwhelming attack was what now seems almost certainly to have been the complete eradication of *gambiae* from north-east Brazil and thus from the New World. The last evidence of *gambiae* in this area was found on November 14, 1940. Since January, 1941, all anti-*gambiae* measures have been suspended; a large staff of trained men have been constantly combing the area and contiguous zones for *gambiae*, and there has been a standing cash reward for finding it. Not a single living *gambiae* larva or adult could be found in 1941 or 1942. (But some dead adults were found in an airplane from Africa in 1942, illustrating clearly the need for complete enforcement of the pyrethrum spray-killing regulation for all airplanes arriving in Brazil from Africa).

This is a very great achievement, a sanitary triumph, which marks the start of a new era in the fight against malaria. Great though the cost of the Brazilian campaign, it was very much less than the toll which *gambiae* would have exacted in the long run had it been only curbed by usual antimalaria measures rather than extirpated by a new and bold technique. This success suggests similar possibilities in other parts of the world. It is no longer certain that the malaria-carrying mosquitoes of a country could never be exterminated.

With large numbers of men well-trained in mosquito and malaria control work returning from overseas after the war, with the need for progressive post-war public health planning, with a genius for organization, and with money, it is certainly within reason to believe that malaria, if not the last mosquito vector, could be eradicated from the United States.

THE FUTURE

There are certain trends in malaria research which may be taken as some indication of what the future may bring.

ANTI-MALARIALS

For instance, there is a tremendous amount of chemical, pharmacological, and clinical research going forward at the present time in a determined and intensive search for an anti-malarial chemotherapeutic agent which will not have the deficiencies of quinine, plasmochin, and atabrine. The need is apparent when it is recalled that not one of this trio will cure with certainty, not one is a true prophylactic drug, and not one is of much value in the control of community malaria. Clark and his colleagues as an experiment, tried for ten years to control malaria in some Panamanian communities by

means of these drugs. They concluded that it was impossible by mass treatments to reduce the parasites to a point where malaria transmission in a community was much lessened.

It seems reasonable to hope that a more effective anti-malarial will be developed in the not too distant future.

IMMUNITY

As the science of immunology develops it is probable that the immunity factor in malaria will assume more importance. Whether vaccines and serums will ever have a practical place in combating malaria is a matter for speculation, with some evidence that some day a way may be found to make them useful.

REMOVAL OF SOCIAL OBSTACLES

Probably the greatest advance in the future will be the removing of some of the social obstacles which block rapid progress in malaria control. Surely, it is amazing that, with all of our laboratory and field knowledge of malaria and its anopheline carriers, with all of our potent weapons of oil and Paris green, screens and pyrethrum, drainage and water-manipulation, with brilliant examples of successful projetes, with our repeated demonstrations that it is cheaper to control malaria than to pay the economic toll it exacts from its victims—with all this, malaria control in the middle period of the twentieth century is still such a feeble effort. Is this due to insufficient knowledge, inefficient tools, paucity of funds? Or is our social organization unable to apply effectively the money, potential labor, existing weapons of control, and wealth of experience and research findings?

The answer to the question "Why malaria?" seems to involve certain social obstacles to malaria control. Over widespread areas, particularly in the tropics, these appear to consist of such social facts as (1) a fundamental absence of educated and effective public opinion as regards the economic importance of malaria, the methods available for its control, and the community's responsibilities for its prevention; (2) a surprisingly limited use of sound administrative principles in public health, so that co-ordination and co-operation between departments does not exist, and continuity of effort in dealing with malaria is rare; (3) a lack of sufficient numbers of personnel specially trained in the entomological, agricultural, engineering, and public health phases of malariology; (4) a lack of cognizance by public officials as to the cost of malaria and the public benefit to be derived from its control; (5) a widespread inept-

ness in applying effectively and practically the results of research in malariology.

What Bernal wrote about science in general may be said of malaria control : " The obstacles to the solution of the problem are not any longer mainly physical or biological obstacles; they are social obstacles." It seems incredible that malaria still can be so great a scourge, for it is a preventable disease regarding which we possess as complete knowledge as for any human malady. The literature on malaria stretches back 2,000 years, grows actively, and has become

enormous. There have been devised potent weapons for treatment and control. But malaria persists, of all diseases today probably the most effective barrier to prosperity, contentment, and health. What a paradox ! Man, with his incredible machines and his streamlined science, stricken each year in millions because he fails to outwit a mosquito carrying Death in its spittle.

By courtesy : USOWI

(Concluded)

KASTURBA GANDHI

BY MRS. HEMLATA TAGORE

WE have heard, in our childhood, little girls chanting in course of the performance of certain Vratas, " May we be as chaste as Sita, and may we get a husband as good as Rama."

The little girls knew that in desiring a husband as good and great as Rama, they had to be prepared to accept the trials and tribulations which fell to the lot of a wife, who accompanied her husband to the forest. Yet they beg for this boon from their God, because they feel that in gaining a husband who was as pure in character as Rama, they get the boon above all boons.

Kasturba, a daughter of Gujurat, might or might not have chanted the above prayer, but it is evident that she got the boon in full, in her life. It seems to us as if the young Mohandas Karamchand had also chanted, " I shall be a husband as good as Rama, may I get a wife as chaste as Sita." And the young wife Kasturba answered, " I shall be a wife as chaste as Sita, may I get a husband as good as Rama." This seems to have been their mutual prayer, else how do we explain such a fortunate union ? People think that Rama and Sita are only characters out of an epic, a figment of the poet's

brain, real persons of flesh and blood could never have been like this. But now people may have realised that such conjugal love is possible in mortal beings, they can feel they have seen Rama and Sita in the flesh, with their own eyes.

The giddy modern youth may think, " Such constancy in love can never be true. It is unnatural, it is a matter of coercion and habit, it is no longer fit for humanity in this age." Let them look at Mohandas and Kasturba now. This is not a tale of the hoary past, but of the present, it is like a domestic event. It is not an imaginary story, it is pure undiluted truth. This love helps in ones life's work, enables one to surmount sorrow and difficulty and empowers one to attain the highest ideal of humanity. There is no human life without sorrow and trial. He alone is worthy of praise who can rise above them, strong with the strength of love. Let the immaculate character of Kasturba be the ideal of India and may India pass through all her trials aided by her penance of love. Let the ideal of Ramchandra reign supreme in the heart of every Indian man. Praise be to Kasturba, the Sati of India, we bow down to thee.





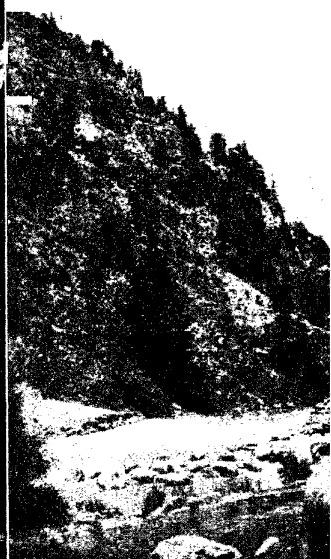
Top : Near Kaghan (3rd stage). Middle : Near Besal (7th stage). Bottom : Safr-ul-Maluk-sar (the lake)



Lake Lulusar



The angler's paradise (near Batakundi)



Near Batakundi (5th stage)

THE KAGHAN VALLEY

By PRAN NATH MEHRA

LIKE a wedge between Kashmir on the east and independent Tribal territories of the Frontier on the west is the beautiful valley of the Kaghan. Ninety-two miles in length and about 15 miles in width it is abundantly rich in its variety of natural vegetation, flowers and lakes that feed perennial streams. It is not only the angler who can beguile a few pleasant hours over his line and rod in the Kaghan river, but the botanist, the landscape painter and the hiker can each reap benefit from a visit to the place. Compared to the popular summer resorts of the Himalayas and the south, however, this far-flung valley of the North-Western Frontier is little known except to keen tourists or those who live in closer proximity to it. It lacks, therefore, the fulsome social activities of Pahlgam, Simla, Mussoorie, etc., and needs adequate development of communications and easier means of transport before a large number of people could afford to enjoy its charms. The Government has, however, provided Dak-bungalows at each of the eight stages by which the entire valley can be traversed in about eight days.

THE KUNHAR

The Kunhar or Kaghan river runs along the entire length of the valley, flanked on either side by lofty hills. Its source is in the Lulusar lake near Gididas, the last stage of the valley, and it eventually falls into the Jhelum. More than the road it is the river that guides you from eleven miles this side up Balakot, the mouth of the valley, all the way up to its origin. All the time you enjoy its music amongst the stones, sometimes faint deep below and sometimes, just at your foot-level. Its flow is very placid and calm between the miles 48 and 53, and the waters there abound in trout fish. As it comes down its volume increases and a good many brooks find their way into it. It is used as the only means of export for the wood of the jungle, and it is a pretty sight to see the logs floating down striking the stones here and there and sometimes getting stuck in.

THE LAKES

Lakes are the beauty of the upper part of the valley. Chief of them are Safr-i-Maluk-sar Lulusar and Dudibach-sar (sar means lake). Safr-i-Maluk, situated six miles to the south-east of Naran at an altitude of 10,718 feet, is the most spectacular and enchanting of all these. Its length is half a mile and width five hundred yards and it is the source of the Naran Katha. After six miles' tedious climb when you first sight the beautiful trough of green water lying in impressive solitude amidst the snow-clad hills you feel more than repaid for the effort. Every passing moment seems to invest it with enhanced charms. If it be late in the season the flowers at the foot of the hill, with all their variegated



Mahandri (2nd stage), showing the Rest House

colours, are not visible, but the tryst they keep in the waters of the lake is like the unmixed tints that a school boy puts on his sketch-book for the first time. As you go round the lake, for a moment you forget that you are seeing the same place from different angles, for so varied is the landscape.

Lulusar, the biggest of the lakes, is one and a half miles long and is 300 yards in breadth. It is in the shape of a crescent and is the source of the Kunhar river, as already stated. There are beautiful grazing lands all around bedecked with flowers of all kinds and tints. Its altitude is 11,167 feet.

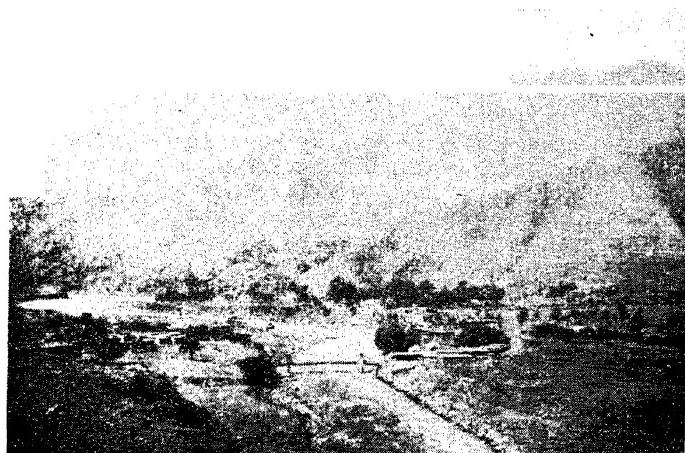
The Dudibachsar is situated at the head of

the Purbiala Katha about 12 miles from Besal, the climate is such as leaves nothing to be the seventh stage of the valley. It is circular desired. Nights are rather chilly beyond in form and its altitude is about 12,000 feet. Kaghan and one may welcome a fire if it is raining. The higher you go the colder it grows.

THE MOUNTAINS

The mountains rise in impressive magnificence on either side of the Kunhar river. Mali

Batakundi as the forest begins to disappear you seldom get a downpour, the hills being too barren to attract moisture. The rains do not damp the atmosphere, and this is the peculiarity of the valley, and one enjoys the rather bitter breeze that generally comes in the wake of a shower.



Balakot, the mouth of the valley, showing the Kunhar river and the suspension bridge over it

ka Parbat (17,360 feet), the loftiest of all, stands to the east of Safr-i-Maluk lake. South of this lake is the Raganpajji (16,528 feet). At the head of Ghanul Katha (stream) farther south, is the rounded summit of Makra (12,752 feet). Opposite Makra is the famous Musa ka Musalla (13,378 feet). Facing Mali ka Parbat is the Manur peak (15,129 feet), and is so picturesque that any painter would like to spend a couple of hours in portraying its charms.

CLIMATE AND RAINFALL

The climate of the valley is intensely cold.

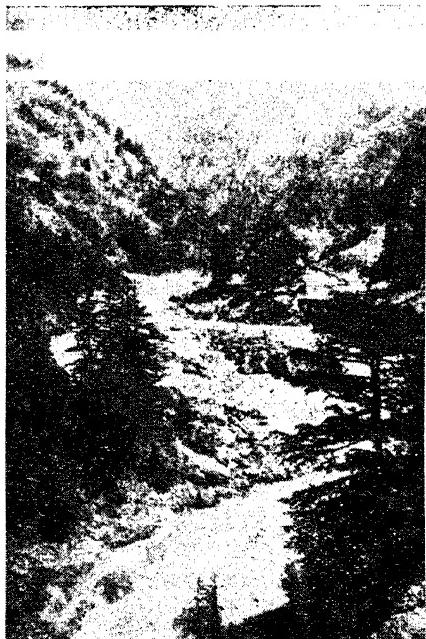
Beyond Kaghan, the valley is almost inaccessible from November to the best part of April, as the road is blocked with snow. The best time to visit is from the beginning of June to the beginning of October. During these months



The Kunhar river

of the valley and dwell in low narrow half-subterranean houses. They feed their cattle on the grass they manage to save during summer. By the middle of May, for them it is too hot to stay down and they go up. This is

with a two-fold motive : one, to escape the heat, and the other to conserve the grass for use during winter. They also till their fields and cultivate their maize, ere they go up. Like



The valley between Kaghan and Naran—the most picturesque part of the valley

nomads they go away bag and baggage. For two months till the middle of July they simply block the road with cattle, children, wives and all. They look rugged and worn out, but they are very hardy, not caring a straw for the scorching stones or the chilly showers. They are very meagrely clad and provided.

As you move up you get fairer people, especially their males. Women are not so pretty as those of Kashmir. The Swathis are mostly traders. The Sayeds have a pleasant time. They are Jagirdars in Kaghan and Paras, and have rather beautiful houses to live in. They levy a tax on the Gujars who move up, which they collect at the Kaghan post. Their income is estimated to be nearly ten thousand per annum. In addition to that they have the privilege of choosing anything they like from the stock-in-trade of the Gujars, who consider it a religious merit to offer it to them.

PRODUCE OF THE VALLEY

The valley is not rich in production. For the first stage and a half rice is the chief crop,

then maize and this is in sufficient quantity. Butter and milk are enough and cheap. Good indigenous patti-cloth and blankets are made which are sold in Balakot and Mansehra markets. Sheep and goats are numerous and cheap. No vegetables except potatoes are grown. The land is soft and rich, but the people are too ignorant and lazy to turn it to use. Moreover, there is no market to sell in and the means of transport are not sufficiently developed. There is also the jungle wood that is exported in huge quantity every year bound for the Jhelum market.

ITINERARY OF THE VALLEY

Before leaving Balakot, one should equip himself with all possible provisions. There is a rest-house at every stage which is furnished but it provides little of useful crockery and utensils. Permission for the use of these bungalows may be sought from the Executive Engineer, Abbottabad, and the anglers would be well advised to get the necessary license from the Conservative of Forests, Abbottabad. The road is quite motorable upto Balakot (40 miles from Abbottabad). From there commences the real valley and the road is just a mule track. Either one must ride or walk, the latter the safer and more pleasant.

The road between Mansehra and Balakot (16 miles) is very beautiful. Fine chir



Flowers of the valley, 2 to 3 feet in length

forests are on both sides, chirs in hundreds and thousands emitting their sweet faint smell.

The valley is conveniently divided in the following eight stages :

1st Stage :—To Kawai (12½ miles from Balakot.)

At Balakot one crosses the road by the river and the view of the Raggan Pajji under suspension bridge stretching across the Kunhar. One is cut off from the every-day bustling world. Across this bridge is the shrine of Pir Bala, known for its supernatural cure of leprosy. Hence a colony of lepers is there. This stage is rather hot and less attractive except for its beautiful fields of rice. Near the 9th mile is a pleasant water-fall near Gudi. Musa ka Musalla in the west yields a good view. Another feature of this march is the greenish sort of light. Everything, the hills, the passers-by and their clothes, the water, indeed all seems to have been dipped in a diluted green liquid.

Kawai Bungalow is situated at a pleasant place at the height of about four thousand feet. Its most striking feature is the blood-red tulips round its skirts and one mistakes them for the policemen's turbans from a distance.

2nd Stage :—To Mahandri ($12\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Kawai.)



The Gujjars

Now begin the attractive parts of the valley. The road climbs at a dizzy height and then like a tide comes down to the village of Paras. Another couple of miles takes you to the deodar forests.

Here the logs flowing down the river are a sight. The rice cultivation ceases and fine fields of maize undulating in the breeze are very attractive. The gorge narrows and the road winds along one of the prettiest reaches of the

snows charms the eyes. Then comes the village of Jared, a fine camping place, with some beautiful islands, covered with trees, in the river seen so pleasant down from the road. Then a short descent takes you to the place where the trout breeding is being carried on and then you reach the Mahandri Bungalow. It is situated at one of the prettiest spots of the valley. The river is flowing just by and huge stones intercepting its flow make the water shoot up in jets like the fountains. Northward to the Bungalow stand peaks of Siral of Chumbra (13,529 feet) in all their majesty and glory.

3rd Stage :—To Kaghan (11 miles from Mahandri).

The scenery is more or less like the last stage except that the flowers are more numerous than heretofore. The collection of huts that forms, the village Kaghan are high up under the Siral peak. The Bungalow and the Police Post are down below by the river bank. Here is a school and a Post Office. Here the Sayeds collect their tax from the grazers that go up. Sayeds have comparatively nice houses to live in and are quite well-to-do. The altitude is 6,776 feet.

4th Stage :—To Naran ($14\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Kaghan).

The scenery at once becomes attractive and the road passes through a succession of fine gorges and here and there are bits of cultivation. The hills on the opposite bank of the Kunhar are well-wooded and at intervals beautiful water-falls attract the eyes. If it be early in the season one simply walks on snow-slides which are every moment melting in drops adding to the river. If one go onward the panorama broadens and the maize and barley fields come into view. The river too broadens and its flows become calm and trout is numerous. The soil is moist, flowers numerous and grass rich. Naran lies almost in the midst of a verdant grassy plain at an altitude of 8,096 feet. The sight is awfully pleasant and 6 miles' climb to the east takes you to the most beautiful place in the whole valley in Safr-i-Maluk-sar.

5th Stage :—To Batakundi (10 miles from Naran).

The scenery during this march is very attractive. The green stretches take the place of forest. The trees begin to vanish gradually. The river flows in a calm, quiet, wide channel. The hills get more and more rounded and the grass and flowers grow profusely on their slopes. The Bungalow is situated at the height of 8,849 feet at the bottom of a hill and yields a pictureque sight to painters.

6th Stage :—To Burawai (8 miles from Batakundi).

The scenery during this short march gets wilder due to the lack of trees. Only some blue pines and silver firs are seen scattered here and there. The flowers are more abundant than heretofore. The Bungalow is situated at about 10,000 feet.

7th Stage :—To Besal (11 miles from Burawai).

Just on leaving Burawai one changes sides of the river bank for the first time since Balakot. The hills are barer than ever. Here and there silver firs and blue pines are scattered. After about five miles' march one comes to the Jalkhad Kotha up which there is a route into Kashmir valley. Now the first ceases altogether. The hill slopes are gentler and more grassy and

flowers of all colours are bedecked on their declivities. The valley has opened now. The Bungalow is situated at an altitude of 10,700 feet on the junction of the stream and the river.

8th Stage :—To Gididas (8 miles from Besal).

It is the last stage in the valley. The road climbs high up for a couple of miles to Lulusar lake. Here the road crosses it at its mouth and winds along it for a mile. On the western side is the way up to Kohistan. Now one enters the glen. Wide wide stretches of verdant grass studded with all sorts and hues of flowers charm the eyes so much. It is a paradise for a botanist. Then we reach the Rest House at the height of 11,860 feet. Here terminates the valley and so must our description too.

TAGORE IN FOREIGN LANDS Some Personal Impressions

BY J. N. SINHA

ALESSANDRO de Philippis knew very little English. Avegail, his wife, knew a little more. So although I was duly armed with my Italian-English conversation book I was hoping to get on better than with the ordinary English-knowing Italian who leaves you abruptly in the blind alley with his "me no speak English." But I was not prepared to find on Mrs. de Philippis' book-shelf Tagore's *Gitanjali* translated into English and *Home and the World* in Italian. It was a delightful Spring evening. In a quiet villa on *via Pascoli* in that beautiful garden town of Florence we were sipping after-dinner coffee. A neat array of books stood by the wall to my left. The young couple were graduates of Palestine. Alessandro was a forestry expert and Avegail a research worker in Botany. My eyes cursorily went about the books. Perhaps unconsciously I searched for an English book or two in that collection of science dressed out in an unknown language. But who could be so bold as to search for Tagore's works therein? And yet Mrs. de Philippis jumped towards the direction of my eyes, pulled out three books of Tagore and placing them on tea-poy sat in front of me as the anxious pupil does at the teacher's feet. She plied me with questions regarding Tagore's life and philosophy. She looked at me with the eyes of a devotee seeking for message from a traveller of the Master's land. I explained to her the literal meaning of *Gitanjali* at which she was overjoyed. I recommended to

her Tagore's *Broken Ties and Other Stories*, and promised to send her a copy in English.

Promise I did out of exuberance but doubts descended upon me immediately regarding the book's availability. I did not expect I would get it in England, so decided to order a copy for her from India. On returning to Oxford, however, I walked into a book-shop and shyly and diffidently, like the villager asking for cow-bell in ladies' beauty shop, I said almost in whisper, "Have you by any chance Tagore's *Broken Ties*?" "Yes, Sir," answered the girl promptly and stepping aside picked up and handed the book to me, as if it were one of the books she had been selling most commonly. I was most agreeably surprised. I am sure very few comparable shops in India will produce the book so confidently and quickly.

I recollect too that evening in Paris. Place de la Concorde had an irresistible fascination. To me it looked more philosophic than gay—those myriads of scintillating little electric bulbs, soft pathways, cosy benches, delicate blend of light and shade, and that whispering quietness. Feminine fashion figures flitted out, in and out. Those dreamy eyes, those desperately rouged cheeks, the flaming lips, those looks of longing. They reminded me of Tagore's inimitable description of woman:—"When God made man He was a schoolmaster, with His bag full of commandments and precepts; but when He came to woman He had resigned His headmastership

and turned artist, with only a paint box and brush." Suddenly, as if to belie the description, came the dramatic question in soft feminine voice, "How is Tagore?" By me sat a lady in seductive dance dress and her husband. The lady had looked at me furtively for some time and then apologetically asked if I was an Indian. "Oh, then you must be knowing Tagore," she said, "how much I and my husband both read Tagore's poetry." They were residents of Budapest and did business in Paris. The husband named several works of Tagore translated into the Hungarian language.

In a restaurant at Nice (South France) a Dutch gentleman talked of Tagore in admiring terms.

In the United States of America and in Canada the commonest enquiries related to Gandhi and Tagore. It was no surprise to me when questions about the great saint and the great poet were asked in intellectual societies but when the man in the street, whose opposite number in India does not know much of Tagore if at all, asked these questions I could but stand and gape. At Statesville (North Carolina) Mrs. Bartel, wife of the Forest Officer, discussed Mahatma Gandhi, Buddhism, *Gita*, and Rabindranath Tagore till 10-30 P.M. On board S.S. *Duchess of Bedford* Mr. Burly Edwards and his sister Miss Dorothy Edwards kept me awake the whole night in the smoke-room discussing India, Tagore and Gandhi. The brother ended with the statement:—"Materially we Americans are very civilised, but in point of moral and intellectual civilisation we are yet barbarians when compared to you."

Nor can I forget those helpless eyes of the Estonian student who for lack of knowledge of the English language could merely utter "Gandhi, Tagore" and look in my face. I met him at Tallin (capital of Estonia) one evening by the Gulf of Finland. As soon as he knew that I was an Indian he indicated in bits of English and German and by signs that he was reading Tagore's works.

In Japan in late 1937 Tagore was the talk of town and countryside. But the people were dissatisfied with him because he had not supported Japan in her aggression on China.

I was in Riga. It was a warm July day. Wandering ceaselessly with camera and survey eyes I felt thirsty. I entered a chocolate-and-drink shop at the fashionable crossing of Kalku Iela and Brivi Bas Boulevard. Of the two young sales girls one was Russian and the other, Dory

Ozol, Lettish. They had no beer but lots of smiles to make ordinary lemonade drinkable. They felt respectfully interested in me but knew no English and I but a few pass words of German which they could speak well. The cashier next came in, a comparatively elderly lady. She knew English tolerably well. The girls were delighted to have an interpreter. Dory Ozol asked if I was Indian, and then if I knew Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore. She said she had been reading his poems translated into the Lettish language. She said I was the first Indian she had cast her eyes upon. She entreated me to speak a few Indian words for the pleasure of hearing them.

That question of the chocolate-and-drink shop girl—whether I knew Tagore—surprised me most deeply and pleasantly. It set me thinking whose Tagore was Rabindranath Tagore, of this Lettish girl or mine as Indian. The sound and feel of her question clearly indicated that Tagore was primarily hers, of Latvia, although I was Indian and Tagore was Indian. Narrowminded people say Tagore is the poet of Bengal. Some say he is the poet of India. Some again conventionally concede that he is the poet of the world but do not feel the significance of the words. To such persons the answer is Dory Ozol's question. She believes that Tagore belongs to her, to Latvia, and that Indians as others may just know him too. In a way she is not wrong as let apart a roadside shop girl, people in higher positions in India outside Bengal do not care to read Tagore. One is amazed to find how popular Tagore is throughout the world, how dearly he is owned and treasured in Italy, Latvia, France and all over. Some again contend that the Bengali language has won the Nobel Prize. This is an entirely mistaken notion. What really has won the Nobel Prize is Tagore's almost superhuman genius, his soaring imagination, his most tender delicate sentiments, the artistry of his mind, the artist in him that gave the either a shape. Language is just a medium of expression, a vehicle of transport. But there must be thoughts first to be expressed, goods first to be transported. Tagore might have written in any language and still won the Nobel Prize. After all, the very judges of Tagore's works were ignorant of the Bengali language. But they were not ignorant of the soul inside that unknown language. They bowed to that soul, to the genius in Tagore. True it is that Bengali is a rich language and its richness did perhaps help Tagore. But Tagore also enriched the Bengali language. He left it vastly more rich than he had found it. Not

*The incident is of 1937.

all the richness of a language can produce first-rate poetry out of a second-rate poet. Tagore's creative genius could make a language out of nothing, he could make the dumb stones speak. The message of his soul, brimful with love for God and for man, would never be stopped for language imperfections. The music in his heart would never remain unborn for want of a flute. Who makes channels for those mountain streams careering through the mighty Himalayan gorges? Who provides Nature with instrument to produce her music of sylvan silence? The language of the heart is the same all the world

over. Tagore voices the sentiment of humanity—from the depths of Africa to the Fifth Avenue of New York—expresses man's hopes and despair, and like the sage minstrel who divines our thoughts Tagore sings out in the sweetest melody what our heart feels but cannot express. Tagore enters into every human heart and lights up the dark spots, purges out the base in us through his divine music, comforts us with his philosophy when we are sick, and gives us hope by singing of the Mercy of God when we despair in life. Let no man be so cruel as to tell another—Tagore is mine, not yours.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE situation on the Indo-Burma Frontier is rather complex, so far as one can judge from the scanty reports coming from that area. There has been hardly any news at all from the Arakans lately and only minor clashes have been reported in the dailies, though predictions have been made about major engagements in the near future. The method of reporting is rather strange in certain cases, such as where stress has been laid on the difficulties about supplies for the Japanese and about the predicament in which the Japanese would find themselves in unless they manage to occupy Imphal or Kohima, as the case might be, before the coming of the monsoons. The monsoons would complicate matters for all concerned, beyond all doubt, whether it be supplies and reinforcements for the invader or aerial strafing and mechanized assault on the part of the defender's relief columns. Even though the present situation may call for extreme reticence regarding news, one wishes that the news given were slightly more lucid, especially about the progress of the counter-action, which must by now have gathered force. It is apparent now that the Japanese must have managed to reinforce the original raiding columns to some considerable strength enabling them to persist in attack in spite of their obvious disadvantages in the matter of communications and their marked inferiority in the air.

It is now over six weeks since the first surprise thrusts were delivered on the British positions on the Indo-Burmese Front. After a period of fairly rapid advance, the Japanese columns gradually slackened their pace, and the

infiltration tactics changed to positional warfare on a very minor scale. Now their attempt is at capturing the main positions that guard all the roads and tracks in the Manipur and Naga Hills areas. If they succeed in this attempt then they would be able to place very considerable difficulties in the way of the counter-offensive during the monsoons. It is taken for granted in certain quarters that the monsoons would call a halt to all operations on this front. Under the present circumstances that would be impossible as the situation is too fluid to allow either side to remain in tranquillity. Both sides have by now interlocked their forces into a jigsaw puzzle pattern and any slackening in effort by either party would mean sacrificing some part of his fighting forces. It is a battle of supplies and of jockeying for advantageous positions now. The monsoons are only a little way off and whoever is better placed when it does arrive, would place the other under extreme difficulties. The initial network of infiltrating parties thrown by the Japanese over the difficult terrain has to be broken and cut to pieces by the counter-attacking columns and the main anchorage positions destroyed. It is difficult work when the tenacity of the enemy is considered and the time in hand is also short.

The Japanese are staging another minor war in China. The latest reports indicate that they have not yet been halted though the fighting has been going on for some time now. Although the main objective has not yet been reached in this quarter either, the Japanese have nevertheless attained some measure of success. In the

Pacific Zone and in New Guinea, General Mac-Arthur's forces are continuing with their slow, costly and arduous struggle in the face of "suicide defense" tactics of the enemy. There is no indication in any part of this wide war-zone, of the Japanese giving up. There is no sign from Tokyo either that their war-effort is going down. Indeed from all portents it is obvious that the war in the East is slowly mounting into a major struggle with the progressive development of Japan's war-potential. Japan has still a long way to go before her war-effort becomes comparable to that of the western powers, but there is no lagging on the way, and there is no idea of giving up either. And therefore the production peak may be reached by her ahead of the dates fixed by western experts. The Manipur and Naga Hills thrust has not developed into an invasion campaign but it has certainly gone beyond the scope of a mere nuisance raid. This latest move on the part of the enemy is a clear indication of his daring and his resourcefulness.

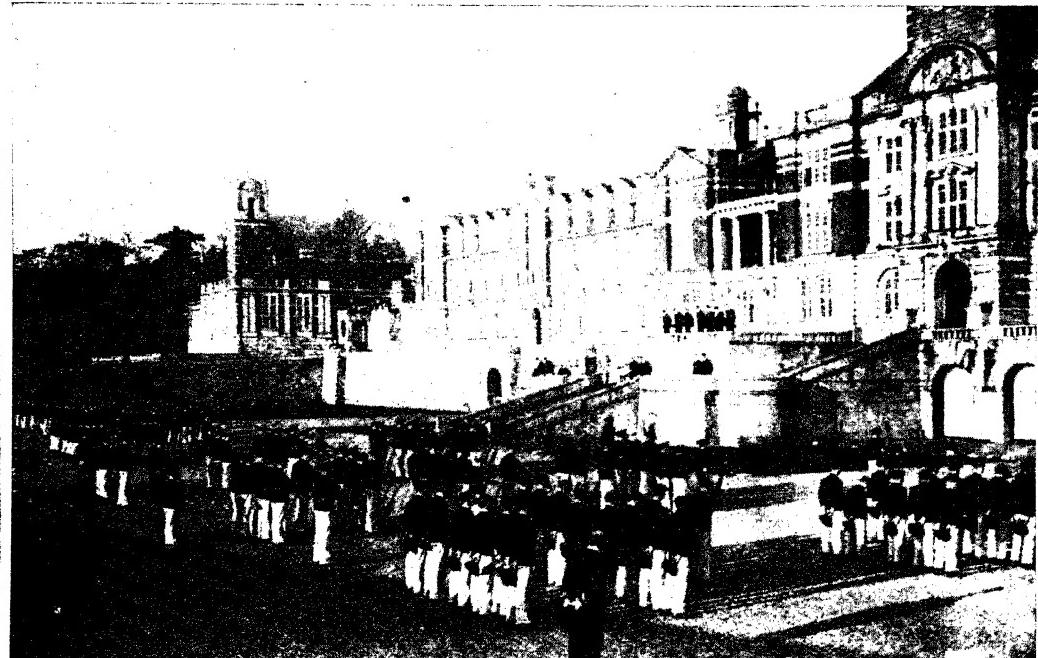
In Europe the Second Front has not materialized at the time of writing. The air-assault on Germany and Occupied Europe has reached a crescendo now and an all-out aerial war is in progress. According to some this clearly indicates the imminence of Allied invasion of Western Europe, while others see in it the last attempt at the knocking-out of Germany by aerial bombardment alone. Although the scale of the recent raids surpasses anything that has been attempted before and the tempo has been stepped up as well, this air-assault has now been in action for nearly two years. If the Allied estimates of damage to enemy war-effort be accurate, then the cumulative effect of this prolonged aerial campaign must be stupendous. But there does not seem to be any indication that German civilian morale has cracked under the strain. In any case, whether this latest intensification of aerial bombardment be the actual softening up process that precedes invasion or it be the climax of the aerial knock-out plan, it means that the actual final decisions regarding the Second Front are imminent. The Western Allies cannot defer the final test much longer as the spring is nearly over and the long hours of summer day-light may not be favourable for large-scale landing operations.

In Russia the battle is flickering up and down. There was a temporary lull and the resumption has not as yet attained the proportions of the campaign in Ukraine in the early days of the Spring. It has been suggested that both

are now feverishly regrouping for the

actions of the Summer and Autumn campaigns. That may be as it is, but the pressure on the German defence line is now localized in effect. Possibly the general blaze-up in East will coincide with the landings on the West, and the Russians might be conserving these reserves for that effort. General Mannstein is attempting to improve his position in the interlude and in certain localities the Soviets' forces under General Zhukov are now on the defensive. The Russian Winter campaign has been colossal in extent, and it has in effect virtually released the Soviets' territories from the invader's grip. But there is no indication that the war is approaching its end in the East for although the Axis forces have been rolled back over vast areas, their resistance has not been broken nor has the defence-line been substantially disrupted at any place. Of course, the supreme test has yet to come, and the Axis in Europe may crack up under simultaneous impacts from the West as well as in the East. But before that time comes the Second Front must materialize on a scale commensurate with the battle-line in the East.

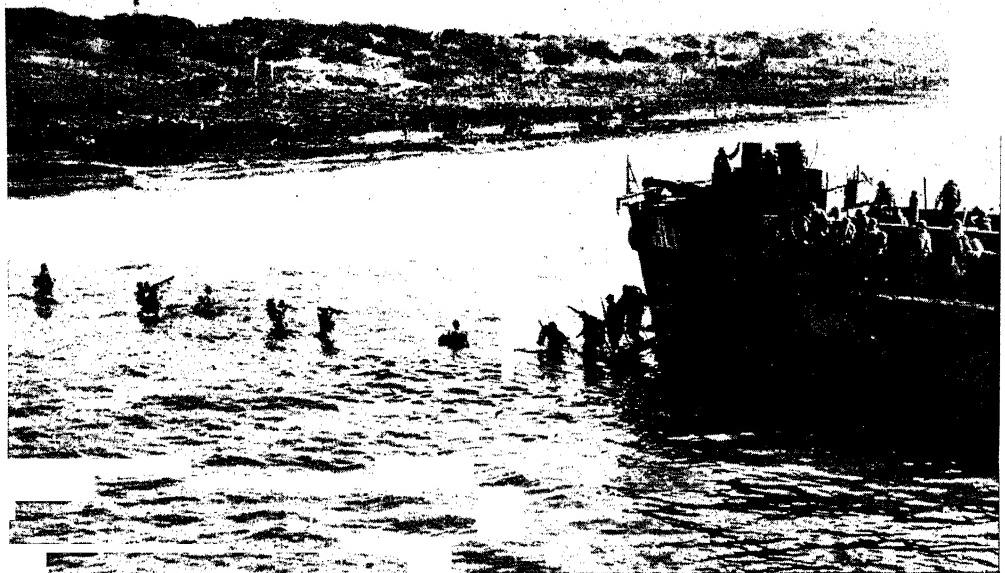
The Fifth year of war is now approaching its closing months. During the course of this conflict, Russia has absorbed the maximum force of the impact of the Axis war-machine, in a struggle that has gone on continuously for nearly three years. In her turn she has inflicted most severe losses on the enemy. China's struggle against the aggressor has been far more prolonged and although the conflict is no longer the blaze it was during the first four years, she is still holding up the best part of Japan's fighting forces. The Western Allies until now have not had to bear the burden of land-campaigns on the continental scale. On the other hand, they have had the opportunity to develop their war-effort to its peak, with only occasional calls to stem or to throw back Axis aggression. Germany has paid for the march across Europe in blood and equipment, and the assault on the Soviets has ended almost in a disaster. Allied Chiefs have openly declared that she has lost her supremacy in the air and that her submarine campaign has been defeated. The time therefore is ripe that the Western Allies seek for a decision in the West. For delay in Europe means growth of the danger in the East. Japan has already had two full years in which to exploit the vast resources of the areas overrun by her forces, without much disturbance to her plans. And she seems to be reasonably certain of getting another year in which to further



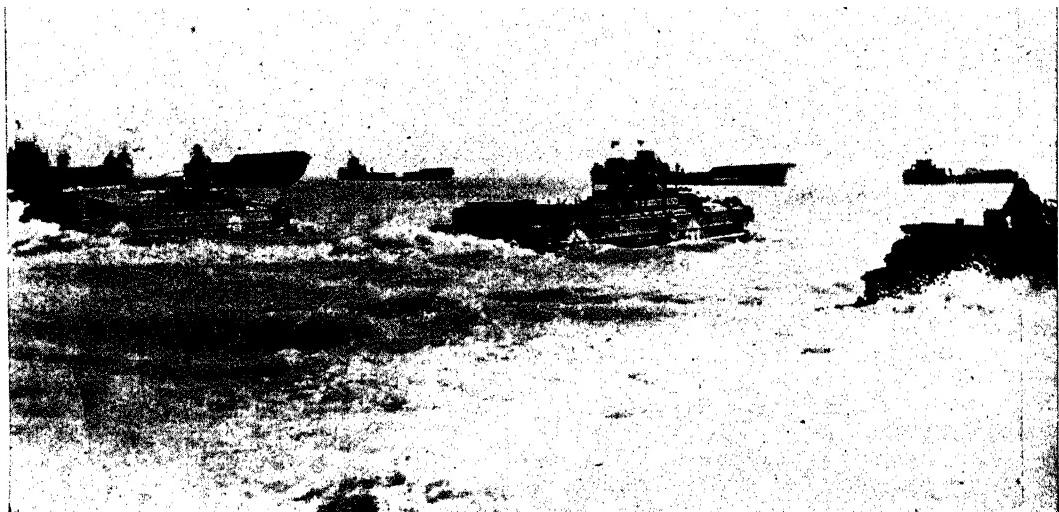
The morning parade in the court-yard in front of the Royal Naval Training College at Dartmouth



A class of cadets at the Royal Naval Training College at Dartmouth being lectured on naval rigging. These young boys will one day be the commanders and captains of Britain's Navy



American soldiers wade ashore to a beach in the Anzio area from American LCI (landing craft-infantry) vessels



U. S. Army amphibious trucks plunge through the surf of Anzio Harbor on their way to Allied transports and cargo ships lying off shore to ferry in another load of men and supplies

RELATIVE EFFICIENCY OF THE HINDUS AND THE MUHAMMADANS OF BENGAL

A Tentative Study

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

"As long as everyone is occupied in the search after truth, it matters little if all arrive at different conclusions."—JOSEPH PRIESTLY.

ENGLAND is a mildly temperate cold country; *Modern Review* for March 1931]. Are they and the energy and vigour of an Englishman equally efficient or are there any differences as popularly and generally explained as due to between them? The climate of the different parts of Bengal differs; while the Hindus are concentrated in the Western part of the province, the Muhammadans live mostly in Eastern Bengal. May we find out the average efficiency of a Hindu, and compare it with that of a Muhammadan? The problem is a complicated and difficult one. Let us make an honest beginning.

Intellectual development and physical energy appear to be stimulated by conditions which make life neither too easy nor too hard. Climate and scenery exercise a powerful influence on moral as well as on physical conditions. By contrasting the stolid earnestness and ceaseless exertion of the dwellers in Northern Europe with the passionate vivacity and intermittent activity of Southerners, an ingenious author once went so far as to assert that *character is a function of latitude*.

Bengal, with an area of 82,955 sq. miles, is situated between 21°30' N and 27° N latitude. In every district, in every thana or police-station (with an average area of 125 sq. miles) the Hindus and the Muhammadans live together. They come from the same racial stock [see "Who are the Bengali Muhammadans?"—in *The*

Classical experiments of Professor Leonard Hill of the Cambridge University have definitely established :—(1) that the output of energy is maximum when the temperature as well as the relative humidity (*i.e.*, the amount of water vapour in the atmosphere) is comparatively low; and (2) that the Output of Energy diminishes as the temperature rises and *more so* with the rise of Relative Humidity. The *optimum* temperature and humidity vary to a certain extent according to the type of occupation. For example, hard manual labour requires a lower temperature and humidity as compared to brain-work and light muscular work. Further both temperature and humidity are inter-related with each other with regard to efficiency in the output of work.

Let us apply these propositions to Bengal; and try to find out the relative efficiency of the Hindus and the Muhammadans in Bengal. Lt. Col. A. C. Chatterjea, lately the Director of Public Health in Bengal, has taken 75° Farhenheit as the optimum temperature and 60 per cent as the optimum relative humidity for Bengal.

As a first approximation we may, therefore, take the loss of output of Energy or of Individual Efficiency to be inversely proportional to the difference in temperature between the actual temperature and the optimum temperature; and also as inversely proportional to the difference between the actual relative humidity and the

optimum relative humidity. Put in mathematical garb,

Loss of efficiency ($e \leftarrow$. . . (a)

(actual temp. -75°F .)

$$e \leftarrow \cdot \quad (\text{actual relative humidity} - 60)$$

$$\text{or } e = \frac{K_1}{(\text{temp.} - 75^{\circ}\text{F.})} \dots \text{(a}_1\text{) in one case, and}$$

$$e = \frac{K_2}{(\text{relative humidity} - 60)} \dots \text{(b}_1\text{) in another.}$$

$$\text{or } e = \frac{K_1 K_2}{(t^{\circ} - 75^{\circ}) \times (H - 60)} \quad (1)$$

But as the output of energy diminishes more with the rise of relative humidity than with the rise of temperature let us assume that it does so in a simple (or linear) manner. It has been suggested that we shall be nearer the truth, if we take the loss due to the rise of relative humidity to be at least twice that due to the rise of temperature over the optimum temperature. The equation (1) above then assumes the form

$$e = \frac{K_1 K_2 (=K \text{ say})}{(t^{\circ} - 75^{\circ}) \times 2 (H - 60)} \dots (2)$$

The equation for the efficiency of either the Hindus or the Muhammadans would be of the following type :

K

$$E \text{ (efficiency)} = C - \frac{.}{(t^{\circ} - 75^{\circ}) (H - 60)}, \text{ where } C \text{ is a constant,}$$

its value depending mainly upon race, and the food taken by it and to a lesser degree by the occupation followed by it. In our discussion below, we shall take the C to be the same for both the Hindus and the Muhammadans, and to be absolutely independent of climatic variations. As the value of C is dependent upon so many different and uncertain factors, and as the relative values of C and K cannot be easily calculated, we shall deal with only the loss of efficiency suffered by both the Hindus and the Muhammadans on account of the climatic differences; and compare the two losses on the assumption that C is the same for both of them.

Let us now try to apply these equations to calculate the relative efficiency of an average Hindu and of an average Muhammadan of Bengal. The climate of Bengal differs in differ-

ent areas. The main factors, which govern the output of energy, viz., temperature and relative humidity are given below for the different Administrative Divisions of Bengal.

TABLE I

Divisional Averages of Maximum Temperatures
(° Farhenheit)

Month	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Jany.	80.0	88.5	75.2	77.8
Feb.	82.9	81.9	78.4	80.8
Mar.	96.7	94.2	90.9	91.8
Apr.	101.8	98.1	96.6	95.6
May	96.7	93.2	90.2	89.8
June	91.3	90.1	89.3	90.2
July	90.0	89.1	88.6	88.2
Aug.	89.5	88.8	88.1	87.5
Sept.	90.3	89.7	88.3	87.0
Oct.	88.9	89.0	86.9	88.1
Nov.	85.2	84.5	82.4	83.6
Dec.	80.9	78.9	77.2	78.9

Yearly average 89.5 88.1 86.0 86.5 85.9

TABLE II

Divisional Averages of Minimum Temperatures
(° Farhenheit)

Month	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Jany.	54.3	57.6	49.1	53.3
Feb.	59.5	57.2	54.6	58.0
Mar.	68.8	67.8	61.2	67.8
Apr.	76.6	75.6	71.2	74.4
May	77.3	76.1	74.3	75.3
June	78.2	78.2	77.6	78.0
July	78.9	78.8	78.7	77.8
Aug.	78.8	78.7	78.9	78.8
Sept.	78.3	78.2	78.0	78.6
Oct.	73.4	73.7	72.1	74.8
Nov.	62.7	63.0	61.2	64.7
Dec.	56.5	54.3	53.5	56.6

Yearly average 70.3 78 67.5 69.9 70.0

TABLE III

Divisional Averages of Temperatures at 8.0 a.m. (Local Mean Time), when Observations of Relative Humidity are made.

Month	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Jany.	60.6	59.7	55.0	58.4
Feb.	64.5	66.6	60.5	63.3
Mar.	74.9	77.2	70.6	74.3
Apr.	82.7	83.5	79.6	81.5
May	82.9	83.4	79.6	81.4
June	82.6	83.4	81.6	82.4
July	82.2	83.1	81.7	82.4
Aug.	81.8	82.6	81.9	82.1
Sept.	81.8	83.4	81.7	82.8
Oct.	77.9	80.9	77.6	80.1
Nov.	69.6	71.0	67.8	71.0
Dec.	62.6	61.7	59.3	62.0

Yearly average 73.6 76.2 73.1 75.1 76.3

We have given above the monthly and yearly averages of temperature, when it is maximum (generally about 2-0 P.M.), when it is minimum (generally about 4-0 A.M.), and at 8-0 A.M. when the Relative Humidity for the day is recorded. We shall now give below the absolute maximum and minimum temperatures recorded for the several areas, thus showing the extreme range of variation of temperature to which the men of the locality are subjected, as well as the range of variation of monthly averages.

human activities are confined, especially in an agricultural country like Bengal) as opposed to the night temperature, we add the maximum, the minimum and the 8-0 A.M. temperatures and divide the result by 3.

TABLE VI

	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
age of Maxi- mum	89.5	88.1	86.0	86.5
Mini- mum	70.3	69.8	67.5	69.9
8-0 a.m.	73.6	76.2	73.1	75.1

TABLE IV

(° Farhenheit)

	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Abs- olute temp.				
Maxi- mum	114	111	109	105
Mini- mum	45	38	40	41
Extreme range of variation	69	73	69	64
Monthly average of Maxi- mum	101.8	98.1	96.6	95.6
of Mini- mum	54.3	54.3	49.1	53.3
Range of varia- tion	47.5	43.8	47.5	42.3
			65	54.2
				38.3

Relative Humidity as percentages for the several Divisions are given below in Table V.

TABLE V

Relative Humidity %

	Burdwan Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Jany.	70	79	82	85
Feb.	78	79	79	83
Mar.	60	76	60	78
Apr.	64	75	65	76
May	79	82	81	82
June	85	86	87	86
July	89	88	89	88
Aug.	89	88	88	88
Sept.	88	86	87	85
Oct.	83	81	83	82
Nov.	75	79	81	82
Dec.	74	75	83	83
Yearly average	78	81	80	84
				83

From the above several Tables, we derive the following Table for the several Divisions of Bengal, which is self-explanatory. To calculate the average day-temperature (when most of the

From equations (1) and (2), we know that Efficiency is inversely proportional to the product of excess over optimum temperature, and excess over optimum relative humidity i.e., to the product of (a) \times (b) in one case; and to the product of (a) \times 2(b) in the other case.

The question that we now propose to ask ourselves is may we find out the relative efficiency of an average Hindu and an average Muhammadan of Bengal. Let us first of all assume that inherently all the Hindus and all Muhammadans are equally efficient, as they come from the same racial stock and as an overwhelmingly large proportion of the Muhammadans are descendants of local converts. The loss of efficiency is solely due to the above climatic factors. In finding out the loss of efficiency of the two major communities, we must take into account the effect of their geographical distribution. Their geographical

distributions as percentages of their own total are as follows:

	Burdwan	Presidency	Rajshahi	Dacca	Chittagong
Hindus	33.2	24.0	17.3	18.3	7.2
Muhammadans	4.4	17.3	24.2	35.7	18.3

The Sum of (a) \times (b), according to equation (1) in the case of the Hindus is S (a) \times (b) = $50.4 \times 33.2 + 69.0 \times 24.0 + 10.0 \times 17.3 + 52.8 \times 18.3 + 55.2 \times 7.2 = 4886.0$; and the average for a Hindu is 48.9.

Similarly S (a) \times (b) for the Muhammadans = $50.4 \times 4.4 + 69.0 \times 17.3 + 10.0 \times 24.2 + 52.8 \times 35.7 + 55.2 \times 18.3 = 4552.7$; and the average for a Muhammadan is 45.5.

The inverses of these two figures are .0205 for the Hindu; and .0220 for the Muhammadan.

According to equation (2), the Sum of (a) \times 2(b) for the Hindus is 9732.0; and that for the Muhammadans is 9105.1; and the respective averages are 97.32 and 91.05. The inverses of these two figures are .01027 for the Hindu, and .01098 for the Muhammadan.

From the above results we find that the loss of efficiency, due to climatic factors alone, is greater in the case of the Muhammadans by some 7 per cent over that of the Hindus. An average Muhammadan is, therefore, somewhat less efficient than an average Hindu. We would have arrived at the same result had we calculated our calculations month by month. The monthly averages for day temperatures (obtained by adding the maximum, the minimum and 8.0 A.M. temperature, and dividing the result by 3) for the two Divisions of Burdwan and Dacca are given below. The Burdwan Division, where more than 33 per cent of the Hindus live, is taken as the type for the Hindus; and the Dacca Division, where more than 35 per cent of the

Muhammadans live as the type for the Muhammadans.

TABLE VII
(Monthly Day Temperatures)

	Burdwan	Dacca
Jany.	.. 65.0	63.2
Feb.	.. 69.0	67.4
Mar.	.. 80.1	78.0
April	.. 87.0	83.8
May	.. 85.6	82.2
June	.. 84.0	83.5
July	.. 83.7	83.1
Aug.	.. 83.4	82.8
Sept.	.. 83.5	82.8
Oct.	.. 80.1	81.0
Nov.	.. 72.5	73.1
Dec.	.. 66.7	65.8

We find that in both the Divisions, for the four months from November to February, the temperature is below 75° F. But even in those months the relative humidity is well over 60. Assuming therefore that when the temperature is below the optimum, there is no loss of efficiency, we calculate S (a) \times (b) month by month for the two Divisions for the remaining eight months. The Sum of (a) \times (b) for Burdwan works out to 1325.6 and that for Dacca to 1354.2. The inverses of these two figures are .000754 and .000738; which shows that a Dacca Muhammadan is less efficient than a Burdwan Hindu. We are strengthened in our above conclusion from the consideration of Table IV, which shows the range of variation of temperatures. It is said that within certain limits the greater the range of variation of temperature to which a population is normally subject the harder and sturdier it becomes. The range of variation is greater in Western Bengal than in Eastern Bengal; and a greater proportion of Hindus live in Western Bengal, while a greater number of Muhammadans live in Eastern Bengal.

THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

By PROF. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

II

THE crisis in European culture has called out many critics of consequence to apply their mind to the developing danger. Mr. T. S. Eliot's power lay in converting to his view-point persons of the eminence of Dr. Richards, Dr. Leavis, Denys Thomson, etc.—all high lights of the new generation. Though Mr. Eliot and his supporters started with the same initial propo-

sition, i.e., the decay of modern English society and consequent threat to culture, the conclusions they came to are mutually exclusive. Mr. Eliot's contention we have examined, now we shall take up what Dr. F. R. Leavis and Dr. Richards have to say.

Both the Doctors are the promoters of the idea of "minority culture" as opposed to the "mass-standardized" culture ushered in with

the advent of the Machine Age. Dr. Richards in the *Practical Criticism* throws up the idea when he says :

"From the beginning, civilisation has been dependent upon speech, for words are our chief link with the past and with one another, and the channel of our spiritual inheritance. As the other vehicles of tradition, the family and the community for example, are dissolved, we are forced more and more to rely upon language."

Whereas Mr. Eliot stressed the re-living the traditional Christian life as a corrective to the general disintegration, Dr. Richards points out a more significant and scientific medium—the language. Language has a function beyond communicating thoughts and feelings; it is the only social bond between individuals strong enough to resist external influence. Its form is an index of a people's living—their power of communication and discrimination, of refining and expressing their sensibility. In the eighteenth century England when life was not complex and individuals were attached in living bonds because the society was small, language performed its function appropriately. But the modern times are a diseased period. Society has become a hierarchy, culture a dictated and standardised commodity. The individual's life is full of occupations and new jobs, his interest towards finer side of life is not active and cultivated. Advertisement, cinema, journalism, periodical reviews with their "Dos" and "Donts" for the reader are some of the multitudinous forces of the industrial age which assault the individual's mind. He succumbs to their hypnotic influence; in the age of Fords, Beaverbrooks and Northcliffs he is perforce to surrender his judgment and inner literary urge to the standardised variety. The result has been that his mind is becoming largely receptive, his habits and tastes formed for him, his insensibility to general poetry is increasing alarmingly; in a word he is living at second-hand.

This is the outline of the case Dr. Richards has made out for his theory. Details have been fixed by Dr. F. R. Leavis in his various essays and books. In his comparatively recent work *For Continuity* he has vividly described the dangers facing culture today. He starts with the basic assumption that culture is interlinked with the proper use of language. He says, "The most important part of this language is actually a matter of use of words. Without the living subtlety of the finest idiom the heritage dies." Language, because it is an instrument of ordering, refining and expressing the deepest and complex sensibility is the treasure-house of value. It unlocks to us the door to the sanctum of the finest

experience of the past. Now this instrument (language) has been vulgarised at the polluting touch of the Machine Age. People's taste has fallen depressingly low, no standards as to the appreciation of the theory and response to the charm of art exist. As if the belief were gaining ground that after all laws of demand and supply are more real than flights and reveries of poets. Or after the evening's work the most we could do was to tune in the radio, walk into the picture house, or read light verse at the corner of some periodical. These would be enough to stir our emotions and make us sentimental for a while. Against such a state of affairs Dr. Leavis protests with all his soul. Literature according to him is ebbing away into dreary sands of commerce.

It is the machine and its resultant mass production—the *raison de etre* of the growing standardisation—which has impinged upon all phases of life. Machine has broken compact family life centred round the parish church, it has multiplied man's cares and has manufactured new problems on a large scale. With this unprecedented change there is little to correspond so as to readjust the traditional fine values of old. Dr. Leavis expresses this inner death of contemporary culture by examining the effect of machine on man's emotional life. He takes up the Press, the Films, contemporary criticism and books. Newspapers. Dr. Leavis discovers, aim not in formulating and guiding public opinion but in increasing circulation. To that end they make cheap appeals to the readers' lust for sensation, for unwholesome curiosity, for erotic sensibility and for jingoism. Norman Angell hit the nail on the head when he said, "Modern newspaper stimulates primitive feelings and established prejudices." And therefore a kind of psychological Gresham's Law operates when these bad emotions drive out the more wholesome emotions of a healthy mind. Worse still, these newspapers have a corner devoted to literary criticism where amateurish writers are paid to pronounce opinion on books. Such reviews are a travesty of criticism since no reviewer has any sense of standards and criticism. His business is to fill that "Literary Corner" with any stuff that may have the semblance of criticism so that his paper may have a literary touch. Then Dr. Leavis takes up the cinema—our modern amusement.

The films "involve surrender, under conditions of hypnotic receptivity, to the cheapest emotional appeals, appeals the more insidious because they are associated with a compelling vivid illusion of real life."

The cinema producer's main concern is box-office hit. Very recently a prominent Indian film producer gave a talk on the wireless in which he emphasised the fact that the film companies must cater for the popular demand if they have to live. This kind of popular and universal amusement performs the function of a narcotic drug upon public mind. Instead of ideas swaying man's mind, filling him with a new sensation of life and a greater understanding of values films simulate a thin and cheap emotion which evoke the same measure and kind of emotion in the cinema-goer, in this way deadening his sensibility.

As for books Dr. Leavis has an appalling indictment to make. Book societies, book guilds, literary clubs are a standing menace to the evolution of literary art. By offering standardised criticism and forcing their arbitrary taste upon the reader the book societies kill the active exercise of his intelligence. He does not reach for his books through selection, he finds them already selected for him.

In this way, there is an all-round decay in culture. These main factors of a cultural life aim at exploiting the cheap response. The quality of a man's life largely depends upon what he reads. If he is to feed on such standardised stuff and will-nilly be a prey to the hypnotic influence of the literary automaton he is indeed in a very bad way, culturally.

Therefore, Dr. Leavis concludes, this acute crisis in culture can be tided over by a correct understanding and appraisal of literary values. If literature has to be rescued from this slough, the task should be assigned to, not the representatives of the mechanical standardised culture, but a "minority" capable of appreciating and correcting literary standards. We have now come to the main conclusion of Dr. Leavis :

"In any period it is upon a very small minority that the discerning appreciation of art and literature depends—upon this minority depends our power of profiting by the finest human experience of the past : they keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition. Upon them depend the implicit standards that order the finer living of an age. . . . In their keeping is the language, the changing idiom upon which fine living depends. . . . By culture I mean such a language."

Dr. Leavis has, thus, diagnosed and suggested remedy as well. Prospects of culture are dark in that a standardised civilisation is enveloping the world. Yet his "minority" of luminaries may be trusted to nail the colours to the mast in the face of such assaults. A deeper probing into the conclusion of Dr. Leavis reveals the true nature of the disease. One might well ask, "Why do the newspapers want to increase circu-

lation Why do the film producers create artificial standards and why do book guilds stir and feed the lust for cheap sensation ?" It would not be enough to say that a devil has come in our midst hewing and maiming the living organism of our culture. After all, culture is a super-structure on sociological facts : the relation of man to man and man to life as a whole creates a certain set of values which form the marrow of culture. In a society dominated by cut-throat individual production and competition the main concern is to outpace each other, it is the inexorable law of capitalism. Sale of periodicals and mass production of sensational or formula films has to be tolerated because conditions of competition demand it. Root out competition and you root out much that has been corrupting the social life. When the community is tied to the wheel of exploitation and greed, it is a fond hope believing that a set of well-meaning persons would work as the messiah.

Even granting for a while that the minority of Dr. Leavis were to be depended upon, what would be the result ? The group will make a venture or two in the right direction but the formidable forces of standardised civilisation will overwhelm it. The whole mistake ensues from a wrong perception of literature : as something that can exist apart from and in spite of cataclysmic phenomenon in society. Commercialism of the day has shoved art into the bottomless pit of vulgarity and no amount of wishful thinking can stop the fall. If the minority group only stood apart and waited, it would serve to hasten the decay, because divorced from the sociological angle it would concentrate on form alone thus allowing literature to starve itself to death.

Dr. Leavis agrees that "it is vain to resist the triumph of the machine." There is no need resisting the machine, we should resist the demon of anti-social exploitation that places the machine as the grinding-mill of human values. Allowing grudgingly the role of machine in life Dr. Leavis still dreads "mass culture" meaning the standardised culture. In fact the honest and logical conclusion of his premises would be the acceptance of the principle of decentralisation of human society. His prophet is Gandhi and not the priestly class whom he euphemistically calls "the minority."

Whatever may be the strength of Mr. Eliot's and Dr. Leavis' arguments one thing is clear and massive : they are a pointer to the growing discontent with the present. They would that literature took a different course if it has to escape the contamination of a sick age. Very

sadly they have watched the machine triumph rapid expansion. While his society was disintegrated and set at nought the traditional values, sadly grating spiritually he saw around him the interplay of social forces. With the crystallization of the new factors of production brought in by the Industrial Revolution industrialism marched from victory to victory and was rapidly giving rise to the capitalist class whose advent was heralded as the dawn of a new civilization. Capitalism could flourish only on the policy of *laissez faire*. In order to give this sordidly materialistic conception the dignity of an ideal capitalism invented a myth. This was the myth of individualism. Commercialism which drew its sustenance from individual enterprise glorified the individual to the point of outdazzling society. This new morality simulated to the lowest denominator of the social hierarchy. Mill, the prophet of the doctrine of individualism, laid down "Greatest Good of the Greatest Many" as the ideal before the Individual. In course of time the capitalist individuals who were in dominance pushed the doctrine to its logical conclusion, to the chagrin of the have-not. Social craving for 'greatest good' in actual practice faded into the relentless propaganda of the capitalists which aimed at creating new cravings and demands and manufacturing goods so as to satisfy them. Relation between man and man was changing into relation between man and market.

III

Close on the heels of Mr. Eliot have come W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender and Cecil Day Lewis. The master has veered round to the church but the young people have kept on the progress.

No study of the recent tendencies in English literature can be correct and adequate without gauging the influence of industrialism and the last Great War on society. By the middle and second half of the nineteenth century the impact of industries had begun to affect man. Gradually, accumulation of population in towns, which were fast becoming nerve-centres of the new civilisation, began and we find the echoes in Wordsworth. This expansion of the social group brought in its train growing isolation for the individual, he started losing contact with his fellow-beings. The poet who before now, knew his relation with the social group and could genuinely represent man's feelings, felt himself stranded. As Cecil Day Lewis writes in his *Hope for Poetry*:

"A compact working social group has the same advantages for the poet as tradition, it enables him to take a number of things for granted."

He therefore was face to face with himself, the leading strings having snapped with the

Demand on the creative faculty of the artist was two-fold: First, that he rehabilitates the lost centre of communication with his fellow-beings which, thanks to the town civilization, was obliterated. Second, that he readjusts himself to the commercial morality which egged him on to bind himself to the market. In brief, the problem of forging fresh ties to bind individual to individual in a community of feeling, and that of escaping or submitting to the laws of supply and demand, loomed large before the artist.

This was the changed intellectual background. The poet had therefore to start afresh in the quest of lost brotherhood. In the atmosphere filled with the confusion of a new social phenomenon some within his class looked within themselves and wrote Georgian poetry, describing the workaday life with a glow of imagination, or represented the physical sensation, the leaping fish and love on Tahiti. Some, after the Great War, addressed them to themselves and wrote a paradoxical kind of obscure poetry. But, when things settled down a little, the poet could succeed in adjusting himself to the change. He could now address his people and his art took colour from contemporary life.

So, when the poet started his theme was one of Love. This love is not the maudlin sentimentality of the effeminate poet, it is the creative principle which works at the heart of human society. The poet today bewails the disappearance of love between men. A civilization where relation between men has become relation between man and the market, and this social relation which boosted individualism in the beginning and now gets exhausted because of internal contradictions, are enough to fill the poet with the sense of groping for lost. Stephen Spender gives expression to this feeling :

" Readers of this strange language,
We have come at last to a country
Where light equal, like the shine from snow, strikes
all faces,
Here, you may wonder
How it was that works, money, interest, building
could ever
Hide
The palpable and obvious love of man for man.

The poet in these lines speaks of 'love' having so far been eclipsed by the heartless commercial civilization. This "obvious and palpable love of man for man" is the quintessence of social co-operation. It is undeniable that in feudal times the threads that bound the lord to the liege, the chief to the tribe, patriarch to the household slave, were threads of domination, but that relationship was at least human. If the feudal lord held sway over the body and mind of the serf, he knew that he was owning a human being. This social relation was not impersonal, if not quite humane. But where could this personal touch be found in the capitalist age where the social relationship is between classes antagonistic to each other. This age suffers from a typical illusion : that Man is "free." Now, since man is free the capitalist can never have sway over the workers as the feudal lord had, he therefore concerns himself with the productive power of the labourer, which in fact determines market. The capitalist is bound therefore primarily to the market, and the relation between him and the labourer is likewise affected by market considerations. But this heartless inhuman social relationship has sent its polluting miasma to all departments of social life. The ties that bind the shareholder to the wage-employee, civil servant to tax-payer, and all men to the impersonal market are ties of cash. Such a corrupt relationship can not

withstand the dynamics of the social change. A society wherein the relation of man to man has been supplanted by man to the market is a society which kindles indignation in the progressive poet. He gropes for the lost tenderness that once made man good. Christopher Caudwell has an excellent passage in his *Students in Dying Culture* to expose the plight of bourgeois social relation :

" The bourgeois was determined that the market was the only social relation between man and man. This meant that he must refuse to believe that love was an integral part of a social relation. He expressed this tenderness from his social consciousness. In its final form this becomes the treason of man to his capacity for love; the appearance of love as a form of neurosis, hate and fantasy. For the satisfaction of all the emotional capabilities and social tenderness of which the bourgeois relation has deprived him, man turns vainly to religion, hate, patriotism, fascism and the sentimentality of films and novels which paint in imagination loves he can not experience in real life. In feudal days the Chief's laws are understandable. The fiat of a man-god is still a personal and affectionate command. But the laws of supply and demand are without any power save blind compulsion."

The modern writer with his sensibility and quick sensitiveness to things pertaining to man and his social life rebels with all his soul against this cash relationship. He is the scribe of the people, not a caterer for the market. W. H. Auden, the modern Communist poet, sums up the contemporary situation in two poignant lines :

" I've come to prove a very long way to prove
No land, no water and no love."

He feels the whole atmosphere choking. Banks, factories, slums, detention camps have turned good earth into a dreary desert. This warm, palpable, social love of man for man will therefore be the motif of the progressive poet as he breaks from the obsolete traditions which reflect the commercialisation of social relations. This "Love" will find different variations on the same theme, it may even mark substitution of humanism for mysticism. It will be the sign-post at the cross road telling the traveller the course he has to go, the distance he has left behind. It will drag the poet away from his ivory tower and make him contact flesh and blood, din and dust. Its absence will reveal the morbid self-consciousness, the cultural decay, the snapping human bond, in short a disease taking society in its firm grip.

(To be continued)



SOME FACTS ABOUT POLAND

[Rectification of misstatements in Mr. Chandikaprasad Banerji's article in *The Modern Review* for March, 1944.]

By WANDA DYNOWSKA

1. The Polish nation which exists as such since 950 A.D. has till now almost all characteristics enumerated by Mr. Chandikaprasad Banerji. (a) one race; (b) one religion predominant; (c) one historical and cultural common tradition; one predominant language; (d) common memory of glories and sufferings, a common toil and effort in fighting for the safeguard of its menaced nationality and religion, as well as a common joy of a creative rebuilding of the State in 1918-1939; (e) and since 1939 a common unabated fight against the aggressor, as well as inside the country—the underground Polish Army is half a million strong, as outside, where the Polish Army fighting together with the Allies is the fourth in number, after those of Great Britain, U. S. A., China and Russia, where the Polish Navy renders great services to the cause of the Allies, and the Polish Air Force (12,000 Airmen) has been recognised as a most efficient helper in the Battle for Britain as well as in all bombardments of Germany, which has destroyed not less than 700 German aircraft, damaged 400. Although not having good natural frontiers save the Carpathian range in the South, Poland through all her history, especially during last 150 years has proved that to be one organic whole not so much physical factors are required as moral, mental, emotional, cultural. All efforts of the 3 Powers to denationalise and assimilate the partitioned parts of Poland have completely failed because the national consciousness was so strong, in all the classes of people. The temporary loss of independence has only increased this powerful feeling of individuality which led to its regaining as it leads now, during this war. The simple fact is that Poland never ceased to exist and to develop, in spite of outward conditions, and the wish of her enemies. It has been a political unit in spite of its disappearance from the maps of Europe.

2. The existence of a considerable percentage (24.5 of citizens speaking other languages) was due to the historic development of Poland, Federative Union not only with Lithuania but with Ruthenia as well. The close connection with Poland of this last province dates from the 12th century, with Lithuania from the 15th century. What is now called Eastern Poland, or quite wrongly Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia has never belonged to Russia, but formed an integral part of Poland since centuries. So the territories occupied by Russia in 1939 were just as much hers as the west of Poland was Hitler's, and Russia's invasion as much justified as Hitler's.

The minority problem in Poland was a difficult one, nobody will deny it. But the fact is that all minorities enjoyed cultural autonomy, and developing vigorously their national culture and organisations. If foreign money and propaganda (German) would not be used so lavishly with the Ukrainians, the chief difficulties would have been easily solved, as there was a large representation of Ukrainian Deputies in the Polish Parliament, and a strong party of Ukrainians who wanted to remain within the Polish State. Only one extremist party wanted complete independence of all the three

parts of Ukrainian-inhabited territory under Russia, Rumania and Poland. This was and is co-operating with the Nazis. But the Ukrainians and the White Ruthenians have never freely expressed any wish to join the Soviet Union; the plebiscite was done under the threat of bayonets; who can regard it as 'free'?

There could not be any question of 'liberating of their own soil' by Russia nor in 1939, nor in 1944, if we agree that no military aggression on the territory of a neighbour can be regarded as lawful, and the disregard of one's own Treaty as a decent behaviour of an Ally.

Russia has signed both the Treaties of Riga in 1921, and of Moscow in 1941. She broke the first in 1939, the last in 1943. Have we to blame Hitler and praise the Soviets for the same international methods?

It is certain that Poles will not agree to the dismemberment of the country and offer without protest and struggle one half of their land to anyone, under whatever disguise he may act, and they will remain troublesome till justice is not restored.

3. All the presentation of Polish history are so distorted that a whole pamphlet would be necessary to show the facts. A few examples:

(a) Poland was a constitutional and democratic monarchy. In times when France and England had 5 and 7 per cent. of voters, Poland had 10 per cent. Civil liberties enjoyed by her people and achieved without a drop of blood, were in the 16th century equal to many which in the rest of Europe were introduced in the 19th (freedom of religion, speech, associations, etc.).

(b) Not aristocracy but gentry was ruling Poland till the partitions and it was composed of rich and poor, landlords as well as landless.

(c) Peasants had always a far better treatment in Poland than in her autocratic neighbours. They were enjoying the possibility of ennoblement, unheard of in any other country of Europe. Social reforms aiming at the betterment of their fate were introduced in Poland earlier than in other countries, etc.

(d) The principle of free voting was based on the characteristic—for the whole Polish culture—respect for individual freedom of the individual, its extreme—the 'liberum veto' could hardly be called a 'perversity.' It was rather an idealistic exaggeration, having its roots in this extreme respect for the freedom of the individual. Motions of the Parliament were adopted unanimously, the minority was convinced never coerced (the same principle is now adopted in the Indian National Congress), as well as a reaction against the terrible autocracy of both neighbouring big States where the individual was only a tool in the hands of the Prince or Duke, he could not even marry without permission. A principle which has well worked during 300 years and is introduced in the 20th century by progressive institutions, can be hardly called by a contemptuous name.

4. Poland's history since 13th century had not even one aggressive war, it was contrary to the spirit of the people and to the constitution. The obligation of the soldier and knight was only to defend the country, the

oath was binding till the frontiers were violated which may also seem rather strange. Poland's expansion was not through aggression, but by free Unions with others; documents of adherence to the Federated Republic of Poland of other Prince doms and provinces are most interesting proofs of the fact.

In the 17th century when the Polish Commander-in-Chief went with his army as far as Moscow, it was not for conquest, but invited by a big party of Russians which wanted a Union with Poland, on the same basis as Lithuania, and proposed the Polish Prince to the throne of Moscow. On his behalf the Commander-in-Chief Zolkiewski was ruling for one year in Moscow, in a liberal and friendly way, as the Russian historians of that time have written.

5. The point about the relations between the gentry and the peasant class is partial. Of course, serfdom existed in Poland as in all the countries of Europe, but the lot of peasants was far better even under this system than in the same age in Russia, Germany and even France; reforms were introduced earlier, the Constitution of May, 1791, was the most democratic of its time, and in the Insurrection of Kosciuszko peasants and workmen were fighting on equal footing with the gentry, a thing unheard in those times in other countries. This liberal Constitution, as well as civil liberties enjoyed by the Polish people were chiefly responsible for the hostility of the neighbouring Powers and their attempt to make Poland slave avoiding the danger of the spreading of liberal 'contagious' ideas. The opinions and institutions of the Poles are contagious; the infection may easily spread—were the words of Empress Catherine's Chancellor—Bezborodko.

6. To call the first partition of Poland 'a fortunate occurrence' is perversity indeed. Why the partition of Bengal was resented rightly by the people? For Poland it was an even greater calamity, no dismemberment and forcible partition of a country can be regarded by any historian who cares for justice and modern ideas and is not a propagandist of interested Powers as 'fortunate.' British imperialists try to prove that their rule is the greatest possible blessing for India, how many Indian think the same?

7. Poles never took side with any of their oppressors in 1914. Several years before from the ranks of the Polish Socialist Party and youth organisations a nucleus of the Army was formed and when the war broke out Polish leaders with the most outstanding of them Pilsudski (never war-lord, but a genius of statesmanship, democrat and socialist, a good biography should be read before repeating uncritically the opinions of Russians who hate him simply because he defeated them in 1920) have used all opportunities to strengthen it and build a real national Army, accepting for the time being the help of Austria, the less hated and most liberal of the 3 oppressors. As soon as an oath of allegiance has been demanded from the Polish army, which was already known by its fighting capacity and heroism, it was refused, and all officers and soldiers were interned or imprisoned. Pilsudski, with his Chief of Staff in the fortress of Magdeburg, who was afterwards released by the German revolution.

There was no Pole who joined *voluntarily* the Russian Army, but there was a conscription in all the 3 Powers, and resistance was not possible, so many Poles had to take part in the 3 armies, besides their own, formed out of the Legions of Pilsudski and the second Legion of Haller organised in France.

The Russian revolution of 1917 has brought nothing substantial to Poland, save a manifesto signed by Lenin recognising the partitions of Poland as not valid, hence the pre-partition frontiers of Poland as legally

restored. In spite of this the Russian Army was not clearing the Polish territories, and a war between the newly organised Polish State (1918) and the new Soviet Republic became unavoidable. At the Treaty of Riga as well as before it, at the preliminary peace proposals, the Russian delegation proposed to Poland frontiers far to the east of that adopted in 1921 at Riga. Poland preferred to leave 120,000 sq. miles of her former territory and one million of her people to Russia for a guarantee—as she believed—of a permanent and real peace, which she so badly needed.

The Treaty of Riga was freely negotiated and freely accepted by both parties, a friendly treaty; what is proved by the statements of Russian members of the peace delegation. The delegates of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic were also present and signed the treaty.

There could be no question of annexation of any part of the formerly Polish territory, as the annulment of the partitions was stated by Lenin, Czeczerin and Trotzki, and the Soviet delegates' proposal recognised the rights of Poland to the lands far more to the east than it was finally adopted at Riga. All this paragraph is inspired by wrong, purposefully misleading informations; if the author of the article cares for impartial opinion he may read pamphlets written by foreign, uninterested parties.

8. The same is concerning Wilno. It has been the capital of Lithuania in the 14th century, but became more Polish than Lithuanian during the centuries of federation. In 1918 when Germans who were occupying the city arranged a census, they were astonished and displeased to find that 80 per cent. of its population was Polish, 10 per cent. Jewish, only 3 Lithuanian, the rest Russian, and other small minorities. The Poles could not seize "it from Lithuania as it just started its independent existence as a State" with Kowno as its capital. It is true that Lithuania claimed the city of Wilno, but on sentimental grounds, far more than historic, and certainly not ethnologic nor any other. Who cares to read the history of Wilno can see it by himself.

9. Poland during her 20 years independent existence was never pro-German, to state this is to show an ignorance of all history. The age-long (1,000 years long) enemy of Poland was always Germany, but Poland realised better than the Western Democracies the armaments going on in Germany and the possibilities of a second world war.

The fact is that in 1933 Poland warned England and France and proposed preventive measures; the shortsightedness of these countries has cost the world more than can be now calculated. When they did not agree to the proposal, Poland had to conclude a treaty of non-aggression with Germany just as she has concluded a similar one with Russia, as peace with both neighbours was the basis of her policy and interests.

It is a historic fact that Germany made repeated proposals to Poland to join her in a 'crusade' against Russia (the last time in January, 1939) and Poland was always refusing, as she wanted to be true to her own word and Treaty. But when Germany proposed the same in 1939 to Russia she agreed, in spite of her Treaty with Poland and invaded Poland together with Hitler. She broke the treaty as lightly as Germany, the second time in 1943 (the treaty concluded in 1941).

It is true that Poland has not agreed to the Russian proposal to go to war with Germany for the same reason nor to allow the passage of Russian troops, no more, than she could agree to that of Germany. No country which wants to remain neutral could do it. Both were for Poland the same, and no choice could be made. To say that there was even for one moment any

loyalty or friendship for Germany is to show complete ignorance of all Polish nature and tradition.

10. The free Polish States 1918-1939, its democratic structure, civil liberties, social achievements, Trade Unions and peasant movements, educational system, etc., are little known in India, and all kinds of fantastic statements are circulating. Who wants to know the truth can study the opinions of foreigners who spent many years in Poland. I may state only some points:

Poland was as much anti-Fascist (or Nazi), as anti-Communist. Both systems of thought and practice were foreign to her ideas, temperament, traditions and character, because they were both against the freedom of the individual, for the rule of one party, etc.. Poland was seeking her own solution to burning social and political problems, is seeking them now and will seek in the future, and will not willingly accept any one imposed on her by force.

The occupation of Tschen when Germany entered Czechoslovakia, was certainly a political mistake, and a non-chivalrous action, not in accordance with Polish chivalrous traditions and ideals, it was condemned by all the thinkers and broad-minded patriots of Poland. But for the sake of truth one must add that the same piece of land with its 85 per cent. of Poles has been seized by the Czechs from Poland in 1920, when she was engaged in the war with Russia. Although Poland has only retaken what was her own, it is not a justification of the moment and method.

11. To call any Government or leaders of a brave and gloriously fighting Army a 'gang' can only bring discredit to the author.

The facts are : the Polish Army fought for 35 days alone against two armies, a 10 times larger force; when France could not stand more than 37 days having only the German army against her.

Nor the Polish Commander-in-Chief, nor the Polish Government had 'fled' to Rumania; the first, having a treaty with Rumania, was entitled to hope that a free passage for the rest of his troops will be secured, and he will be able to proceed to France for further fight, as this has been done by his successor the General Sikorski; the Government was invited by King Carol of Rumania; before crossing the frontier according to the Polish Constitution the new President was nominated (admissible in emergency cases) who has formed the new Polish Government in Paris. The rest of the former Government was, under the pressure of Germany, interned in Rumania.

12. The author wrongly uses the word 'partitioned', Poland has been invaded by two hostile military powers, like France, Holland, or Denmark, but in spite of the declaration of the two Powers Poland has not ceased to exist. She is fighting at the side of the Allies, like France, and will fight till victory is achieved. Her Underground Army is the most powerful in European occupied countries, nowhere the Nazis have to use such precautions, nowhere are they losing so many trucks with armaments through sabotage, nor so many officials (Governors including) as in Poland, by an organised resistance, etc.

13. No Pole I think would object to a free expression of the will of Ukrainians and White Ruthenians living on the territory of the Polish Republic. A plebiscite under a supervision of a completely neutral and disinterested country, (China, or South America) after the war is over, could be used in this part, and only then a Peace Conference could decide, at a common table, (after commissions of experts would study the complicated and different problems of Central Europe), the final course to be adopted. The method of deciding international affairs cannot be forceful annexations, nor fictitious plebiscites, under the threat of bayonets, but international tribunals, Leagues, Conferences and common agreements and treaties. Only on this basis could a new era for Humanity be started.

Poland does not, and will not, agree to any unilateral decisions, to annexation before the end of the war, to the organisation of puppet associations, etc., etc. Nor can she agree to any form of slavery, the Curzon Line implies such a slavery, economical as well as political.

Poland may be overpowered by sheer force as 150 years ago, but she will never give her consent to a new dismemberment of her land, nor stop her struggle.

The Ukrainians and White Ruthenians by their language and culture, by history and to a certain extent religion, are far nearer to the Poles than to the Russians. But it is chiefly their own wish which should decide and the Soviets' plans of Bolshevisation of the whole of Europe to which plans Poland is a hindrance, hence she is hated, slandered, etc., statements about her independence and the Curzon Line at the same time, are excluding each other, but this can be understood only by those who know well Central Europe and its problems.

Poland wants good neighbourly relations with Russia, but not at the price of surrendering her freedom; she will never agree to any dictates from Moscow as regards her internal structure or any other matter concerning her affairs. Poles may be exterminated during the one year and a half of Russian rule over the half of Poland, as many people perished as under Hitler's but they will not willingly accept any slavery.

Poland wants a Central European Federation, but not under the dictates and protectorate of any of the big Powers, as it will only be a new edition of what is in the Colonies of European Powers, and a new war will come in 10 years. But a block of all Central European nations between Germany and Russia, free, democratic, peaceful, and economically sound, would be really a best safeguard of European peace. To this Poland will adhere wholeheartedly and without reservation, and it was her ideal since the 15th century.

[Lengthy criticisms of articles appearing in *The Modern Review* are not generally published. But considering the nature and importance of the matter involved we have thought fit to publish the above statements in full. Further controversy, however, will not be entertained.—Editor, M. R.J]





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OR PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT? By M. N. Roy. Published by the Radical Democratic Party, Calcutta. Pp. 106. Price Re. 1 only.

In this work, the author mainly concerns himself with a discourse on the comparative merits and demerits of a National Government and a continuance of the present regime. He, however, assures that there is another alternative, namely, the constitution of People's Government as described in a Manifesto, dated the 21st September, 1943 issued by the Central Executive Committee of the Radical Democratic Party. The manifesto is also published as Appendix to the brochure.

Mr. M. N. Roy presumes that a National Government, if it is to be instituted in India, will be composed of representatives of the Congress or be formed by a coalition of older political parties and reactionaries belonging to the upper classes, and be wholly a capitalistic Government. "Under its protection capitalism will operate not as a progressive force but as Fascism." "The National Government will consequently become a Fascist dictatorship." He declares that such a National Government controlled by the capitalists and other reactionary upper classes "cannot be expected," "to free India from the tyranny of poverty," to improve the economic condition of the Indian people or to afford the freedom that the Indian people need. Such a Government, in the view of Mr. M. N. Roy, will, instead of being "a lesser evil," than the present regime, as some people urge, be, in fact "a greater evil," and he sounds the following warning : "In search of a lesser evil, let us not deliver ourselves to the greater evil." "Given the traditional submissiveness of the Indian masses," Mr. Roy says, "and having a Mahatma, and some other national idols at its command, the National Government may be able to fool the people for some time. But even with those advantages it will not be able to fool all the people for all time."

The very comfortable conclusion is then reached that "if it is not possible for India to reach the goal of freedom from the exploitation of man by man except through an experience of capitalism, continuation of the present regime appears to be the lesser evil." Mr. M. N. Roy devotes considerable space and no little ingenuity in his attempt to prove that the existing British Government in India has already shed its imperialism. He even visualises "the possibility of the originally imperialist relation between the two countries consummating itself also in revolutionary consequences," and unfolds his revelation that "tendencies in that direction are already manifesting themselves."

The excerpts from his book quoted below leave no room for doubt as to what the author really means. He declares that if the Government of this country before the war was imperialist, it cannot be called by that name now : "Because the economic relation between Britain and India, which constituted the foundation of the regime five years ago, has since then changed considerably." "That relation cannot be immutable. It was changing even before this war. The change has accelerated under the impact of the war. It promises to be a different relation after this war. Therefore, it is entirely unrealistic to rant against Imperialism." "Not only will imperialism liquidate itself, but while doing so, it will make the liberating values of capitalism accessible to India." He has further no doubt that "after the war British politics will move to the left." "That again," Mr. Roy adds, "is a proof for the disappearance of imperialism." The writer elucidates his point in the following words : "The post-war relation between Britain and India is more likely to be a relation of co-operation between two countries. In that situation, India is bound to feel the impact of progressive thoughts and democratic institutions triumphant in Britain. That would certainly create an atmosphere congenial for the Indian progressive forces to assert themselves. The presence of a few Englishmen in the administrative machinery of the country cannot possibly have any reactionary influence. Indeed, those Englishmen will have to adjust themselves to the new atmosphere, and the old ones with die-hard prejudices will be replaced by people with the new spirit of co-operation." In fact, he goes so far as to assert that, "if it were really a choice between continuation of the present regime, with some inevitable changes to take place immediately after the war, and a nationalist-capitalist government, from the point of view of the great majority of the Indian people, the former should be preferred."

Mr. M. N. Roy speaks of his small book as an appeal to reason, and suggests that, in discussing a subject like the one treated by him, effectively, one ought always to be guided by "logical deduction from a scientific analysis of the forces involved." He has, however, followed the unassassable rule of conduct laid down by him at the outset, in his work, more in the breach than otherwise. In this propaganda one finds that Mr. Roy has been almost fanatical in his zeal in his attempt to discredit Mr. Gandhi, to traduce the Congress, and to belittle other progressive forces in the country, by every possible means. On the other hand, he appears to be well-nigh passionate in his ardour in his advocacy for the continuance of the present regime. The arguments on which Mr. Roy establishes

his case are in many cases based wholly on fantasy; he appears to be often guided by his prejudices and ignores facts which cannot be doubted. The key to this position lies, perhaps, in the monthly subsidy of Rs. 13,000 dispensed by the Government of India, as disclosed in the reply to an interpellation on the subject put at the Central Legislature during the last session.

S. K. LAHIRI

THE SUBSTANCE OF POLITICS : By A. Appadurai, M.A., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. December, 1942. Pages 522+x. Price Rs. 5.

Professor Appadurai's book is a valuable addition to the none-too-rich text-book literature on Political Science meant for undergraduates in Indian Universities. He has presented in this volume the essential principles of political theory and organization in a clear, simple and precise manner. Although intended as a text-book, the treatise has a distinct literary flavour which is bound to prove attractive also to the general reader who wants an introduction to politics. The academic and detached outlook of the author has enhanced the scientific value of the work, and although an ardent democrat, Dr. Appadurai has not allowed his personal political convictions to get the better of his balanced judgment. He has succeeded in evaluating in their proper perspective both sides of every controversial question of present-day politics, and his conclusions are critical and objective.

This volume is a well integrated and comprehensive text-book. Forms of Government and inter-State relations are described against the background of such fundamental political concepts as liberty, equality, law and sovereignty. Principles of governmental organization are developed from the historical and descriptive studies of Constitutions. It contains an admirable synopsis of the post-War reaction to democratic ideals and the emergence of totalitarian States in Europe, as well as a historical account of the development of the Indian constitution. The author's treatment of the subject-matter is scientific without being pedantic, and erudite without being boring. References to other standard treatises on the subject have been invited only where absolutely necessary for supporting or illustrating a point, and footnotes have not been unnecessarily burdened with learning. The student and the general reader will find this book extremely useful and interesting.

ACTION : By Lionel Curtis. Oxford University Press. 1942. Pp. 71. Price 9d.

This neat little book is a sequel to the reputed author's earlier publication *Decision*, wherein he examined the practical ways and means of securing world peace in future years, and advocated a scheme of federal union embracing not only the British Commonwealth but also European democracies. It has been proved that balance of power as the basis of world order has failed to prevent the recurrence of war. Even an international system of the Geneva League variety has not succeeded in preserving peace. Mr. Curtis, therefore, makes a completely different approach to the entire problem, and instead of trying how to weaken the enemies of civilization, as enemies there will always be, he proposes to strengthen the defence and fortify the security of the progressive nations of the world. He considers Britain alone together with Northern Ireland unable to fulfil this task, and suggests measures by which members of the British Commonwealth, European democracies and ultimately the United States may merge into a super-national union, with a well-defined division of responsibility between the Central authority and federating units. The author recog-

nizes, however, that in order to achieve this even the structure of democratic government will have to be modified in many vital aspects if serious conflicts and complications are to be avoided. Mr. Curtis does not analyse the fundamental causes of disorder and the basic reasons for a perpetual challenge to any state of equilibrium in international affairs, which evidently is not the scope of this monograph; yet without that background much of his arguments appear unreal and airy. Feasibility of Mr. Curtis's scheme will be largely a matter of opinion, but there is much food for thought in this interesting booklet. Mr. Curtis does not make a fetish of his anxiety for a better world order, but underlines, quite frankly, his concern for the continued greatness of Britain and for the defence of her traditions.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

THE ABORIGINALS : By Verrier Elwin. Oxford Pamphlet of Indian Affairs. Published by Oxford University Press, Indian Branch. Price annas six.

Anything of Anthropological interest that comes from the pen of Verrier Elwin warrants more than a passing reference. In the pamphlet under review Mr. Elwin gives a general account of racial and cultural traits of the aboriginal population of India, analyses the various movements undertaken to alleviate their condition and lays down a proposal for temporary isolation of the tribal people. Classifying these people into four groups the author observes that the whole tribal problem may be recognised as how to help the people of the first two classes, whose condition, according to the author, has been less affected by external influences, advance into the fourth group of a handful of people who, the author thinks, have triumphed over the effects of Culture Contact "without having to suffer the despair and degradation" of the bulk of their people, numbering about twenty million, in the third category.

This proposal for temporary isolation of the aborigines has been voiced more than once by Mr. Elwin in his books *The Baiga*, *The Agaria* and in other utterances. The difficulties underlying such a proposal have been clearly shown by other experts. Apart from other considerations, it is extremely difficult to isolate a people completely from all external contact in this twentieth century—if at all advisable. And to civilize civilization itself before allowing it to lay its hands on the tribal peoples, as the author suggests in the pamphlet, speaks of frustration and defeatism. One may differ with the author in his pessimistic opinion about the present civilization in spite of the apparent contradictions. If science cannot find out the solution of a problem under existing conditions and proposes to wait till the Kingdom of Heaven reigns on earth, then it cannot claim its voice to be heard in the adjustments of human affairs. It appears from the booklet that the author is more concerned about the five million aborigines of his first two groups than with the other twenty million of these people. There should however, be a uniform policy for the tribal people as a whole; and if handled with sympathy and knowledge there is no reason why some lasting good may not be done. The task is a difficult one no doubt; and though I am not one with the author in holding the aborigines as "the real Swadeshi products of India"—because it is not always correct to associate primitiveness with earliest settlement—there is no reason why we should give up hope or neglect their case. As an integral part of the vast population of India they deserve equal justice and attention at the hands of the rulers of the country.

Mr. Elwin has been very right in observing that the claim of the scientists that "their voice should be heard more often than it is in the administration of

tribal areas" should be respected; we agree with him that "caution is absolutely necessary"; that "everything must be gradual" and that "knowledge must always precede reform."

The booklet is written in a very pleasant style and will be read with profit by the administrator, the political and social reformer as well as the student of social sciences.

SAILENDRA BEJOY DAS GUPTA

THE VISUALLY HANDICAPPED IN INDIA :
By Ras Mohun Halder, M.Ed. (Boston, U.S.A.), Principal, Dadar School for the Blind, Bombay.

The workers for the blind in India will certainly accord an enthusiastic welcome to Mr. Halder's book which is the first of its kind in this country. In the Western countries of Europe and America, scores of books, dealing with the pedagogical and psychological problems of the blind, written by both seeing and sightless intellectuals, are in existence. But, in India, owing to very low standard of blind education and appalling public indifference to this important social question, no other contribution, like Mr. Halder's, has been made.

The book under review is an illuminating study relative to the various aspects of the educational and social problems of sightless boys and girls in India, and it is expected that even the lay readers will find some chapters of this book to be immensely interesting and instructive. The parents of blind children will learn a good deal from this work regarding how the little and big problems in the lives of these children should be properly handled.

Special mention of the chapter entitled, "Current Indian Braille Codes and their Future," should be made here inasmuch as the author very appropriately recognizes the late Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the founder-editor of *The Modern Review* and *Prabasi*, as the originator of Bengali Braille—a fact which was not known even to the professional workers for the blind, and which was made public for the first time in 1941 by the present reviewer.

S. C. Roy

KASTURBA GANDHI : By K. P. Thomas. Published by the Orient Illustrated Weekly, 93A, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta. Pp. 96. Price Rs. 2.

This is a short life of the great little woman of India whose life-long devotion to her husband for the cause of service of mother-India is without a parallel in our times. To understand Gandhiji we must understand Kasturba—the friend and guide of the greatest man of India. Mahatma himself admitted that Kasturba was his wife and mother in one. To the whole of India she was the Mother. Although not educated in the modern sense, she was a great educator of Indian Womanhood, a great example of sacrifice and service, a devoted wife and an ideal mother. By her life and work she has enriched humanity.

The book is well-written and nicely printed and deserves wide circulation.

SATI KASTURBA : By R. K. Prabhu. Published by Hind Kitabs, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 87. Price Re. 1-4.

This is another nicely printed volume with a foreword from Mr. M. R. Masani, Mayor of Bombay, who rightly says that Kasturba's outstanding qualities were not of greatness but of goodness. It is a great national humiliation that such a grand lady of seventy-five had to die in prison. The editor has been successful in depicting the life and character of this great lady

by quoting profusely from the autobiography of Mahatma. As a helpmate of her husband she never failed or wavered and in every struggle whether in South Africa or Champaran or Bardoli or Borsad, she was always active,—even failing health could not deter her. Kasturba by her life and death has proved herself true to the cause for which she lived and for which her husband worked.

The sale proceeds of this book will go to the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund and we have no doubt the purchasers of this book will not only benefit themselves as readers but will also contribute towards a noble cause for which the Fund has been started.

SOME EMINENT GARHWALIS : By Shyam Chand Negi. Published by the Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 41. Price annas twelve only.

In this booklet the writer has given short life sketches of Maharajah Ajai Pal (1460-1519), Mola Ram Tomar (1750-1833)—the Artist, Badri Singh Aswal (1783-1868), Gobar Singh Negi, V.C. (1893-1915), Ghana Nand Khanduri (1882-1914)—the philanthropist, Sada Nand Ghildyal (1898-1928)—Ayurvedist, Hon'ble Badri Maharaaj (1871-1928) of Fiji, Havildar Chandra Singh—the Court-Martial victim—all prominent Garhwalis in different spheres of life. Garhwal has a proud history to tell and it long maintained its independence in Indian History. Sons of Garhwal not only distinguished themselves in India, in Fiji and also in battle-fields in France but their contribution to Ayurveda and painting are considerable. Garhwali businessmen are also distinguished in many northern Indian towns.

Young people will find this book interesting and inspiring.

A. B. DUTTA

SIXTY BOOKS ON INDIA WITH BRIEF REVIEWS AND COMMENTS : By S. Vairanapillai, M.A., Ph.D., Foreman Christian College, Lahore. Price annas eight.

This is a useful booklet introducing a foreigner to 60 books on India. The selection, however, of the books is neither representative nor of a uniform standard of excellence. Reviews and commentaries are however of great help to the reader.

WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS : By K. M. Desai, M.A., LL.B., Advocate, Bombay High Court. Publishers : Associated Advertisers and Printers Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 4.

There have been so many ordinances and orders under the Defence of India Rules issued both by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments; and so many corrections and additions issued in connection with them that it is difficult to keep in touch with them easily. In the volume under review all the orders, notifications affecting business and trade issued by the Central Government and the Government of Bombay have been collected. They have been brought up to the date of printing, viz., 31st December, 1943. It will prove invaluable to everyone concerned with the administration of the Defence of India Rules.

J. M. DATTA

THE REVELATIONS OF SAINT MEIKANDAR : By Swami Shuddhananda Bharatiar. Published by Anbu Nilayam, Ramachandrapuram, Trichy Dist. (S. India). Pp. 78. Price Re. 1-8.

Shuddhanandaji is an author of a number of soul-elevating books in Tamil, English and French. He

writes in a fresh and fluent style and his interpretation is novel, impressive and suitable for our age.

The book, under review, is a good introduction to Siva-Janana-Bodham, the basic work in Tamil verses on Saiva-Siddhanta current in South India. It explains in short the twelve aphorisms of Saiva-Siddhanta revealed to the famous Tamil Saint Meikander. The meaning of the Tamil word *Meikandar* means a seer of truth. The aphorisms unfold the nature of the three eternal entities—God, Soul, and Universe, describe their relationship and thereby expound the philosophy of Saiva-Siddhanta. Meikander's disciple, Arulnandi Shivacharya has written an extensive commentary in Tamil verses on Siva-Janana-Bodham, called Siva-Janana-Siddhi. Meikandar is said to have appeared in 1200 A.D. in the small village of Tiruvannai-nallor, situated on the banks of the river Pennar about twenty miles from Panruti Station in the S. I. Railway. His father Achuta, a great devotee of Lord Shiva, having no issue prayed for a child, got Meikandar only and christened him Swetavanam after his tutelary deity. Saint Paranjioti blessed that child, renamed Meikandar, taught him the wisdom of Lord Shiva and charged him with the mission of propagating the truth. After initiation the child-saint remained silent in meditation and opened his mouth in his fifth year and in that early age composed the inspired verses of Siva-Janana-Bodham. Saiva-Siddhanta is a very important school of Hindu philosophy and possesses vast and rich literature in Tamil now lying buried in the Saiva Monasteries of the Tamil-Nad. They should be thus translated into other languages and made available to the readers, ignorant of Tamil.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SEARCHLIGHT : By His Holiness Rajji Maharaj, Published by Radhaswami Satsang, Chatur Vilas, Jodhpur.

The book under review inculcates the importance of religious outlook in the life of individuals as well as of nations. According to the revered learned author, owing to the want of religious outlook in life, the world to-day finds itself plunged in bloodshed, misery and endless wars. The author laments that the spirit of religion appears to have departed from the modern world.

Religion beckons suffering humanity to follow the path that leads to redemption. The author advises his reader to have "robust and abiding faith" in the grace of the Supreme Father who alone is his true Friend so that he may reach the perfect stature of a Son of God. He will then realize that it is more blessed to give than to receive and that evil should be overcome not by evil but by kind acts and deeds and that in dealing with our fellowmen, our impulse should always be love—the love which includes justice and strict discipline as well as kindness and gentleness, forbearance and forgiveness.

SADHANA-SANJEEVI : By Mallimadugula Satyanarayana. Printed at the Nagpur Press Limited, 10, Ordnance Lines, Nagpur. Price not mentioned.

In this little book of 55 pages, the author has attempted to give a short history of the methods of Sadhana which a Sadhaka initiated by his *Guru*, should utilise to attain *moksha*.

Sadhana is necessary for every man to destroy his inborn ignorance. The author's advice of beginning Sadhana is to repeat 'Om' in *japa* and to concentrate one's attention to the idea that the soul of man is a part (*Atma*) of *Para-Brahman*. The author believes

that by adopting this method of Sadhana, perfection of soul or *moksha*, can be attained. The reader is advised to begin the practice and to realize the truth for himself.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

GROW MORE VEGETABLES. EAT MORE VEGETABLES : By Rai Bahadur D. N. Mitra, With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Sinha of Ruipur. Published by the Calcutta University. Price Re. 1-8.

The author has succeeded in his honest attempts in these days of acute food shortage and he should be congratulated. The book is illustrative and is worth reading. Such books should be presented to the schoolboys as a prize-book now-a-days.

ROBINDE MOHON DATTA

THE TREMBLING ECHO : By Adhyatam Singh. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., 22, Ludgate Hill, London, E.C.4. Duration Address : Elms Court, Tors Park, Ilfracombe, N. Devon. Price 3s. 6d.

Forty-nine pieces are linked together in this book of "A Poem" on the single theme of love. Written in blank verse, and numbering so oddly, the subject-matter for all the pieces is provided by love in different aspects of nature, fatalism, philosophy, emotion and romance. A traveller walks through dream, desolation, nature, society, friendship—but in none can he lose himself except in love. Besides passion only, these love-poems have an unmistakable association with a variety of ideas, an ennobled imagination, a restraint in expression and some pictorialness. In all, these are really excellent pieces in respect of their ideas, imageries and structurals.

SANTOSH CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT

SRI DEVIMAHATMYA : By B. Ramachandra Sarma. N. Rajam and Co., Vepery, Madras. Double Crown 16-mo. PP. 1-172. Price Re. 1-4.

This is a popular edition of the *Devimahatmya* section of the *Markandeya Purana*, together with various accessory matters (like *dhyana*, *kavaca*, *stotra*, *rahasyas*, etc.) necessary for a ceremonial recitation of the former. A number of variants are noted, generally without making any reference to their sources. It will be noticed that the text followed in Bengal contains some more variants not noted here. Occasional printing mistakes were detected here and there. These are specially regrettable in a book, any inaccuracy in the recitation of which is supposed to be fraught with many evils.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

JUDDHER DAKSHINA : By Anath Gopal Sen. Modern Book Agency, Calcutta. 1944. Pp. 110+xiv. Price Re. 1-8.

The author, who has already made a name as a writer of essays and tracts on economic topics in Bengali, has collected in this volume some of his articles on wartime economy and finance published from time to time in various periodicals. Apart from the scientific theoretical background which he provides to such complicated monetary phenomena as currency inflation, lease-lend operations and rupee-sterling wedlock, the author discusses the various aspects of Anglo-American financing of war from the viewpoint of what it has cost the people of India and how. The illusion of prosperity for the rich and the reality of distress for the poor which inflation has brought in its train in India are

amply borne out by the author in a couple of chapters. Mr. Sen argues that those responsible for the formulation of monetary policy in this country could have anticipated in right time the financial burden India would be called upon to bear for the prosecution of war, and could have prevented, as some of the principal belligerent countries have done, the disastrous consequences of the unrestricted issue of paper money that have manifestly upset the normal economic and social life of the people. He draws attention to the case of Russia, Germany, Britain and United States. The author's treatment of this subject would have been complete if he had devoted a few pages to the anti-inflationary measures that the Government of India, in spite of its bureaucratic apathy, has since launched and their possible beneficial effects on our economic structure.

A special word of tribute is due to Mr. Sen's fine literary style which he employs in the treatment of these abstruse subjects. It is marked by clarity and precision, and is frequently punctuated with subtle humour, although sometimes marred by a political emphasis verging on bias. This book, to which Prof. Benoy Sarkar adds a stimulating preface, is a valuable contribution to the not-too-wide literature in Bengali on war economy and war finance as affecting India.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

JAGAT KONE PATHÉ : By *Jogesh Chandra Bagal*. Published by S. K. Mitra and Bros., 12, Narkelbagan Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 220. Price Re. 1-8.

This is the fourth edition of one of the most popular Juvenile books of Mr. Bagal who has already established himself as a successful writer in the line. Within a short compass, the author has given the stories of all nations controlling the destinies of the world. The smaller nations such as Iran, Thailand, Afghanistan, Tibet, etc., however, have not been neglected. Stories of nations have been brought up to date as far as February, 1944.

This nicely printed well-bound volume will be suitable not only as a book of study for the young but also as a Prize Book.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

SWADHINTA KE PATH PAR : By *Gurudutt Vidyā Mandir, Ltd.*, New Delhi. Pp. 577. Price Rs. 5.

This is a collection of ten short stories which, both in type and technique, are almost of a novel kind. They could be variously labelled : tales covering contemporary Indian history, ever since Gandhiji occupied the centre of our national stage; tales embodying an analysis and arguments of the several ideologies, set in motion by the fermenting impact of Gandhiji's personality and philosophy, particularly in politics, and by the world forces; or tales which have adopted a "cinema-view" of our struggle for self-emancipation in its present phase. Howsoever one might consider its anatomy, its appeal is unflagging, while its interest is all-absorbing. As one reads along one can identify this character or that whom he has known intimately among his friends and fellow-workers. In the opinion of the reviewer these stories furnish a more instructive and illuminating study and survey of the currents and cross-currents of our political-cum-economic drama than any set, "stilted" books on the conflicting contemporary policies and programmes.

G. M.

MALAYALAM

POWRA PRABHA—VISESHAL PRATHI (21ST BIRTHDAY SPECIAL, 1944) : Edited and Published by

Z. M. Paret, Editor, Powra Prabha. Printed at the Powra Prabha Press, Kottayam, Travancore. Illustrated. 4vo. Price not stated.

This is the 21st Birthday Special Issue of the *Powra Prabha*, a Malayalam daily of Travancore. It contains articles, poems, short stories, 56 in all, from the pens of some well-known poets, writers, lawyers, historians and archaeologists, including "Ulloor," "Malloor," "Vallathol," Srimathi N. Lalitambika, T. K. Joseph and others,—not to speak of the inevitable Thunder-lightning *Idi-minnel-Indran!* Also printed in it are messages of greetings to the paper received on the occasion of the Anniversary from Editors of newspapers, *Times of India*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Bombay Sentinel* and others. On the whole, as a book, it is neatly got-up with an attractive cover in colours containing block-prints of five famous living men of the world (Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Kai-shek and Jawaharlal Nehru). The Editor and Management of the *Powra Prabha* are to be heartily congratulated on the production of this Special Issue, which is a fitting memorial to commemorate the happy event in the life of the paper. We wish the *Powra Prabha* a long and prosperous career so that it may serve the country as its Internal Monitor entertaining no fear and expecting no favour from any quarter.

On a perusal of the book, it can be found that the articles, poems, etc., vary greatly in subjects, style and length, being bound together by no link or continuity except the Editor's approval and publication of them. It is a crowded canvas; but every stroke is worth the study. The book should be read with no less profit than pleasure.

At the same time, the absence of an editorial is keenly felt (the *Prasthavana* has been put at a wrong place); the contents and pages bear no serial numbers. These omissions are embarrassing to a reader. Moreover, articles for the education of the masses for the social, economic and political advancement of the country are few in it. To such should have been given priority in a Special Issue like this, the more so when we realise the tremendous importance of this factor in the world of today.

P. O. MATTHAI

GUJARATI

ARJUNAURVASHI : By Govind H. Patel. Printed at the Arya Prakash Press, Anand. 1943. Cloth Cover. Pp. 62. Price annas ten.

This is the poet's "Jivan Jyoti" published as a second edition. The changes made in the original text make the verses more attractive.

PARAG : By B. L. Mankad, M.A., B.T. Published at the Liberal Lakshmi Printing Press, Rajkot. 1943. Paper Cover. Pp. 144. Price Rs. 2.

Rhapsodies or prose-poems which are meant to breathe the sweet scent and solace to tired humanity. See the article "Abeehine" (p. 14). The writer has succeeded in his attempt.

PRATIKSHA : By Ramanik Aravalala. Printed at the Kumar Printing, Ahmedabad. 1942. Thick Card-board. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.

The seventy-four short poems of this rising young poet are ably introduced by Mr. Umashankar Joshi, sharing the same category as the composer. All the excellences have been suitably brought out in the introduction and we have nothing to add.

K. M. J.

THE NAGA TRIBES ON OUR FRONTIER

By SIVA SANKAR MITRA

THE valleys of the North-Eastern frontier of India, so long reputed to be the abode of peace and tranquillity in comparison with the historical gateway of N.-W. Frontier, have at last come to be resounded with the trumpets of war. The Japs are filtering through its valleys, hills and jungles and menacing the Allies' communications along it. Last week Imphal was in the focus. Now comes the news that the Japs are moving to the north and concentrating against Kohima.

Kohima is in the land of the Nagas. The Nagas, though little attention has been paid to them in the Indian history, have a long story of border warfares. Their traditional character as successful jungles fighters has been illustrated in more than one determined attack upon the British expeditions in the late nineteenth century. Armed with their national weapons, a spear, a shield and a *da'o* and very recently with native manufactured guns from Manipur, they have ravaged not only the Naga hill tracts, but also have often come down to Sibsagar and Nowgong districts. Under the generic name of Naga is included a large number of virtually independent tribes who are in sole occupation of the hill country from the northern boundary of Cachar to the banks of Dihing river in the extreme east of the Province of Assam. These tribes are Rengmas, Nagas, Angamis, Kukis, Mikirs, Aos, etc. They all are sprung from a common stock of Indo-Chinese family of nations. They all speak different dialects, which are so distinct from one another that villages lying scarcely a day's journey apart can only communicate through an interpreter using a foreign tongue.

The whole area is dotted with tiny villages. These villages particularly of the Angamis, are invariably built on the summits of the hills, and are strongly fortified with stone walls, stockades, ditches and look-outs. Every village has got a single entrance with a gate fortified and barricaded in a primitive way. The whole picture speaks of militancy.

* * * * *

Dated history of the Nagas begins with the advent of the British. It is said that they maintained peaceful relations with the Ahom Kings of Assam. But soon after the British occupation of the Province they began to make sudden invasions or rather raids on the districts of Nowgong and Sibsagar in the north and Cachar in the west. From now on begins the history of the burning of villages by both sides. Re-prisals and counter-reprisals came into vogue.

Broadly speaking the history of British relations with the Nagas may be divided into four periods: (1) the period of control from without, (2) the period of control from within, (3) the period of absolute non-interference and (4) again the period of control from within, merging into gradual absorption into British territory.

The first period covers 1839 to 1846. The policy of subduing the tribes from without was a failure. Seven expeditions were undertaken during this period. Mr. Grange in his second expedition, met a stiff resistance, which he succeeded in overcoming. During this operation he burnt down five villages. Temporarily it had its effect. But soon the Nagas were more enterprising and began to raid the plains. To avenge this outrage Captain Eld entered the hills in 1844 and burnt several of the guilty villages. The thing continued in this way for several years. The next period of controlling from within, establishing outposts in Samaguting on the Kohima-Dimapur road and other places, is also a history of failures. Bhogchand Daroga who was placed in charge of Samaguting outpost, became a terror to the tribes but soon he was brutally murdered with his sepoy. Lieutenant Vincent marched in to avenge the death of the Daroga. He occupied Mozema. Once when he was visiting a neighbouring village, the Nagas burnt down Mozema. In retaliation the Lieutenant burnt the village of Jakhama.

Then comes the period of non-interference from 1851 to 1865. But instead of cooling the atmosphere, it encouraged the Nagas. During this period, no less than 22 Naga raids occurred.

From 1866 again the period of interference began and with it retaliation and counter-retaliation. In 1873 a party under Lt. Holcombe explored the eastern hills. No show of actual hostility was at first manifested. But in 1875 the scene changed. "The Nagas turned out in force, the party was surrounded and Lt. Holcombe and his followers, to the number of 80, were treacherously massacred." In 1878 a determined policy was initiated. This time Kohima was occupied. Mr. Damant, the Deputy Commissioner, accompanied by 21 sepoy and 50 armed police proceeded to Khonoma. "On reaching the gate of the village Mr. Damant was at once shot dead, and a volley was poured into the escort, who turned and fled, followed by the Nagas.....The Nagas then proceeded to besiege the garrison in the Kohima stockade, who were reduced to great straits for want of food and water. After a blockade of 12 days, the siege

was raised by the opportune arrival of a force of Manipuri troops."—(W. W. Hunter).

After this, in 1880, a regular military campaign was started against the Nagas, and was continued as late as 1919. Thus one of the most turbulent areas was subjugated and brought under British administration.

Today the Nagas are the topics of the day. The fate of eastern Assam, if not of India, is

today interlinked with that of these unknown tribes. The Nagas, forming the most irregular and against Japanese columns.

THE MILK PROBLEM IN INDIA

By PROF. R. P. SINGH, M.A., B.COM.

MILK occupies a unique position among human food-stuffs because it is by far the best single food available. It happens to possess "just those dietary factors in which cereals and root vegetables are deficient."¹ It is for this reason that the cow—the main source of milk—has been the object of great veneration in India since ancient times. But this feeling of religious veneration has resulted in the people giving a long lease of life to worthless cattle; and such worthless cattle have tended to reduce the quality of our live-stock. The total milk production in the country is extremely low though India has more cattleheads than the greater part of the outer world. Here, as elsewhere, quantity has militated against quality.

In India, where a large proportion of the population subsists on vegetarian diet, milk is the only source of first-class protein and it has also to supply a considerable proportion of the mineral constituents and vitamins of the diet. But, unfortunately, the daily consumption of milk per head is the lowest as compared with the other civilized countries of the world. Before the outbreak of the present war it was only 6 to 7 ozs. in India whereas in New Zealand, Australia, Great Britain and the U. S. A. it was 56, 45, 39, and 35 ozs. respectively. It has been roughly calculated that only about one-fifth of the total population obtains the minimum physiological requirement of milk and its products, and an overwhelming majority of the population either goes without milk or gets it in very small quantities. After the outbreak of the present war, however, the per capita consumption of milk has gone down further owing to the large Government purchases at high prices for the use of military troops and prisoners of wars kept in the country. Moreover, certain milk products

such as condensed milk, milk-powder, cheese and butter which were previously imported from abroad are not easily obtainable now, partly because of shipping difficulties and partly because of the increased need for these products in the exporting countries themselves some of which are occupied by the enemy. Condensed milk and milk powder possess long keeping quality, are nutritious foods, and are easy to handle, store and transport to long distances at comparatively cheap cost, and thus are of unique importance in feeding the military and others during wartime. But a great shortage in their supply has resulted in a marked diminution in the consumption of milk both in the urban and rural areas.

At present an indiscriminate slaughter of cattle is going on throughout the country. This is mainly due to the need for an abnormal food supply for military purposes. But it has resulted in the disappearance of thousands of milch-cattle from the countryside and a fall in total milk production. Moreover, the recent famine of Bengal and Orissa has killed a very large number of milch-cattle and left others in such an emaciated condition that they cannot be expected to contribute their quota to national milk production for some time to come.

In addition to the inadequate production of milk in the country there is the serious problem of adulteration. Generally, milk is mixed with unclean and infected water, and thus the risk from infection is very great. Co-operative and Government dairies undoubtedly produce good milk under proper hygienic conditions, but their production is very small as yet. Again, the quality of Indian milk obtained mainly from cow and she-buffalo is poor,² and this is partly due to the inadequate herbage upon which the milch-cattle are fed. In many cases the eating

1. Aykroyd : *Vitamins and Other Dietary Essentials*, p. 149.

2. Vide, R. K. Mukerjee : *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*, p. 79.

of toxic plants results in the drying of milk and considerable injury to the different organs of the animal's body such as the udder muscles.

The yield of milk also varies from season to season, and these seasonal fluctuations in milk supply impose a great hardship upon the consumers in urban areas who generally get not only milk mixed with water, but also milk of diseased cows or buffaloes passed on either separately or along with the milk of other cows and buffaloes. This is highly detrimental to the health of the users. It has been noticed that milkmen usually pay no attention to the variations in the chemical and bacteriological composition of milk at the time of bulking. This practice also leads to a deterioration in the quality of our milk.

Another characteristic feature of our milk trade is the lack of organisation which perpetuates inefficiency. The milk of small producer-retailers is not always up to the desired standard of quality. The art of milk production in India is primitive, and stands no comparison with that of the West where milk is produced under controlled conditions and graded according to definite bacteriological standards before it is put in the market. Most of our producers do not realise the importance of hygienic precautions in milk production.³ In cities they generally keep the milch-cattle in dingy rooms or in narrow lanes on sewage drains, and in the villages too the cattle-yards are littered with dung and manure. The hygienic value of milk produced under such conditions cannot but be questionable. Moreover, the *Gowalas* are not very particular about milking intervals which, if uneven, cause wide variations in quality, e.g., the butter fat easily varies from 2 to 3 per cent in such cases. They are also addicted to another mal-practice, namely, *Phooka*, whereby the period of lactation is artificially elongated. Milk obtained in this way is not at all healthful.

Thus it is clear that the supply of milk in India is inadequate and that whatever milk is available is generally not up to the desired standard of purity and cleanliness. Therefore, if the per capita milk consumption is to be increased to at least 15 ozs., which the experts in the science of nutrition regard to be the minimum in the interests of national health, there is an urgent need for augmenting the total milk production and making it available to the people

at cheap prices. This is not an easy task, but, nevertheless, sustained and strenuous efforts should be made to increase the consumption of milk as it has been successfully done in Great Britain during the past decade.

From the experiments carried out at some of the Government farms it has been found that, as a result of selective breeding and better feeding and management, milk production can be considerably increased. So the milkmen should pay greater attention to this aspect of dairy farming. Fodder crops and legumes should be cultivated on a larger scale because at present almost all the available pieces of arable land are utilised for growing cereals and other crops which fetch high prices. Near big cities there should be established 'Dairy Areas' which will be in a better position to supply superior quality milk to the consumers owing to the facilities of adequate fodder supply and of keeping serviceable dry cows and buffaloes which, in many cases, are, at present, handed over to the abattoir. Greater restrictions should be put on the holocaust of superior breed animals. This is of such vital importance that the Food Grains Policy Committee has also stressed the need of 'preserving the plough cattle, transport bulls and milch animals in the interest of food production of the country.'

Again, in many cities and towns trade in adulterated milk has assumed the proportions of a scandal. The various Provincial Governments have tried to combat the evil, but it has not been eradicated as yet. It is, therefore, imperative to lay down local standards of quality and purity (both for summer and winter), and to discourage the sale of loose, unbottled milk. The milk-producers should be graded and paid for on the basis of quality—fat content, cleanliness and freedom of the herd from disease. The best milk available should be directed to the liquid market, and only this milk should be offered to the public.

The nutrition value of milk does not need to be stressed. It is "richly endowed with protein of high biological value and with important mineral salts and vitamins,"⁴ and it is essential for growth and health. Indeed, if the aim of post-war policy is to be to support the population at a higher standard of living, then the provision of milk must be the first consideration. The Hot Springs Conference has also recommended the production of larger quantities of

3. For further details regarding inefficient milking the reader may refer to *Science and Culture*, Vol. VI, No. 5. Article on *Production of Clean Milk in an Indian Household*.

4. Aykroyd : *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

protective foods like milk and vegetables. But if a truly enormous increase in the consumption of milk is wanted, then the beginning must be made from now. A 'National Milk Policy' should be chalked out, and the objective should be the provision of abundant, clean and cheap milk for the consumer. This is really a very simple objective and can hardly be challenged.

THE DEAF-MUTES IN INDIA

By NRIPENDRA MOHAN MAJOOMDAR

Zone-Secretary, Convention of the Teachers of Deaf in India

FROM the very origin of the human race, there has been a section of people who, from birth or due to some accident, have been greatly handicapped for the struggle of life. The deaf and dumb, the blind and so on fall victims to this miserable category. In former days these wretched fellows were looked down upon by the society or the state at large. But it is a very hopeful sign of progress that men are changing their attitudes towards these fellowmen of theirs. Along with the world, India also is realizing the social importance of this section of population. It is of course the outcome of the present scientific civilization and humanitarian sense. In this country of dark pessimism and political backwardness, one feels elated to see various attempts to turn these handicapped, half-grown persons into perfect, full-grown citizens. Many a noble son of India at present deeply feels that he is under an obligation to help and not to hinder the harmonious progress of these defective brethren. These handicapped people are placed under our charge. We must have to prepare them for their life's battle. We must develop them into well-rounded men and women to take their respective places in the busy world. We must help them to be self-reliant and self-confident, so that they may live a life of service to the community and of greatest enjoyment to themselves. If such be not the aims of those who feel for the deaf-mutes, if we fail to minimize the number of these unfortunate brethren of our society, we must fail in our mission as 'men' in the truest sense of the term. There can be in that case little hope for the successful realization of our humanitarian object in view. Our success depends on how well we fit these handicapped people to become perfect citizens of our community. So it can be better imagined than described how tremendous is our responsibility in guiding the destiny of so many lives seriously impaired by the absence of one of their sense-organs. We will be failing in discharging our duties, if we do not try our best to equip these people properly so that they may not lack in manner, behaviour and efficiency unlike the

rest of mankind. The educated Indians will be morally criminal, if they do not care as far as possible to enable each deaf or dumb of India to attain the highest social, intellectual and economic position in life.

It need hardly be reminded that to achieve this noble end is a very difficult task. It is also needless to say how perplexing and pressing is our problem—the problem of education of a class of people, living in a world of silence and striving to have it against fearful odds. Yet there have been considerable efforts to achieve it. Hence we see in India today the establishment of so many institutions for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind.

As to the deaf and dumb education, it may be mentioned that it is a recent inauguration in India, yet by this short time there has been established a good number of deaf and dumb schools having different training schemes and academic activities. But yet much work has to be done, if we are to place this education on a satisfactory footing. India has a deaf and dumb population of more than two lacs and a half and only a little over 1,000 of these unfortunate fellows are getting education in the different schools scattered throughout the country. The enterprise is mostly dependent on voluntary private efforts; because there is a very insignificant amount of grant from the government. Moreover, the expenses for this education are very much greater in proportion to those of ordinary education, because much individual treatment is required. Hence the difficulty of the task. It naturally requires much more financial support from the generous public. Without public donations, these noble attempts of a few noble individuals will be nipped in the bud undoubtedly.

As to the enterprise of the noble workers, it is evident that the difficulty should be a stimulus to further effort. It is never feasible that we should have these innumerable brothers to be merely burdens of the society. We must have to make special effort on their behalf to restore them to an equality with other members

of the society. But here we must remember that this should not be regarded as doing a favour to an inferior race of people. They are in no way inferior to ourselves. They are also of the same stuff that we are made of, and are therefore our equals. The examples of those who have become great among them show that they also can reach the highest pinnacle of success in life. So there is no room for thinking that we shall do all these things out of pity. It is their birth-right to be 'men' in the real sense of the term; and hence, it is our duty to help them to be so.

PLANNING FOR INDIA'S UNITY

By PROFESSOR MANECK B. PITHAWALLA, D.Sc., F.G.S.,
University Teacher in Geography for Post-graduate Research

WHATEVER may be the views of the different political organisations in India, like the Moslem League, the Indian National Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha, regarding the future governance of the country, it must be admitted by all its best well-wishers that nature is *against* any vivisection; and attempts at any *artificial* divisions of the land, such as Pakistan or Hindustan, will be detrimental to its welfare. That India must be one *united nation* at all costs, if it is to prosper in future, cannot be gainsaid by any wise politician, Indian or foreign.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD

The future of all the nations of the world depends upon good neighbourliness, good nourishment and good defence. The abolition of hatred, poverty and unsafeness should be the aim of all post-war planning.

If the whole world is to be considered as a happy family, it is absolutely necessary that we in India and of the old world should set an example to those of the new world in this respect. There should be no proposals for any undue, unnecessary and unnatural partitions of the country to gratify the greeds and the needs of any particular class of people.

India, however, is a vast sub-continent. Nature has made it a conglomeration of many regions, many climates, many environs and therefore there are many kinds of people with high ideals living in them. At the same time, it is well guarded by long chains of mountains with suitable passes in the north-west and a 5,000 miles long coastland, thus allowing its inhabitants to live peacefully within the limits and stimulating it with fresh immigrants to form one great civilisation after making the necessary adjustments.

It is an exceedingly good geographical unit for forming *one nation* with *one national goal*

of its own. If any divisions of it must be made for their proper and convenient government, they must be *natural*.

THE COMMUNAL TANGLE

The present political boundaries, haphazardly made, are the greatest hindrances to all its progress. The peculiar sizes and shapes of the various presidencies and provinces together with the Native States within them, are the most *unnatural* for our purpose.

They were due to strange historical circumstances and chance treaties. They have made the peoples, living within them, think in terms of party politics and not of ~~real~~ culture. They have created so much provincialism, unworthy of any great country. Under provincial autonomy, recently granted by the British rulers, the situation has become worse and the essential unity of India is fast breaking up. The cleavage between several provinces, e.g., Bihar and Bengal, Sind and the Punjab, Ceylon and South India, is really due to these artificial political barriers and rugged provincial boundaries.

THE MAP OF INDIA TO BE RE-DRAWN

What then is the remedy? Since India is such a big country with very different physiographic features, a re-division of the whole country on a really natural and cultural basis should be made with a provision for a re-union of them with convenient lines of communication and for a regrafting of them with common national ideals, under a benign and representative Central Government. In other words, if India must be divided for its efficient administration and maximum benefit and for its most beneficial government of the peoples, its best divisions should be physiographic with natural boundaries and congenial environmental influences for their growth and evolution. (See my

"Physiographic Divisions of India, Burma and Ceylon," *Science and Culture*, May 1942).

Certain river courses, mountain chains and plateau blocks are partial nature-designed compartments which will suit all those who come under their control and influence. In our country good rivers have offered good homes to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Within these regions all the diversities of human life, food, clothes and general welfare must disappear. Man is born to make adjustments to such environments and make a beneficial use of them for his growth and advancement in life. They offer to him the necessary stimulus also to modify these environments, if necessary, for his entire benefit. Within such natural physiographic regions, there is no distinction of caste or creed. Their prosperity prospers all, their adversity also affects all adversely, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and others.

These divisions and boundaries proposed should conform, *without the trammels of any political boundaries*, to all the natural conditions prevailing within the various regions. There must be a stable physical background to rely upon and the influence of certain homogeneous natural environments of a more or less permanent character must be great. In my paper on "Some Co-relations between Cultural Regions and Physiographic Divisions of India," I am showing that physical divisions also produce cultures peculiar to themselves without any communal barriers and that when such cultures get mingled like the fresh waters of detached lakes by a process of spiritual irrigation, they are likely to produce an All-India Culture, for which we all crave in these days of communal tensions and rivalries.

NITHER PAKISTAN NOR HINDUSTAN

It is only by one *united* force that we can make these natural regions yield the best of fruits. Any other proposal that tends to disintegrate India should not therefore be entertained. In terms of the Lahore Resolution of 1940, passed by the All-India Muslim League, provinces in which the Muslims are in a majority, e.g., Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and North-West Frontier Province are required to form themselves into *independent states*, and in the rest of India which is nearly three-fourths, the provinces are to be at liberty to form themselves *independent states* so that there would be two independent states, Pakistan and Hindustan with provisions to form convenient units within these states. The Muslims fear that any central

government based upon the *existing* provinces would be likely to hand the destiny of the whole of India over to a permanent Hindu majority, because the population of seven of them is mainly Hindu and only in a few of them mentioned above, it is mainly Moslem. So the proposal is to redraw the map of the country in such a way or manner that, within the new states, the existing provinces might be regrouped, each with an economic basis of its own and affording the crucial advantage of falling into two mainly Hindu and two mainly Muslim regions. The most likely result will be that India will be broken up into two *independent* and therefore unfriendly States, with no guarantee for its future welfare altogether. Besides, the economic products are typical of the regions and therefore not suitable for making the individual provinces self-sufficient and independent, while the *whole* of India can be made an independent unit, by a proper planning and interchange of the products of all the parts on an *All-India basis*.

PROF. COUPLAND'S PLAN EXAMINED

Another proposal for India's divisions has been recently made by Prof. R. C. Coupland in his book on *The Future of India* and a discussion on his thesis of a regional distribution is held by Sir Edward Grigg, former Finance Secretary to the War Office, to the effect that India's provinces and states can be made self-governing under four regional governments, *viz.*, the Indus, the Ganges, the Delta and the Deccan regions. This so-called re-distribution would also be unprofitable and would produce a Pakistan of the worst type in our country.

Although regional, Prof. Coupland's plan suffers from two main faults:

- I. It is not thoroughly scientific, *e.g.*, there cannot be an entire separation of the Ganges Delta from the main body of the river valley both upper and middle, for the sake of the majority of the people living in it. The delta alone cannot be self-sufficient in any way. The food and famine trouble in Bengal today, apart from any misrule or any mismanagement, is due to Nature's doings,—bad and insufficient crops, cyclonic storms and the Damodar river floods and even air raids. Fish which is the stable food of millions of Bengalees, could not be procured at the same time. The very poverty of Bengal is due to its most thickly populated condition, which cannot be relieved by partitioning it against the remaining parts of the valley. It must also be noted that the Ganges Delta and the Indus Basin, in spite of their

having an ethnological and communal relationship, are from the point of view of economic products dissimilar and are therefore not likely to become self-supporting and therefore self-governing. They are sadly deficient in mineral deposits, even fuel, coal etc., in which the Peninsular area including the "Deccan Regions" are rich, so that the partitions proposed by the Professor, would be poor even from the point of view of a prosperous Pakistan. In fact, in any scheme of a division of our country, this *balancing factor* of natural, economic wealth cannot be neglected, *however inconvenient* it may appear to be to one or the other community living in it. In any case, there ought to be a free and healthy interchange of materials between the Divisions physiographically made, as shown above. (See my paper on "The Mineral Kingdom and the Mineral Resources of India," Bombay 1943).

2. The second grave defect of the scheme is that it is quite imperfect, e.g., the Deccan regions are not a single region. From the points of view of soils, water supply, climates, products and even of cultures, they resolve themselves into several distinct regions.

UNITY IN DIVERSITIES THE ONLY SOLUTION

So we can see that it is difficult to propose any workable scheme of regional distribution of India and still more difficult to put it into practice, without the aid of the *science of Geography* and without seeking *unity in diversities* by breaking up the present political boundaries and setting up new and natural ones. The cry in India for new and separate provinces can also be satisfied thereby. The difficulties

of the various Native States can be solved likewise by forming a Federation of a suitable nature within the new boundaries. Religion must have no place in Indian politics. Not religion but culture must be our criterion and cultures must be born of the natural physiographic regions proposed by us. If therefore natural physiographic boundaries with suitable communication lines between them are put up, the new and natural divisions will start a free and self-supporting life within their limits but without any regard to the castes and creeds of the peoples living in them and at the same time producing a healthy mingling of their cultures. In the long run they will make India, under a beneficent Central Government, *one united nation*, ready to give its share in the planning of international affairs in the new world, which is taking its birth at the present moment.

CONCLUSION

So we appeal to all the different leaders of India to pool their cultures together, whatever their religious beliefs, and form *one national civilisation* apart from their religions. India's constitution should never be based on the Quran or the Vedas.

The Indian nation can be likened to the age-old Banyan tree, whose massive trunk has well settled in the rich soil of the mother-earth and whose large branches and small branches are different communities and creeds which still cling, in a congenial atmosphere, to their kith and kin, and from whose sides fall the hanging roots which long to meet the mother, who gave them birth, once again. May it flourish for ever long !

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

By BEPIN B. BANERJI

THE co-operative movement is on its last legs in this unfortunate province (Bengal). It was ushered with much fanfare and fete but it collapsed amidst the tears and lamentations of thousands of widows and middle-class people who, to all intents and purposes, financed it, when it relapsed from co-operative into a credit system. The unlimited liabilities which were trotted out as the main plank of the movement

had in them the germ that at last laid the movement low. Like an insidious disease they developed symptoms which have in the end brought about the present impasse. Had proper care and foresight been shown, the growth might have been arrested betimes and a sad failure would not have resulted as it has done now.

The liabilities of the members of the rural societies who were to take loans from the central

banks for the betterment of their condition are unlimited and here the shrewd people of the country-side stole a march on the enlightened authors of the movement in surreptitiously enlisting men as members who had neither any land nor had they inherited any property at the time. Had this little germ lying dormant in the movement been properly diagnosed beforehand, the catastrophe might have been averted. But as this was not, or could not have been, done, the members without assets for unlimited liabilities to operate, snapped their fingers at the very foundation of the movement in getting not only a rate of interest lower than the one demanded by the *mahajans* but also a chance of not paying, landless as they are, even the capital amount borrowed. They were, in short, free to borrow, but unable to pay. And this could not have been foreseen and forestalled.

The propertied members, on the other hand, found a loop-hole in the law so as not to pay, for, there is nothing in it that prevents them from alienating their property when unlimited liabilities are set in motion against them.

The authorities seemed at long last to wake up to what they could not foresee in the beginning and to devise means to rectify the errors of the past by increasing the staff, as if an army of officers can work miracles on non-propertied members to pay and compel the propertied members to obey their command as the law. What they can at best do is to test the new recruits. But new recruits are very rare now, for, capital which is always very shy has of late become shyer owing to the unsettled state of the people's mind at present, breach of contract to pay on maturity and, last but not least, to the embezzlements and other ugly incidents that occurred in several co-operative banks and societies. So the increase has, from this point of view, been an imposition on the already over-burdened and almost dying organisation. And, as the Reserve Bank has given a blank cheque and flatly refused to help the movement, the additional cost will be the last straw that will break the back of the movement.

The Government help and the fresh capital thus failing, all that the officers and the men under them, both old and new, can do to prove the *raison d'être* of their existence is to develop among the village people the co-operative spirit for which the movement has been inaugurated in all the civilised countries of the world. But the village people take loans here, as a rule, on questionable assets, at a very low rate of interest

and spend them not so much for the improvement of education, sanitation, agriculture, etc., as for marriage festivities, cinema shows, gambling and the like. And they can very well do it, as the money comes in very handy with no very great obligations to pay. This squandering habit is now to be checked and a spirit of thrift is to be engendered among the village people for the well-being of the society in which they live, or, in other words, the movement is to be pushed back to what its name implies.

The first thing, that the officers and the men under them should do is to give a turn to the individualistic trend of the people's mind and to train them to work in a spirit of co-operation in the interest of their common good. Unless the officers of the Department of Co-operative Societies can organise and develop this team-work and instil into the minds of the people the value of working in concert, the movement can hardly be dragged out of the mire into which it has sunken.

If the people be trained in this fundamental principle of the movement by merging self in social welfare, such proposals as long-term loan, marketing, etc., will be easy sailing. Unless the foundation be strong, any amount of plastering and embellishing the walls, balconies and corridors cannot keep the edifice standing. The long-term loan will certainly give the ryots facilities to pay and the pooling together of the produce for marketing will no doubt ensure better profit with less trouble, but, habituated as they are, they cannot do it themselves, unless a suitably trained staff be found to break their age-long slumber and awake them to the democratic ideal of the movement. If the spirit of "live and let live" be fostered and maintained among the rural people, or, in other words, if the people can be made to feel that their very existence hangs on co-operation, then and then alone any help that may come to them from outside to tide over a most unprecedented situation can be fully utilised to their benefit; otherwise, "money got will be money squandered," as it was done before. And for this the whole army of the officers of the Department, both high and low, may be mobilised to fight illiteracy, indebtedness, insanitation and a thousand and one other ills of village life through a movement which was so hopefully forecasted at the start but which so dismally fizzled out in the end owing to lack of proper care and supervision in the past.

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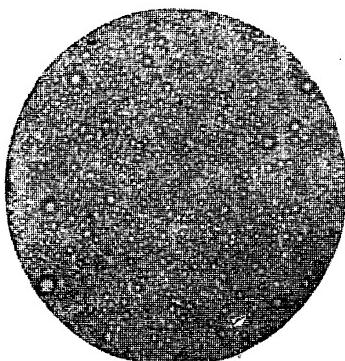
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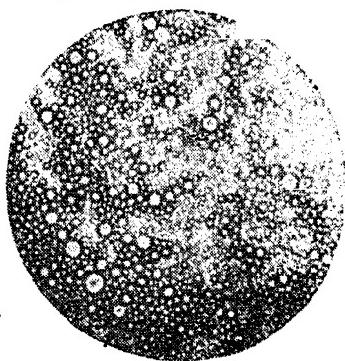
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Social Progress : Food

Food is the most important of human requirements and the social progress of a country depends upon the abundance of the quality and variety of nutritious food available for its population. Writes P. G. Shah in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

India is eminently an agricultural country with 87 per cent. of its population living in rural areas, out of which 66 per cent. is directly engaged in agriculture. India is associated so much with poverty and famine that it is forgotten that, with its large population of about one-fifth of the whole world and its vast land resources, India is among the foremost producers of food in the world. India is the largest single producer of important commodities like sugar, groundnut, jute and lac. It occupies a very creditable place as the second producer in the world for tea, rice and cotton. This high position is not accidental, as will also be seen from the fact that India also holds the world's record for its cattle and livestock. It has the largest bovine population in the world holding nearly one-fourth of the total, i.e., 167 out of 690 million, cattle population. Even though the vastness of the cattle population, like the human population, is not an unmixed blessing, if their health, vitality and utility are of a limited order, I mention these facts to indicate the lines of further progress.

If India with its resources not yet fully developed already occupies such a high position in the world economy, what can it not achieve if her resources are fully and properly developed ?

In India, the average yield of cotton per acre is as low as 90 lbs., compared with 150 lbs. of the United States and the 450 lbs. of Egypt. In rice, the Indian average of 750 to 900 lbs. compares not unfavourably with that of Indo-China and Siam, but is far below America's 1,500 lbs., Egypt's 2,000, Japan's 2,300 and Italy's 3,000 lbs. In wheat, India's 650 lbs. is below Australia's 710, Argentina's 780, America's 850, Canada's 975 and Europe's 1,150. Here is scope for work for the scientific plant-breeder, for the rural development boards, agricultural associations, officers of the Agricultural Department and for the farmers themselves.

Not only larger production per acre but more intensive cultivation of the soil is also necessary.

Out of the total area of 1,005 million acres, only 340 million acres are actually sown with crops and only 74 per cent. of the cultivable area is brought under the plough. Over 100 million acres are shown as "cultivable waste other than fallow," while the fallow land amounts to 58 million acres. If all this land is successfully cultivated, an enormous amount of extra food and earning power would be available for social progress.

The importance attached to questions of food, e.g., those of its price, quality and quantity, procurement and distribution, at the present day should be a permanent feature of our social policy.

But I may mention in passing that in 1933 Major-General Sir John Megaw, Director-General, Indian Medical Service had collected sufficient evidence (*An Enquiry into Certain Public Health Aspects of Village Life in India*) to come to the startling conclusion that "only about 39 per cent. of the people were well-nourished, 41 per cent. as poorly nourished and 20 per cent. as badly nourished." In the opinion of another expert of international fame, Dr. Aykroyd, "if the entire population had enough to eat, an increase of 20 to 30 per cent. in food production would be absorbed." These facts indicate what further progress is necessary for increasing our food resources, in preventing their destruction by insects and pests, and in proper marketing and distribution. We should all wish success to the present Food Member, Sir J. P. Shrivastava who has declared it to be "his ambition to see India a country where every one has a square deal, and four square meals a day." We might as well specify that these meals should provide healthy and balanced diet containing from 2,400 to 3,000 calories of heat units and adequate variety and abundance of vitamins, to suit conditions of work, climate and constitution, if social progress is to be maintained.

Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II (1686-1743)

The bicentenary of the death of Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh II, ruler of the State of Amber and founder of the city of Jaipur, deserves more than a passing notice, so varied were his activities and so remarkable his gifts. M. F. Soona-wala writes in *Science and Culture* :

It would be well to glance at the political and intellectual setting in which Jai Singh was placed, if his worth is to be truly appreciated. Maharaja Jai Singh succeeded to the sovereignty of Jaipur, then known as Amber in 1699, at the age of thirteen. Eight years later, in 1707, Aurangzeb, the last of the great Moghuls passed away, and was succeeded by the line of the lesser Moghuls, from whose infirm grasp power was gradually to slip away. The house that Babar built was showing signs of decay; though the convulsion that cracked its very foundations came in 1739 when Delhi was sacked by Nadir Shah. This was in the fortieth year of Jai Singh's reign and four years before his death. The old empire was passing away, and new and powerful forces were gathering strength in the north, the east and the south. During these troublous times Jai Singh stood loyally by the throne of Delhi, and his reputation in the court always stood high. He

was called upon to become, first, the governor of the of astronomy, the principal source of which was the *Surya Siddhanta*. The origin and date of this work are

Emperor Muhammad Shah to the Peshwa to be held perpetually in nominal fief to the throne of Delhi. It was due to his intercession that the sore of the *Jaziya* tax (Poll-tax on non-Muslims) was finally removed. Jai Singh took the opportunity to establish the power of his house on a firm and solid basis amongst the nobility.

At Amber too insecure against invaders, and decided in 1728 to shift about seven miles southward to a new city he founded, and this he named Jaipur. This is unique amongst Indian cities in plan and layout, and still stands a monument to its founder's passion for precision and regularity; for its principal thoroughfares (width 110 ft.) run east and west and the main cross-roads run north and south. The Temple of the Sun stands a white-robed sentinel over it at the eastern extremity on a hill on the outskirts of the city. The chief engineer in the construction of the city was Vidyadhar Bhattacharyya, a Brahmin of Bengali extraction, and descendant of one of the Brahmins who was brought by Jai Singh's ancestor Maharaja Man Singh from Bengal.

The precision and elegance of the methods of astronomy and the mystic lore of astrology had early cast a spell upon Jai Singh.

By intense study and application he made himself conversant with the traditional Hindu system

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uence of the Greek-Babylonian school of astronomy had been felt in the East since the time of the Seleucids (313 B.C.—65 A.D.) and continued to be a living force when Europe, on the break up of the Roman Empire lapsed into barbarism during the times known as the Dark Ages. But during these times, the Moslems became the custodians of the culture of the

work, *Al Majista*, It reappears later in Europe under the name *The Almagest*. But the Moslem Savants made constant addition to this store of knowledge, from their own observations and studies. Jai Singh studied it carefully from Muslim sources, and it is known to him as *Mijasti*. He appears also to have studied with diligence the elements of Euclid from the translation of Nasir ul Din al Tusi who lived about the middle of the 13th century. Jai Singh was much impressed and attracted by the work of the Muslim astronomers, whose anxiety to carry out precision measurements found a ready echo in his heart.

The work of Mirza Ulugh Beg (1393—1449 A.D.) and his assistant, Jamshid el Kashi, is especially noteworthy.

A grandson of Timur the Lame, Ulugh Beg was a ruler and an astronomer even as Jai Singh was in later times. Mirza Ulugh Beg devoted himself with great zeal to astronomical studies all his life till it was ultimately cut short by the dagger of the assassin. Ulugh Beg had erected an observatory at Samarkand about 1425 A.D., and from his numerous observations had compiled a set of useful astronomical tables which superseded those of Ptolemy.

The tables of Ulugh Beg were adopted by Jai Singh as basis for his future work.

The Arabs and other Muslims astronomers were adepts in the construction and use of the astrolabe; but here Jai Singh differed from them, and was always suspicious of brass instruments which, he argued, could never yield results of any high accuracy because of their mechanical imperfections. He early decided to erect firm and stable masonry instruments, giving them such generous dimensions that with their aid, accuracy in observations which was still then unrivalled could be achieved.

While Jai Singh was busy in these projects, a revolution had already taken place in European Astronomy through the labours of Copernicus (1470-1542), Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo (1570-1642) and Newton (1642-1727).

Jai Singh's thirst for knowledge was insatiable, and any source was welcome to him which could allay it. For this purpose, he sent emissaries to distant lands, Muslims like Muhammad Sharif and Muhammad Mahdi to the Muslim centres of learning; and "several skilful persons along with Padre Manuel," as the Maharaja himself puts it, to Europe.

Jai Singh invited scholars to Jaipur for consultation. Perhaps, the most picturesque of these was Jouvier de Sylva, the Portuguese, who made Jaipur his home.

From these sources Jai Singh became acquainted with the principles and use of the logarithms and trigono-

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nometrical ratios, and also with the astronomical tables of Flamsteed, the first Astronomer Royal of Great Britain (*Historia Coelestis Britannica*) and la Hire's *Tabula Astronomica*. Jai Singh does not appear to have realized the full significance of the revolution in astronomical knowledge brought about between 1473 and 1687. He valued astronomy, like most of his European contemporaries, on account of its use in astrology (*i.e.*, the pseudo-science of predicting the future from positions of planets, sun and the moon), and does not appear to have realized that after the successful explanation of planetary motion by Newton, astrology had lost all pretensions to a scientific basis.

About 1724, Jai Singh constructed his first observatory at Delhi with masonry instruments, which he preferred to brass ones.

He spent seven years of careful observation, which he decided to embody in proper tables. His principal collaborator in this as well as all subsequent work was Pandit Jagannath (a Brahmin of Telugu extraction) who was equally at home in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, learned in Hindu as well as Muslim astronomical lore. With the aid of Jagannath, he got the Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Almagest* translated into Sanskrit under the name *Samrat Siddhanta* (*lit.* the emperor amongst astronomical treatises) and Euclid's elements under the name *Rekhaganita*.

Ripe with experience gathered at Delhi, Maharaja Jai Singh constructed an observatory on an even more ambitious scale at his newly founded capital, Jaipur about the year 1734.

Jai Singh's Tables give the numbers of constellations and stars with their longitudes, latitudes, right ascensions, declinations, and magnitudes. It thus closely follows the lines of the catalogue of Ulugh Beg.

This important work Jai Singh dedicated to Emperor Muhammad Shah.

Russia

During March, the Russian front remained the most interesting. *The New Review* observes:

Of the Russian front, the northern sector witnessed sensational changes but remained of secondary importance. The Red army achieved local victories but most of the initiative was on the side of the enemy who fell back on a shorter and stronger line; instead of mounting guard on a sinuous line round Leningrad, they have retired on the Narva-Peipus defences which have so far resisted all Soviet assaults. It is probable that the Nazi losses have been largely compensated by this orderly shortening of a difficult and unpromising front.

On the southern sector, operations were of a different type; most of the initiative belonged to the Soviet, and, on the Soviet side, the leading role was given to Marshal Zhukov who commands the first Ukrainian front.

Zhukov replaced Vatutin, the tank expert and the hero of Kharkov and Kiev. Zhukov is close to fifty, he fought in the Red Revolution, was a teacher at military schools and, like all sensible Soviet generals, stays away from the public eye. After the Finnish war, he helped Shaposhnikov and Timoshenko to train the new army under most realistic warfare conditions. Later he was entrusted with the outer defence of Moscow and with the winter offensive which pushed the Germans back to the Rzhev line; then in the summer offensive of 1942, he held the all-important pivot of Voronezh. When Shaposhnikov fell ill, Zhukov was brought into Stalin's inner military council; he is even said to be Stalin's favourite officer, his *Lubitschets*. Early this year he was assigned to the decisive part of the southern front.

Vatutin had pushed the line across the Polish frontier and then vainly turned to achieve a break-through at Vinnitsa and Uman. Zhukov delivered his first mighty blow further north-west and struck at the German sector in front of Proskurov and Tarnopol; he succeeded in pushing through the German defences and reached the Odessa-Lwow railway-line which was the last rail communication running parallel to the German rear. Once it was clear that he could hold a few miles, he had won the battle of the Dnieper bend; his colleagues had only to exploit his victory to the full. Much later in the battle, Zhukov eased his position and extended his success by taking Dobno and Kremenets so as to prepare the advance across the Dniester's upper reaches.

In the Dnieper bend, the Russian generals were not slow in taking advantage of Zhukov's victory.

They rushed at the Nazi line with the fury pent up during the deadlock of the last weeks and played havoc with the Nazi divisions, cornering some in impossible positions, rounding off others which attempted a hasty withdrawal and pushing back the whole line in a tumultuous rout. Malinowski outflanked Nipolaev, Koniev crossed the Dniester and Zhukov pushed closed to Lwow. The battle is still in full swing, and the Nazi occupant of Hungary and Rumania is a desperate measure against the worst. The winter campaign has been disastrous to Hitler.

His stubborn clinging to any of his conquests has advanced the hour of his defeat. Had he been of a more supple mind, he would have fallen back on a shorter line of defence and built up a strategic reserve that would have checkmated the advance of invasion forces.

Several lines of defence were at his choice. The one nearer the front would have run along the Dnieper as far as Kiev, then across the Pripet marshes to the Berezina and then by way of Pskov to Lake Peipus and Narva: a length of 1,000 miles only and consequently a saving up of some ninety divisions. The Nazis had three hundred divisions on the eastern front, and a ten-mile stretch takes one division on an average, providing for small local reserves and allowing one-third of the troops to rest or reform in the rear.

The shortest of all ran from Odessa to Kamenetz, then along the pre-war Polish frontier, across the Pripet marshes to the Dvina and down the Dvina across to Riga. This line measures 950 miles, would take some 95 divisions and save up over one hundred divisions. Could the Nazis have established themselves on that line after having lost not more than one hundred divisions, they would have had a defence line as strongly manned as the Dnieper-Kiev-Vitebsk-Leningrad line which they held before the winter. They would moreover have gained the advantage of shorter communications.

But the Odessa-Kamenetz sector has been cut into pieces and their next possible defence is now the (longer and weaker) Siret-Danube line.

Is Iranian Oil A Blessing to Iran ?

Dara Dastoor writes in *The Indian Review* :

Iran, like the United States of America, is a large producer of oil. In fact it stands fourth in the list of oil-producing countries, and if all the oil-fields existing and potential were brought to book, it would stand even higher. But there is a peculiarity about Iranian oil—not in its chemical composition—but in its relation with the economic life of that country. For whereas



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— "BHALI" in THE STATESMAN

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American oil is the hand-maid of America's industrial structure, Iranian oil is not so; mainly because Iran's industrial structure is not yet well developed and also because of lack of communications in the country. Persian oil is being sold in most parts of the world, large steamships on the world's ocean-paths, thousands of aeroplanes in the skies above us and millions of motor-cars on the world's high ways are driven by the power of Iranian motor-spirit and yet Iran itself until very recently used to import the petroleum products needed for her own consumption.

The explanation of this paradox lies in the fact that the Iranians in the North found it cheaper to import oil from Baku, the Russian oil-port on the Caspian, than to bring the oil produced at Maidan-i-Nafun over the Bakhtiari Hills and the Zagros mountains. This position has been explained by Moustapha Khan Fateh by the following analogy : "Persia is like a hungry person who has plenty of food in another part of his house but is unable to partake of it because of his physical inability to walk."

But since these words were written (in 1926), the old order hath changed giving place to new.

Within a short space of fifteen years Reza Shah Pahlevi, the wizard of this ancient land, transformed the hitherto nomadic, primitive and poor Persia into modern Iran—a semi-industrial and semi-agricultural country.

In two decades he provided his land with some 16,000 miles of up-to-date motor-roads, some 1,200 miles of most expensive railways in the world, and with a number of factories producing a variety of articles, such as cotton, silk, woollen and leather goods, sugar, cement, arms and ammunition and even an assembling plant for air-crafts. No doubt much still remains to be accomplished to bring Iran to the forefront of industrial nations of this world; yet the progress so far is sufficient to take the sting out of the above quotation from Moustapha Khan Fateh. The hungry man has now begun to move and in a short time will be able to partake of the food.

But the truth of these words cannot be denied in the days when they were inspired (1926), or, say, forty years back when D'Morgan smelt oil in the soil of Iran, which ultimately resulted in the grant of a 66 years' concession to William Knox D'Arey, the founder of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

The Anglo-Persian Oil Company opened up an entirely new field of Imperialism in Iran.

It has since become a State within a State, with its own administration, its own Tanker fleet, its own hospitals, cinemas and tobacco shops. It is not listed on the Domesday Book of Nations but it exists. The creation of Bandar Shahpur by the Iranian Government to serve as the southern terminus of the Trans-Iranian Railway while Abadan or Mohamerra would have served this purpose much better, manifests beyond doubt the existence of this petty Oil State as a separate *entente*. It becomes much more so on a study of the export figures published by the Government of Iran. In these figures are not included the figures of the value of oil exported by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, nor is it taken account of while calculating the balance of trade of the country.

The following emotional comments of Sir Arnold Wilson (then Lt. Wilson) to his father on the occasion when oil was first struck at well No. B1, Maidan-i-Naph-tun on 26th May, 1908, bear ample testimony to the situation :

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"It is a great event. It will provide all our ships east of Suez with fuel. It will strengthen British influence in these parts. It will make us less dependent on foreign-owned oil-fields."

The financial advantages to the British Government can best be explained by citing Mr. Winston Churchill's reference to this question in his book *The World Crisis* in which he estimates the amount gained and saved by the British Government at £40 millions made up as under :

	millions.
Market value of Government's 5 million shares	£16·0
Dividends and various taxes received	£ 6·5
Amount actually saved in oil purchased as compared with current prices	£ 7·5
Further savings estimated on the balance of the contract	£10·0
Total	£20·0

Against all these gains—financial, political and otherwise to the British Government, we can place for comparison the only substantial gain to the Iranian Government, *viz.*, Royalties received from the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which in 1927-28 amounted to £1,488,000. No doubt this Royalty has increased considerably during the last few years but so have the gains to Britain and the proportion remains almost unaltered. No doubt the Company spends a large sum of money every year in Iran for labour and supplies. The number of Iranians employed at the oil-fields and refineries exceeds 25,000, while towns like Mohamerra, Ahwazs, Abadan have gained much in material prosperity.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sun Yat Sen, Founder and First President of Republican China

A Chinese proverb says : "A man's greatness can only be estimated after his coffin is nailed."

On March 12, it will be 19 years since Dr. Sun Yat Sen, father of the Chinese Republic, died. That is long enough to estimate some part of what he has meant to China, to the East, to the world.

Born November 12, 1867 in South China, the son of a poor farmer, Sun like many poor but bright youths gravitated to college in Hongkong, gravitated some more into student underground activity, deserting a medical career therefor, was involved in the revolutionary plot of 1895 against the decaying Manchu dynasty, barely escaped execution decree for his comrades.

As an exile, floating about the world, he determined to achieve a revolution in China based upon nationalism, democracy and socialism. An attempt to do so after the Boxer outbreak in 1900 proved abortive. Five years later the Chinese Revolutionary League was organised. The revolution came finally in 1911. Dr. Sun returned to China as president of the new republic.

During his 16-year exile, Dr. Sun had thrice visited the United States, read deeply into the life and works of Abraham Lincoln. Afterwards he attributed his philosophy of how China should be governed to Lincoln's three principles : "The people are to have, the people are to control, the people are to enjoy."

These principles Dr. Sun bequeathed to the Tung-menghui, forerunner of the present Chinese party, the Kuomintang. The history of China from Dr. Sun's presidency to his death in 1925, and subsequently, is a narrative of the slow struggle to apply them concretely. It is a story not without halts and turnings, but also with glorious re-beginnings and heartening advances.

Hoping to stop the story before it reached its happy ending, Japan declared war upon struggling China. The plot has failed militarily and psychologically. Well-equipped, well-trained, well-led Chinese troops are fighting the Japanese on the ground and in the air over China's coast and Burma today. And in a public utterance, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek has said that they are still fighting for Sun's philosophies :

"The fundamental principle that guides China's destiny, China's faith as a nation, is based upon Dr. Sun Yat Sen's *Three People's Principles*."

Sun's remains are entombed in a handsome mausoleum in the outskirts of occupied Nanking. The Japanese thus have his body, temporarily. The Chinese, and the world allied with China, possess his spirit.—*USOWI*.

Baltimore Paper Applauds India's Post-war Planning

Commenting editorially on plans recently put forth for India's post-war development, the Baltimore *Sun* writes :

"Post-war planning is as popular in India as it is in the United States and Britain and, quite in keeping with the size and soaring population of that incalculable country, it is very ambitious post-war planning indeed. The Government of India is reported to be pondering what might be called a declaration of economic independence, a plan . . . for an economic expansion programme designed to raise 'by three times' the average Indian's standard of living. This is the so-called Bombay Plan, which envisages a series of three five-year plans after the war. . . .

"It is now increasingly clear that after the war India will be in a position to finance an extensive programme. Just as the last war transformed the United States from a debtor to a creditor, so this war has done the same for India. She will be able to enter the world markets not as a country in debt to her international neighbours, and Britain in particular, but as a creditor country with exchange surpluses available for large-scale purchases. . . .

"India will, moreover, have already in existence a broad industrial foundation on which to build. Her textile industry, while clothing her entire population, is now turning out more than 10 million military garments monthly. Her factories are supplying more than 37,000 separate items of the 50,000 required to equip and maintain a modern army. She is producing more than two million tons of pig iron and one million tons of steel annually. At least one-third of the world's output of manganese is coming from her mines. And, in most basic raw materials of modern industry, notably coal and iron ore, her natural deposits are immense.

"The lack of skilled labour would seem the major factor limiting India's future development, but even here considerable progress is being made. Under the pressure of war, hundreds of technical training centres have been set up and these are reported already to have graduated more than 50,000 relatively skilled workers. . . .

"India is rich in undeveloped resources."—*USOWI*.

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Many Ruling Chiefs of India, High Court Judges, Commissioners of Divisions, Advocate Generals, Nawabs, Rajas, Maharajas, etc. and also many reputed personalities of the world (of England, America, Australia, Africa, China, Japan, etc.) have given many spontaneous testimonials of the great Pandit's wonderful powers.

A few names of eminent personalities are given below who have tested his wonderful attainments in Astrology, Palmistry and Tantric rites, etc.: His Highness the Maharaja of Atgar, Her Highness the Dowager Sixth Maharani Saheba of Tripura, the Raja Bahadur of Barkimedi, an Hon'ble Member of the Orissa Assembly, Maharaj Kumar of Hindol, Maharaja Sir Manmatha Nath Roy Chowdhury, Kt. of Sontosh, Hon'ble Chief Justice Sir Manmatha Nath Mukherjee, Kt. of Calcutta High Court, Hon'ble Justice Sir C. Madhavam Nair, Kt., Privy-Council, Kumar Ramendra Narayan Roy of famous Bhawal Case, Hon'ble Mr. S. C. Mitra, M.A., B.L., President of Bengal Legislative Council, Hon'ble Mr. P. D. Raikot, Minister, Govt. of Bengal, Khan Sahib Mr. Motahar Hossain Khan, B.A., Suptd. of Excise, Rangpur, Mr. E. A. Araki, M.A. (Cantab). J.P., Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, Chaudhury Moazem Hossain (La' Mea) M.L.C., Lieut. Mr. P. N. P. Unawalla, R. I. N. R. Calcutta, Khan Bahadur K. M. Hassan, C.I.E., Dy-General Manager, E. I. Rly., Kumar C. Singh Rai of Loisingha, Patna State, Mr. B. J. Fernando, Proctor, S. C. & Notary Public, Ceylon, Mr. J. A. Lawrence, Osaka, Japan, Mr. Andre Tempe, Illionis, America, Mr. K. Ruchpaul, Shanghai, Osina, Mr. Isaac Mumi Etia, of Africa, Mr. R. L. Dutt, Solicitor, Calcutta, Mr. P. K. Mitra, Solicitor, Maharaj Kumar P. N. Roy Choudhury, B.A. of Sontosh, Vice-Consul of Spain, Mr. B. K. Roy, Advocate-General of Orissa, Rai Saheb S. M. Das, a Judge of the Keunjhar State High Court, Sreemati Sarala Devi, M.L.A., the reputed Congress Leader of Orissa, Rai Saheb Hridoy Ballav De, D.S.P., of Cuttack Police, Mr. M. Azam, M.A., Inspector of Schools, Cuttack, Choudhury Srijit Harekrishna Samanta Roy, Zaminder, Cuttack, have personal experience of his wonderful predictions and mysterious powers.

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Research Expert, Born in India, Aids American War Industry

Alamjit D. Singh went to the United States from India in 1921, a student in search of adventure. Today he is a well-known scientist who has found his adventure in research work carried on in the laboratories of American universities and industries. He is famous for his work on camouflage and research on fuels.

The camouflage techniques he has developed are applicable throughout the United States and in other United Nations and he is a consultant for the American gas industry. He carries on research and acts as adviser for some 60 companies.

Alamjit was born in Birrakue, Ferozepore, Punjab, on March 20, 1901. Arriving in California in 1921, he began to work his way through college in typical American fashion at the state university at Berkeley. After three years there he went to work for the Ford Motor Company in Detroit, Michigan, where he obtained much experience useful in his industrial production studies. He became interested in research on coal and decided to go to school at the University of Illinois.

He graduated from Illinois in chemical engineering in 1929. He continued to do graduate work at the university research station until 1942.

While still in college, Alamjit undertook research on the production of acetic acid from carbon monoxide and wood alcohol by using methods developed by the Germans during the last war. The work carried on by Alamjit and his student colleagues eventually reached a stage sufficiently advanced so that one of the largest chemical companies in the United States began commercial operations for the production of acetic acid by this method.

Dr. Singh is married to an American woman and they have a son of eight who is interested in airplanes,

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paratroops and painting. Dr. Singh has not been back to India since he left, but he is very anxious to make a visit to the land of his birth and the trip is an important part of his personal post-war planning.—USOWI.

Wallace Proposes Highway "Across Roof of the World"

Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, writing in the current *Survey Graphic* magazine, advocated construction of parallel highway and airway linking Chicago and Moscow by a route literally passing across the roof of the world.

Wallace said the route should extend from the north central part of the United States, up through Canada to Alaska (this part, the Alcan highway, has already been constructed), out along the Alaskan Peninsula, across the 60-mile-wide Bering Strait (perhaps by ferry or causeway), across the immense spaces of Asiatic Siberia to the capital of the Soviet Union.

"It would mean much to peace in the future if there could be some tangible link of this sort between the pioneer spirit of our own West and the frontier spirit of the Russian East," Wallace said.

"The most important growing points of the world for the next century will be Asia, Russia, and Latin America. We would be false to ourselves if we did not recognise this and act accordingly, so that we may have peace for our children and not a succession of bloody wars."

"I have every reason to believe that Russia will be the natural friend of the Americas in the years immediately ahead."—USOWI.

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NOTES

Denial of Education in India

"Education in India under the British Government was first ignored, then violently and successfully opposed, then conducted on a system now universally admitted to be erroneous and finally placed on its present footing"—thus writes not any political agitator in India, but an eminent historian, A. Howell in his celebrated book *Education in British India* published in the year 1872. At the time of the rise of British power in this country, India had her own system of education which had been in existence from time immemorial. There were the *pathsalas* or indigenous elementary schools covering the countryside which taught the three R's and at the same time gave a training in the moral codes. When a proposal was made in the early nineteenth century to induce the Company to take up the duty of introducing a new system of instruction under the control of schoolmasters and missionaries sent out from England, it was stoutly opposed by the Board of Directors and some of them urged that "the Hindus had as good a system of faith and morals as most people and that it would be madness to attempt their conversion or to give them any more learning or any other description of learning than what they already possessed."

It was however finally decided to take control of education in India. The problem resolved itself into two: (1) whether there would be mass education through the medium of Indian languages as the foundation of the entire educational system, or (2) a more restrict-

ed type of education through the medium of English language should be introduced. First of all, there was a proposal for an inquiry. The suitable person to undertake this gigantic task was found in William Adam, a friend of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. In January 1835, Adam was appointed Commissioner to survey the state of education in Bengal on a consolidated allowance of Rs. 1000. Lord William Bentinck believed him to be "peculiarly qualified for this undertaking." Macaulay, to whom Adam officially submitted his Reports, said that these were "the best sketches on the state of education that had been submitted before the public."

But Bentinck and Macaulay did not wait for Adam to submit his Report. Only six weeks after the appointment of Adam, Bentinck accepted Macaulay's Minute and passed a Resolution which laid down that "all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed in English education alone." Six months later, Adam submitted his Report. A careful perusal of this Report would go a great way to convince anybody, as has been pointed out by Prof. A. N. Basu, that if his recommendations were given effect to, "foundation would have been laid of what might justly be called (and was actually called by Adam) a truly national system of education for India." But the mischief had already been done. Aucland was unwilling to revise the decision of Bentinck and Macaulay. Western education got the monopoly of State patronage and protection. The fate of the then existing indigenous schools and the prospect of a national system of educa-

tion based on the language and culture of the people were sealed.

Primary Education in Bengal

About the then existing number of schools, Adam said :

"In Bengal and Behar there is on an average a village school for every sixty-three children of the school-going age. These children, however, include girls as well as boys, and as there are no indigenous girls' schools, if we take the male and female children to be equal or nearly equal proportions, there will appear to be an indigenous elementary school for every thirty-one or thirty-two boys. The estimate of 100,000 such schools in Bengal and Behar is confirmed by a consideration of the number of villages in these two provinces. Their number has been officially estimated at 150,748, of which, not all, but most have each a school. If it be admitted that there is so large a proportion as a third of the villages that have no schools, there will still be 100,000 that have them."

A century after this survey, there were only 51,533 primary schools in Bengal, one school for every 131 children between the age group 5-10. Five years after the shelving of the Adam Report, Mr. Thomason, Lt.-Governor of the North-Western Provinces reorganised the system of education in his Province on the lines suggested by Adam. Elementary education was introduced through the medium of Indian languages, smaller English schools were abolished and instruction in English was confined to colleges. Thomason's experiment was highly successful. After his death in 1853, Lord Dalhousie wrote about him :

Alluding to the Districts in which the Government schools have not yet been established, Mr. Thomason has said : "In all these parts there is a population no less teeming, and a people as capable of learning. The same wants prevail, and the same moral obligation rests with the Government, to exert itself for the purpose of dispelling the present ignorance. The means are shown by which a great effect can be produced, the cost at which they can be brought into operation is calculated, the agency is available. It needs but the sanction of the highest authority to call into exercise, throughout the length and breadth of the land, the same spirit of enquiry, and the same mental activity, which is now beginning to characterise the inhabitants of the few districts in which a commencement has been made."

For some time after the successful experiments of Thomason, Vernacular education received some stimulus. It was vigorously supported by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, in 1859. Sir John Peter Grant, Governor of Bengal, expected, in 1860 : "If the time should arrive when we could show one thousand village schools to a district, aided by Government, and affording the agriculturists a simple and practical education commensurate with their wants, the State, in such a case, might be held to have fairly done its duty by a neglect-

ed portion of its subjects. Whereas only thirty years ago, the number of schools actually in existence was one lakh as reported by Adam, Sir John Peter Grant in 1860 fixed 30 thousand schools as his goal !

British Control Over Indian Education

The undercurrent remained as strong as it ever was. Occasional attempts to follow public opinion in this direction by persons like Adam or Thomason merely prolonged the process of destruction and could not prevent it. In 1844, Lord Hardinge had also tried to give some effect to Adam's proposals and 101 "Hardinge Schools" were established in rural areas. But for want of enthusiasm on the part of the Local Governments these schools proved a failure. By the time of the mutiny, Government had succeeded in establishing a complete control over education. This was the negation of the traditional Indian policy. From the dawn of civilisation down to the end of the Muslim rule, the State in India never attempted to *control* the system of education, it was *fostered and encouraged* by means of lavish grants both to the schools and to the intellectuals. This 2500-year-old system of education was altered for the first time by an alien Government whose only object was personal benefit. The obvious result is that not only Bengal, but the whole of India today is far down in the scale of education. It is not at all difficult to understand why and for whose benefit this was done. Even at the middle of the eighteenth century the level of education was sufficiently high, and it was since then that the deterioration began.

Officialisation of Education and its Results

Officialisation of education was never allowed to proceed unopposed. Right from the start it was a continuous struggle of the non-official educationist against the threat of extinction of the cultural heritage of the people. The Calcutta School Book Society, founded as early as 1817, devoted itself to the production of text-books approved by the officials. Complaints were made that the school text-books were being costly. A Committee consisting of Mr. Woodrow, Rev. Long and Raja Rajendralal Mitra appointed to enquire into this subject, reported :

"A poor boy in the interior must pay a premium of 108 per cent. over the actual cost price for every spelling book or Primer he may have occasion to purchase, and as Native School-boys generally destroy six or a dozen before they master its contents, the matter, to their poor parents, is one of great moment. Yet the School Book Society receives a grant of Rs. 500 a month from

the Government for the express purpose of selling good cheap school books."

The use of text-books prevalent in the very year of formation of the School Book Society has been described by Marshman :

Instruction of a higher order was to be given from dictation. The monitor, with the text-book in his hand, was to pronounce a portion of each sentence audibly and deliberately, each boy writing it down in his copy book. When the lesson of the day was completed, it was to be revised by the monitor, and the number of errors inserted at the foot of the page. Each boy was then to read it aloud in succession, sentence by sentence. The advantages of this scheme of instruction were obvious; one printed book served for a dozen children; they made progress in penmanship and orthography, and also acquired a facility of reading and writing their own language. A spirit of animation and emulation was created, and instruction was combined with pleasure. The most important facts and truths, thus written from dictation and read over three or four times could not fail to remain deeply impressed on the memory.

About the progressive deterioration of the quality of text-books, the less said the better. We all know where text-book manufacture under official guidance has led us to. Political history of the country has been distorted, cultural heritage buried and any growth of patriotism carefully prevented.

Other important weapons to break the national educational system were the method of recognition, the distribution of grants-in-aid, limitation of the number of schools within a given area, fixation of teachers' salaries at a ridiculously low level and the creation of the Department of Public Institution for the maintenance of a stranglehold through these channels. Liberal officials recognised the vicious nature of these measures and protested, but in vain. W. G. Young, the first D. P. I., wrote in 1865 about the grants-in-aid system introduced in 1855 :

That this system, viewed as a means of disseminating education among the masses of the people of Bengal, has failed, and that unless the present rule be modified and the conditions on which grants are given be relaxed, it must continue to fail, is, I believe, the unanimous opinion, not only of the Inspectors and myself, but of every one engaged or interested in the work of popular education.

Fight for Education

There were strong protests from the people as well principally voiced though the then daily *Sambad Prabhakar* edited by Isvar Chandra Gupta. When this grant-in-aid system was introduced, the number of schools for which monthly grants were sanctioned were 479, and that during seven years no fewer than 162 of this number, or nearly 34 per cent of the whole,

were abolished. In a poor country like this, grants-in-aid is a very important weapon for the control of schools and the Government even today are bent upon retaining it in their own hand. Since the transference of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown, control over education has been made more and more rigid. During the Swadeshi days in 1905-6, serious attempts were made to nationalise the educational system. Men like Raja Subodh Mallik, Rash Behari Ghose, Taraknath Palit, Brajendranath Seal, Rabindranath Tagore, Gurudas Banerjee and several other intellectual giants combined to evolve a national system of education. Their attempts failed for want of State support, but the Calcutta University was enriched as a result of this movement. Under the leadership of Asutosh Mookerjee, the Calcutta University did exactly the two things which the Imperialist Government never desired—it placed the Indian languages on the same footing with English which inevitably led within a short time after his death to the adoption of Bengali language as the medium of instruction upto the Matriculation standard, and it had widened the field of education which led to the establishment of a number of schools. It is not at all difficult to understand why the Calcutta University has continued to be the eyesore of the diehard foreigner who never wanted spread of education in this country and who had imported the cancer of communalism for keeping people apart for the sole purpose of maintaining his stranglehold.

Bengal had led the rest of India for a full half a century and more in the matter of education due to the strenuous efforts of patriots, almost all of whom came from the rank of caste Hindus, against the ominous, though veiled, efforts of officialdom to relegate Bengal almost to total illiteracy. The reason for official opposition to advancement of education is not far to seek. Education leads to nationalism, education provides weapons with which to fight exploitation, and lastly education prevents people from being blindly subservient.

The Bengal Secondary Education Bill

The proposal to control secondary education in Bengal cropped up as early as 1936 when Sir Md. Azizul Huq was the Education Minister. It was proposed to constitute a Secondary Education Board for the purpose of controlling education by limiting the number of high schools from 1200 to 400. When the 1940 Bill was introduced into the Bengal Legislature, Mr.

Fazlul Huq who also held the Education portfolio, repeated the same objective. A Board imposed along communal lines and with official dominance was proposed. Public agitation was so strong against the Bill, that the Huq Government did not proceed with it. In 1942, the Progressive Coalition Ministry under Mr. Huq drew up a second Bill in consultation with all parties. After his quitting of office and the installation of the present communal Ministry propped up with European support, the present Bill has been introduced which has all the sinister aspects of communalism embodied in it. It has provided separate electorates for Hindus, Muslims, Women and Scheduled Castes, it has ensured official dominance on the Board and it has made arrangements for the constitution of four separate Hindu, Muslim, Girls' and Scheduled Caste Committees with powers to set up separate schools under them, so that the entire educational fabric may be torn up into four separate pieces. In the objects and reasons for the present Bill it has been stated that the progress of education has been extremely rapid. The following extract from the Draft Report of the Central Advisory Board of Education will show how rapid it has been :

Although the last few years have witnessed a fairly wide public awakening in regard to adult literacy, the position on the whole cannot be described as anything but extremely unsatisfactory. Even if the rather generous provisional census estimates for 1941 are accepted and literacy is taken to mean no more than ability to read and write, the percentage of literacy above the age of 5 is found to be only 14.6%. The total population of British India within the age range 10-40 in June, 1940, according to the Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India for that year, was estimated to be 14,86,45,389. Out of these 14.6%, i.e., 2,17,02,227 are considered to be literate. The number of adults to be made literate is therefore 12,69,43,162. The last decade saw the biggest jump in literacy figures, from 8.3% to 14.6%. If this rate of progress is maintained and no other help is given, it will take nearly 140 years to reach the 100% figure.

Even this amount of progress in literacy has alarmed the officialdom here, and in the midst of a war on the very soil of the country they have impatiently set themselves to the task of forging a weapon for the denial of education with the help of their henchmen. Whatever powers the present reforms gave, they were utilised to spread education, and even this slow rate of progress has become alarming.

The Central Advisory Board of Education in India composed of eminent educationists drawn from all over the country, has released their Draft Report for the post-war Educational Development in India. In the opinion of this Committee, Bengal should have 7,26,576

boys and 6,91,789 girls, i.e., 14,18,365 pupils to be accommodated in high schools. This shows that with about 500 pupils for a school, Bengal needs about 3000 high schools. This Committee estimates that total expenditure on salaries will be Rs. 10,78,90,283 per annum for teachers alone. Other expenditures will be Rs. 4,62,38,693 per year. The backward nature of higher education in India has been pointed out by the committee in these words :

If the total number of University students is calculated in relation to the total population, it will be found that India is perhaps the most backward of all the principal nations of the world in University Education. In pre-war Germany, the proportion of students in the Universities to the entire population was 1 to 690, in Great Britain 1 to 837, in the United States, 1 to 228, in Russia 1 to 300, while in India, it is 1 to 2,430. There are 12 Universities in England for a population of 41 millions. In Canada, there are 13 Universities for a population of 8½ millions, in Australia 6 for a population of 5½ millions. In the U.S.A. there are 1,720 institutions for education of a University type for a population of 130 millions, while in India there are 18 Universities for a population of 400 millions. All this goes to prove that when India has a proper educational system, she will need more University education and not less than she has at present, but the growth of Universities should be in proportion to the expansion in the lower stages and conditional on the introduction of a sound selective process in higher education.

One thing deserves special attention in this connection. It is curious that a provincial Government is allowed to introduce retrograde measures at the very moment when the Central Government is said to be planning for the expansion of education all over India on a co-ordinated and planned basis. The Government of Bengal is represented on this Committee through its Education Minister. It is therefore exceedingly queer that the Central Government placidly looks on while the Bengal Ministry proceeds with the Bill.

The present Bill is nothing but an attempt on the part of the henchman of the foreigner to please his master and incidentally to provide himself and the member of his caucus with gain at the cost of the freedom-loving section of his fellow-men in the province. But even at that the question remains : what of the children of both the parties, the party that is eager to show loyalty to the interests of the foreign master and the party which owes allegiance primarily to the cause of its own people ? Is there any doubt that a general lowering of educational standards would hit all alike in the future ? Does present gains to the "Party" outweigh all considerations of the future ?

It is impossible to put forward any justification for the present Bill from the point of view of advancement of education. No educa-

tionist worth the name has uttered a single word in its praise, indeed what has been said to the contrary is only too enormous in volume and argument to be refuted.

Introduction of Vicious Elements in the Bill

The cumulative effect of several elements introduced into the Bill is found to be vicious. The provision of four separate Committees under the Board for the control of Hindu, Muslim, Girl and Scheduled caste education is bound to disrupt the whole educational structure into four heterogeneous sections. The Bill does not state whether the present Matriculation examination will be retained or the school final system adopted. In respect of this matter of principle, the powers of the Legislature have been abrogated in favour of the Board. A Board composed of communally-minded men will augment communalism in school committees and is sure to lead to the appointment of teachers on communal considerations rather than on efficiency and merit. This may provide an ample scope for strengthening the communal parties. The same may happen in the approval of text-books as is already happening in respect of primary school boards. M.L.A.'s and other party members may become authors of text-books and the Board may open a very lucrative market for them. The present medium of education may have to suffer a change. Either it may result in a re-introduction of English as the medium, or it may be a peculiar hybrid language of a mixture of Bengali and Persian, as is found today in the communal Muslim dailies published in so-called Bengali. Grants-in-aid for schools may be distributed on the recommendation of Muslim stalwarts of the communalist parties. The educational grant will thus follow the way of all public utility grants in Bengal, that is to say money allotted for the welfare and advancement of the people of the province will mostly find its way to the pockets of the intriguers, the party-jackals and their unworthy myrmidons, and thus the cause of secondary and higher education will be dead as mutton in the province within a quarter of a century. We do not know whether the henchmen of foreign interests realise in full the implications of such a calamity and therefore we do not know whether it is any use further remonstrating with them. The real guardians of foreign interests would undoubtedly crave for what would serve them better than to have in Bengal a province full of uneducated helots entirely under the control of subservient time-servers.

The Dacca Riots

Riots have once again broken out in Dacca after the lapse of about ten years. The instigators and the perpetrators of the riots deserve unequivocal condemnation. But we are unable to support the principal method adopted by the Government for its suppression, viz., the imposition of collective fines. Heavy collective fines had been imposed on the last occasion as well, and the present instances prove that it had no lasting effect. We refuse to believe that it has become impossible for the Government to maintain order in a comparatively small city like Dacca by the strengthening and expansion of mobile armed patrols and the stationing of armed pickets at a visible distance from one another. Drastic action against the rioters either on the spot or in the law-courts may receive general support, but the victimisation of many innocents for the crime of a few will be strongly resented.

A New Fishery Adviser

Dr. Baini Prashad, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, has been appointed Fishery Adviser to the Government of India. We do not know who is going to be selected as the Director of Z. S. I. An organisation which had Dr. Annandale, Dr. Stanley Kemp and Dr. R. B. Seymour Sewell as Directors, certainly deserves a scholar of repute in his own subject to hold this important post. Dr. Baini Prashad was appointed Director in 1933 in succession to Dr. Seymour Sewell. Since then up till now he has published no papers in his own subject but confined all his energies to the translation of Persian works with the help of Moula-vis. His proper place should have been the Islamia College, and not the Z. S. I.

The work of the Z. S. I. has badly suffered a drop during the past decade except for the work of a few brilliant research workers; and because the outgoing Director had made no contributions worth the name during his tenure of office, it is all the more necessary that a worthy successor to the traditions of Annandale, Kemp and Seymour Sewell should be chosen so that the Department may recover its lost prestige. We think it proper to utter this note of warning as we hear that there is some chance of a gentleman with very meagre qualifications being appointed Director.

Sale of the Kanheri Caves

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

The Free Press Journal published last week the impending sale of the site of the famous Kanheri Caves

near Bombay, to an Arab pearl merchant by the present owners, the firm of Sassoons. These caves, Buddhist in origin, are a remarkable feat of engineering skill. Particularly the supply of fresh water to every one of the one hundred and twenty cells in the group has astonished modern engineers. The caves contain valuable inscriptions dating from the fourth century and even earlier. They have also been regarded as Hindu shrines. When the Portuguese acquired Bombay and Salsette, they converted the principal cave into a cathedral. There is a tradition that the caves are joined by an underground tunnel to some distant city in the North. A Roman Catholic monk who undertook to explore the tunnel found after going seven miles that the darkness and stuffiness prevented further progress. The site of the caves has passed through several hands since the last century. The caves themselves are protected monuments but the surroundings are liable to be built upon or otherwise used so as to mar the historical importance of the caves. The only way of preventing this is for Government to acquire the site. Some years ago when there was a proposal to remove the Bombay University outside the city, the site of the caves was considered as most suitable for the location of a University. The Buddha Society of Bombay has passed a resolution urging Government and the public to prevent the contemplated sale.

Any civilised Government would have moved of its own accord to protect such ancient monuments of civilisation. The caves occupy 300 acres out of a total 4700 acreage of the village.

Physician, Heal Thyself

The Statesman comments editorially :

False rumours as to China's policy, circulating in India, coincide with a plenary session of the Kuomintang. Possibly they have been caused by accidental or malicious misreporting of deliberations there. According to a Reuter message from Chungking, where the Kuomintang met, a five-point programme was agreed upon, the two principal items being the winning of the war against Japan and the stabilization of prices. The former was expressed in vehement terms. The pressing need for the latter is well-known in India, which is affected in various ways by fantastic price movements in China. The report speaks of the probability of a more liberal Press censorship. There were slight signs of this before the session met. The Chinese Government may decide that its difficulties, particularly the internal ones, are less when openly discussed than when made the subject of rumours and half-truths.

An Unworthy Attack on China

The attack of a British daily on the Chinese people is an unworthy one. For about eight years China has borne the main brunt of the fight against Japan. For more than five years she bore it alone. Even today she is rendering a good account of herself both in the home as also in the Burma front. This Tory paper has earned a notoriety since it brought about the collapse of a British Labour Ministry by the publication of the Zinovieff Letters. It therefore seems to matter what this newspaper says about China.

During the first five years of her war, China received no support either from Britain or from the U. S. A. Instead, the English-speaking Powers were sending immense warlike supplies to Japan even a few months before she was involved in war with her. Britain went to the length of the closing of the Burma Road for the sole purpose of placating Japan. When Japan jumped upon her, the Chinese Army did not lag behind in checking Jap advance against unprecedented odds. The success of General Stilwell in Burma owes in no small measure to Chinese valour and sacrifice. China has immensely relieved the Anglo-American powers by pinning the flower of the Japanese Army in her territory to the great disadvantage of the intruder. She has, and is still fighting with one of the strongest and toughest powers of the world, with antiquated arms, bad in quality and quantity and with a half starved army. Although Anglo-Saxon Tories may sniff at it, this noble heroism of an Asiatic people will be recorded in red letters in the history of mankind.

The odds with which China is faced are many. For two or three years past, a terrible famine is passing over the Honan province of which very little is heard in Europe or America. The aid she gets in war materials are meagre. Her fate in this respect is the same before and after the closure of the Burma Road. Cost of living has increased to unimaginable proportions. Wholesale price indices on April 10 last showed that foodstuffs were 388 times, building materials 421 times and fuel 796 times higher than in 1937. One wonders how anything but praise and admiration comes out of human hearts for a people who are fighting for their freedom in the midst of such terrible conditions.

China is an ally of Britain. It is difficult to conceive how false ideas about an ally, which run directly counter to collective war effort are allowed to circulate in British papers. In this country, any such comment would have brought down the severest visitations on the offending paper from the authorities. Such criticism might lead foreign countries to diminish their still rather small assistance to China. There are internal party rivalries in many of the allied countries including Britain and the U.S.A., and it is not only useless but mischievous to magnify such internal party differences in the case of China. Compared man to man and material to material, China has given a far better account of herself than any other Power except Russia. We believe it is a crime against humanity to add to this already too heavy odds.

under which China is fighting the Rising Sun in the East.

M.M. Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan

Mahamahopadhyay Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhusan, the renowned Sanskrit scholar, passed away at Benares on May 22. He was 79 at the time of his death. Pandit Pramathanath was born at Bhattacharjee, 24-Parganas, in Bengal. His father was also a well-known scholar. He received his education at Benares. After finishing his studies he came over to Calcutta and was appointed professor of Smriti at the Sanskrit College. But he resigned this post and returned to Benares. He was appointed Head of the Department of Oriental Research of the Benares Hindu University. He was very much loved and respected by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. He was awarded D.Litt. of that University in 1942. On several occasions, Pandit Pramathanath was elected president of various sections of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan. In him India has lost one of the greatest Sanskrit scholars of the modern age. We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

Maharaja Sashikanta Acharjya

The death occurred of Maharaja Sashi Kanta Acharjya Chaudhury, a premier Zamindar of Bengal, in Calcutta on May 27. He was 59. Although a prominent member of the landed aristocracy in Bengal, the Maharaja imbibed democratic ideas of the age and always tried to maintain cordial relationship between him and his tenants and mixed with them like a commoner. He lent his support for the Hindu consolidation movement. He was the adopted son of the late Maharaja Surjya Kanta Acharjya Chaudhury of Mymensingh, who had played a prominent part in anti-partition movement of Bengal. Maharaja Sashikanta was a member of the old Legislative Council as well as the present Legislative Assembly in Bengal. He was associated with many public bodies. He interested himself in the industrial advancement of the country and was director of several limited companies. He married a daughter of the late Byomkesh Chakrabarty. We offer our sincere condolences to the bereaved family.

Poll Tax in South Africa Contested

The light of freedom has penetrated into the darkest corners of the earth as evinced by the following extract :

NATAL, S.A.

The formation of an organization to fight the poll

tax levied on natives and to investigate and report on more equitable forms of taxation is reported by the Natal *Daily News*. The organization asserts that the native poll tax should be replaced since it has "created a lot of prisoners out of decent men." The group is composed of educated natives who can express themselves in English. The inaugural conference was addressed by two senators, and the hope was expressed that greater native representation would be secured in Parliament.—*Worldover Press*.

The world has now had enough of the cant and hypocrisy about the "white man's burden." That man as he is born, should obtain equality and freedom as his birthright; regardless of creed or complexion, is now an axiomatic truth. We felicitate the "educated natives," who in reality have more right to the soil of South Africa than any other person, on their realisation of their fundamental rights and on their attempt at asserting the same.

Making Paper From Castor Plants

The castor-oil plant is a native of this country and was of immense use to the cultivator and the villager. Its seed provided illuminating and medicinal oil—later used as a valuable lubricant—its leaves provided food to wild silk-worms and its stem was used for fuel and for rough thatching. Cheap kerosine oil drove the plant out of the field to the immense loss of the peasant and to the far greater gain of the foreign oil magnate. It seems that science has still some use for the plant as the following extract would show :

A means of relieving, within a year, America's estimated shortage of 3,000,000 cords of wood needed for paper making was proposed by J. E. Goodrich, Vice-President of Woburn Chemical Company, at a recent convention of the National Farm Chemurgic Council.

It could be done, he said, by planting 300,000 acres of marginal ground to castor plants. The beans, he said, can be pressed to obtain a large quantity of very important oil, the leaves could be treated to obtain a necessary agricultural insecticide and the stalks would provide a high yield of alpha cellulose from which paper is made. More than four and a half tons of alpha cellulose would be obtained from an acre of plants.—*USOWI*.

Castor-oil plant cultivation, if revived in the United Provinces might be of great use to the paper manufacture there. In these days of paper shortage this new channel for the production of a valuable raw material should be well-investigated.

India's Army Viewed Through American Eyes

The Indian army mostly figures in the war news as "British" or "Imperial forces." Unlike Australian, New Zealand or Canadian

troops, Indian troops seldom get the publicity or full credit in the news or broadcasts that their valorous exploits deserve. As such the following news extract is of special interest :

NEW YORK (By Cable).

War Correspondent Ernest O. Hauser writes about one of the world's great fighting forces in this week's issue of the *Saturday Evening Post*, America's leading fiction-article weekly. Under the title "What About India's Army?", he tells the *Post's* millions of readers :

" You heard about them in the news—when the famous Fourth Indian Division fought one of the war's most gallant actions at the Mareth Line, again when Von Arnim and the remnants of the Africa Korps surrendered to the Second Gurkha Rifles. The Indians made news again last month when hand-picked Indian combat troops landed in American-piloted gliders far behind the Japanese lines in Burma. You keep reading about their exploits on the European and Asiatic fronts and even so often you are stirred by outstanding feats of heroism performed by Indian troops fighting far from their home. The Indian army is one of five large armies fighting on our side. It is 2,000,000 strong and still growing. It is unique in that it consists entirely of volunteers. The uniqueness goes far beyond the aspect of voluntary service. This army is easily the world's most polyglot and motley group of men. The differences between the various elements are vast. Yet it marches and fights as one body forged into iron unity by leadership and tradition.

" Until yesterday the Indian army was a mountain army. The advantages of the army's pre-occupation with mountain frontiers have been demonstrated in the rough terrain of Italy, where Indian units are used with great success.

" Though enormous contrasts separate man from man, the soldiers of this army are the citizens of the same country, bound together by common bonds of history and a great intermingling of blood streams in the distant past. The picture of the Indian sepoy then as it emerges from the vast colourful mosaic of his background is something like this : he is a fellow from the village with a piece of landed property to which he will go back once he is discharged. Consequently in the tough training at camp or in the heat of battle, his few acres of cotton, rice or wheat land remain foremost in the sepoy's mind.

" The Indian sepoys have learned to use machine guns, mortars, armoured cars and heavy artillery. They know how to fight on the ground and in the air, on the high seas as well. India's infant navy, which thus far consists mainly of sloops, sub-chasers and minesweepers, has seen action in the Mediterranean and is likely to get other assignments in the future.

" In the crucible of this long war the Indian nation may be born. In this army which is larger than any army ever raised on this sub-continent, Indian nationhood is being put to a decisive test."—*USOWI*.

Mr. Roosevelt's "Messenger" to Asia U. S. Vice-President to Visit China

In view of the recent reports on China published in the British press the following news item about Vice-President Wallace's forthcoming trip to Asia is of special interest. China has had visitors of eminence during the war, but none of the status of the Vice-President of the

U. S. A. The critical role that she is now playing is well illustrated by the following extract :

LONDON (By Cable).

Mr. Roosevelt has decided to send Mr. Henry Wallace, U. S. Vice-President, to Asia as his " messenger." His tour will take in both China and Siberia to whose fighting people he will carry a message of greeting and congratulation on their mighty achievements, writes *The Times*.

China will, apparently, be his predominant concern, the paper adds. He goes with a mandate to study the situation on the spot and make a " first-hand report " to the President and the people of the United States. The Chinese have been fighting aggression longer than any other member of the United Nations. Ill-equipped and lacking industrial resources essential to waging a total war, the stubborn Chinese people have endured terrible losses without flinching. Apart from all else, then, the visit of the Vice-President of the United States will bring them an impressive reassurance that their present sore trial is sympathetically understood and that their future is not forgotten.

The Japanese have failed either to beat or to bribe the Chinese out of the war. Their recent operation, designed to give them complete control of the Peking-Hankow Railway, may well have been the latest of their abortive attempts to force China to her knees; and General Chiang Kai-shek, who from the first took a true measure of the enemy, may be trusted to deal as faithfully with this latest manoeuvre as he has done with its predecessors. But the achievement of peace will require, as victory itself requires, the co-operation of the great democracies. Mr. Roosevelt's messenger bears with him the pledge of powerful aid in meeting difficult problems of reconstruction which are already looming on the horizon.

Exhibition of Chinese Art

That the cultural mission of China to the civilized world is best expressed through her art is an well-established fact and as such the organisers of the Exhibition of Chinese art in Scotland are to be congratulated for their wartime cultural venture the details of which are given in the following news item :

LONDON (By Cable).

In the presence of a large and distinguished gathering including the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and Sir Frederick Ogilvie, Dr. Wellington Koo, the Chinese Ambassador in London, opened an exhibition of Chinese Art in Scotland, says the " Scotsman." Madame Wellington Koo was also present.

Among the outstanding exhibits are three large vases from Anthony Rothschild's collection which are valued at £9,000.

The Duke of Hamilton, who presided, spoke of the function of art in bringing peoples together in understanding and goodwill and said that air power properly used could also do much in the same cause. Dr. Koo said that the exhibition with nearly one thousand items on show was the most important held in Britain since the one held in Burlington House in 1935 and would serve to bring the people of Scotland closer to the Chinese people by enabling them to get a glimpse of the character and traits of their Far Eastern Allies. Sir Frederick Ogilvie paid a tribute to the courage and spirit of the Chinese who are now in their eighth year of war with Japan.

*Let not the Voice of Karl Marx Speak—
Smuts*

Speaking at Birmingham on May 19, General Smuts made certain declarations about the war in the East and the West, warned people not to make the serious mistake of concentrating all attention and victory hopes on the coming western front, and in the usual style with European politicians expressed his concern about the European civilisation. He said :

Is Europe sinking under self-inflicted wounds ? That is the crux of the present situation. Her decadence would mean immeasurable loss to all that is most precious of our human heritage. Salvaging Europe is the first problem of our post-war reconstruction and she must not be carved up, atomised and reduced to chaos or fragments. She should receive a new structure as United States or the European Commonwealth enabling her again to be the custodian of the rights and freedoms to which she herself gave birth.

The greatest achievement of Europe has been in the science of destruction. In this respect, she has surpassed in each instance her own efforts in previous wars. Ancient cities, ancient monuments, ancient buildings, fine paintings, sculptures and whatever other treasures civilisation had so long cherished as a sacred legacy of the past, are all being sacrificed before the altar of Mars. If this power of destruction is the real measure of civilisation in Europe, we do not know what heritage it will hand over to the future generations. The claim of Europe to guide the destiny of the world through a "reformed League of Nations" will be nothing beyond a prolongation of present-day world tragedy. It is a crime in human history for a country with later or lesser civilisation to control a country or continent bearing a civilisation millenniums older and finer than their own.

General Smuts had a lot to speak and think about Europe, but not a word for India and China. What Smuts said on May 19, Mr. Cordell Hull had already declared in a radio broadcast from Washington on April 9, to the American people in which he said : "For us, for the world, and for the countries concerned, a stable Europe should be the immediate objective of Allied policy." Before Smuts Cordell Hull, and only five days after Smuts, Premier Winston Churchill told the very same thing to the British Parliament.

One nasty thought seems to trouble the well-wishers of the European civilisation—the Russian Sphinx. U. S. S. R. is their ally but freedom in the real international sense. India Karl Marx is their anathema. Smuts has sought has concentrated all her energies upon achieving to solve the thorny problem when he said : this freedom from within.

"Let the voice of Tolstoy speak rather than that of Karl Marx who was no Russian and never was of Russia." Karl Marx was no Russian so long as he lived but today Marx is Russia and Russia is Marx. The new civilisation that modern Russia has built up on the bedrock of Marxism has stood the severest test in human history.

What About India ?

The USOWI quotes Mr. John Chamberlain, the well-known New York book reviewer, who, in reviewing Mrs. John Gunther's book *Revolution in India*, writes :

"A generation ago a visiting British lecturer in Chicago or Muncie had inevitably to reckon with the intransigent Sinn Feiner who would rise in the back of the hall and shout, 'But what about Ireland ?' Today, the visiting Britisher is faced with a quieter but no less insistent opponent. The Britisher may be talking about Dunkerque or the R. A. F. or the American troops in Yorkshire. But invariably the question comes from the back of the hall, 'But what about India ?'

"It is a valid question no matter what answer you may ultimately favour. Frances Gunther, wife of John Gunther, puts the question well in a small book called 'Revolution in India.' If her answer seems a trifle unreal in a world still organised on balance of power principles, it at least is complete enough to face up to the implications of our beliefs.

"Revolution in India is a cold douche thrown full in the face of those who would try by some mystic process to equate force and freedom. Part of it consists of facts, part is philosophy and ethics. But practically none is geopolitics, which is a shortcoming as long as the world contains prowling nations that are eager and ready to fill any power vacuum that is created by the sudden abdication of the *status quo*.

"England, says Mrs. Gunther, has an obsession about India. The obsession is to rule. To this the Indians counterpose an obsession to be free. The two conflicting impulses keep the battled nations from mutually exploring the possibilities of a 'middle way' compromise such as economic freedom and local political autonomy under Dominion Status. In 1940, Nehru offered the British complete military co-operation on the condition of India's freedom. Mrs. Gunther says : 'England turned it down; it meant the end of English rule.' Conversely, when the Cripps plan of 1942 offered India certain concessions, the Indians turned them down; the concessions fell short of complete freedom. But the stalemate must some day be broken for history doesn't stand still.

Since the Councils Act of 1892, India has had ample opportunity to realise to her cost what Britain means by freedom when that word applies to India. The Indian National Congress has taken upon itself the task of winning freedom for India—not the British brand, but the real international sense. India Karl Marx is their anathema. Smuts has sought has concentrated all her energies upon achieving to solve the thorny problem when he said : this freedom from within.

What does England get out of India?

Mr. John Chamberlain continues :

What does England get out of India ? Mrs. Gunther mentions certain capital investments, trading, shipping and banking interests, and benefits that accrue to England through control of Indian tariff and currency. But the British people, she argues, have lost a good deal of their own freedom through English control of India. To hold India the British must hold Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Suez and the oil and pipe lines of the Near East. The job of protecting and policing the life-line of empire has necessarily involved England in many wars both small and big. The British people have had to pay the bill whether in blood or money. Even though relinquishment of India might mean a short term economic loss to the English, it would mean a happier England in the long run, says Mrs. Gunther.

It is needless to elaborate what England gets out of India in employments, dividends, interests on capital, Managing Agency Commissions, Home Charges and the like. During five years of this war she has got nearly ten billion rupees out of India for her own benefit on the basis of an extremely elastic system of credit.

Vagaries of Indian Censors

The *Evening Star* of Washington, discussing Gandhiji's release, says :

So strict has been British censorship on Indian affairs that we know relatively little of what's going on in that vast peninsula with its intricate jumble of races, castes and creeds.

Therefore it is hard to evaluate their background of Government's decision or the political effects.

Indian censorship came up for discussion during question time in the British Parliament. The following is a report of what transpired there :

The question of responsibility for censorship of private letters in India was raised in the Commons today by Mr. William Astor (Conservative) who asked whether Mr. Amery was satisfied that letters were not censored on any other grounds than military security.

Mr. Amery replied, "The responsibility for postal and telegraphic censorship of correspondence entering or leaving India has been entrusted by the Government of India to the Commander-in-Chief of India.

It is exercised on grounds of military security in the broad sense of the term, that is to say in the general interest of National Defence of public safety. Indian Censorship regulations are based on those of the United Kingdom and follow the guiding principles of the latter. Some variations in the application of the general rules by individual censorship are inevitable, but censors are instructed to apply the rules with commonsense liberality."

Mr. Astor asked, "Is he aware there have been cases where purely political or administrative matters have been censored which have nothing to do with military security. Will he send a reminder to the censors of Government's pledge that only military security, in the strict sense, is to be subject of censorship?"

Mr. Amery replied "I think a broad reminder in that sense has been sent to censors by the Commander-

in-Chief but censors like all others are sometimes fallible."

Mr. Sorensen said, "Can we take it that anyone writing from India to this country has a right and complete opportunity to express his views about the House of Commons and about the Secretary of State for India."

No answer was given.

Mr. Amery's reply definitely indicates that purely political and administrative matters have been censored and it seems he is unwilling to put an end to this sort of censorship and to confine it strictly to military matters.

Censorship of famine news had evoked strong protest both in India and abroad. It was strongly argued that a ban on famine news for transmission outside India did incalculable harm by delaying aid from abroad. The kind of censorship imposed on famine news has recently been revealed in an interpellation in the House of Commons where it was complained that the very word 'hunger' from a news about hunger was scissored out. The interpellation is given below :

Mr. Amery was replying to an inquiry by Mr. William Dobbie (Lab.) who asked if he had considered a complaint made by the Editor of *Reynolds News* against political censorship applied to their special correspondent D. V. Tamhankar, and if he was taking further action to prevent political censorship in India.

Mr. Amery added that he understood Mr. Dobbie was referring to an article in *Reynolds News* on May 23.

Mr. Sorensen (Lab.) : Is Mr. Amery's reference to a message sent from India to this country referring to hunger, from which the censor eliminated the word "hunger" ?

Mr. Amery : It referred to that message from Mr. Tamhankar.

Mr. Tom Brown (Lab.) : Is Mr. Amery aware that this political censorship now being applied by his department is causing grave disquiet among the Indian people ?

Mr. Amery : My department applies no censorship and I have already stated in a previous answer the principles on which the Government of India censorship is applied.

Miss Irene Ward (C.) : Is Mr. Amery also inquiring into the censorship of letters ?

Mr. Amery : My communication with the Government of India covered that subject also.

Mr. T. E. Driberg (Ind.) : Is it not the case that this censorship did prevent the British public from knowing the full extent of the famine in India ?

Mr. Amery : I must await an answer to my communication.

An Australian Sermonises India

Sir Keith Murdoch, an Australian newspaper proprietor, writes in the *Daily Mail*, London :

"India has been promised Dominion Status with the right to clear us out, and it is taken for granted that she will cast us off and rush into some sort of disordered nationalism."

"It is not for Australians to object to Indians having their complete freedom, if it will be good for them and for the rest of the world. We have been rather out of the discussion although our forefathers strove, lived and died for Britain's causes, both before and after founding Australia and took as great a part as any other British folk in the evolution of British freedom. But we may be allowed to point to facts of the Indian position.

"I believe it means not only reduction of economic strength everywhere and renunciation of opportunity, but also creation of a doubtful block of martial power between Australia, Asia and Europe, and on the flank, of South Africa.

"Full liberty for a nation is a pretty thing. But mankind has made so little progress towards complete goodness yet in the very few thousand years since it merged into the knowledge of good, that we may be excused for looking right round this interesting fact."

After reviewing the position of other parts of the Empire, Sir Keith Murdoch adds, "This is not the occasion for a dirge. The greatest thing of all has happened."

The Australian newspaper proprietor talks of "complete goodness" but thinks of another war. He is unwilling to see India as a strong military power between Australia, Asia and Europe. He believes that great good will emerge out of this war, which he terms, as the "greatest thing of all that has happened." He seems to be oblivious to the fact that no good has ever come out of a war however 'righteous' its objects were declared to have been. The last Great War has not done any good to the European nations, not excluding even the victors. Materially, morally and socially they have all lost heavily as a result of the past struggle. Their moral standards have all been upset. The strife after the life of the moment, and the disregard for truth and honesty in international dealings have brought down this second disaster within a period as short as a quarter of a century.

Accommodation Difficulties in Calcutta

The difficulty of accommodation particularly for middle-class people in Calcutta has become indescribably hard. The population of the city has greatly increased but rented accommodation remains practically the same. Control over building materials have prevented the construction of new houses. Rent control measures have no doubt provided some relief to the tenants in respect of payment of rent, water supply, etc., but the authorities have completely failed to keep pace with the intensely growing demand for the provision of new accommodation. No financial assistance from the Government is sought. The only demand at the present moment is for the release of some building materials for the construction of new houses in the suburban area of the city. There are plenty of

vacant land nearabout Calcutta within the existing range of communications. This will bring relief not only to the civil but to the military people also.

Firoz Khan Noon in the Empire Conference

A Special London Correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports :

LONDON, May 11.

Tentative decisions on matters like the regional division of colonial countries, inter-imperial economic relations, post-war reconstruction, treatment of Germany after the war, foreign relations of the Empire as a whole *vis-a-vis* U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., peace with the Axis Powers and the formation of a new League of Nations are stated to have been reached by the Dominion Premiers' Conference which commenced session on May 1.

Although they are working hard—frequently they meet twice a day—they have not been able to finish half the items on the agenda. One Dominion spokesman said : "We are a little behind schedule."

It is understood that the Conference is working in a most helpful and harmonious spirit and decisions are being taken almost unanimously, the Indian members—Sir Firoz Khan Noon and the Maharaja of Kashmir—fitting in the scheme admirably.

It is generally agreed that Mr. Curtin, the Australian Premier, and Sir Firoz Khan Noon are two new "finds" of this Empire family. *Sir Firoz Khan has made a very favourable impression is described as one who "convinces any one, who has the opportunity of listening to him that Mr. Gandhi is not the only spokesman of India."*

Sir Firoz Khan Noon is faithfully doing what he was expected to do and is discharging the duties for which he was despatched to England as "India's representative." But one thing needs attention. Mr. Churchill's spirit is having full play in this gathering of Dominion Prime Ministers. The nomenclature "Dominion" was for some time past being replaced by an unreal and deceptive term "Commonwealth." This new nomenclature in its turn is being slowly dropped and the realist term "Empire" is being increasingly used by the Press while reporting the proceedings of the Conference.

Dr. Katju's reply to Sir John Beaumont

Speaking in London at a meeting of the East and West Association, Sir John Beaumont, the former Chief Justice of Bombay, made a disparaging remark that the Federal Court of India was an expensive luxury and that the establishment of this Court was not needed till federation was introduced. Dr. K. N. Katju, writing in the *Allahabad Law Journal*, gave a suitable reply to Sir John. Dr. Katju wrote :

Sir John Beaumont, late Chief Justice of Bombay, was exceedingly unhappy over the judgments, which

became classical as soon as they were delivered, of the Federal Court regarding the validity of Rule 26, D.I.R. It is difficult to imagine a High Court employing more unbecoming, inappropriate and undignified language regarding a judicial pronouncement of the Federal Court by which every High Court is bound than the language used by Mr. J. Beaumont, in the course of a reference made by that court to the Federal Court for directions as to the proper order to be made on the application of Keshav Talpade. The Federal Court ignored all such unworthy comments and insinuations by silent disdain.

Referring to Sir J. Beaumont's remark that the Federal Court is an expensive luxury, Dr. Katju says : "We are truly astonished at this observation. The judgment of the Federal Court, dated April 22, 1942, declaring certain Sections of the Special Courts Ordinance *ultra vires* was acclaimed by the legal profession as a luminous exposition of the Constitution Act and created a good deal of feeling in the bureaucratic circles where a brake, however slight, was applied on the exercise of unchecked arbitrary power. *The Federal Court has won a place for itself in the constitution of India by its independent and correct approach to all questions in which the liberty of the subject is involved. It enjoys the confidence and respect of the Indian people.*"

Sir John's opinion will be discounted in this country because he himself had happened to get involved in a controversy with the Federal Court while he was Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court, in which he did not come out with any amount of dignity. It may be remembered that when the appeal of Keshab Talapade came before the Federal Court, the latter referred it back to the Bombay High Court for orders with the remark that Rule 26 of the D. I. R., as then framed was *ultra vires*. The Bombay High Court returned the reference to the Federal Court with the remark that it was for the Federal Court to pass the necessary orders in the case. The Federal Court again returned the reference to the Bombay High Court but meanwhile Talpade was released. The Lahore Tribune has pointed out that "In view of what happened in this case, Sir John Beaumont's opinion cannot be said to be free from prejudice and for the sake of his own reputation he would have done better if he had refrained from making these remarks about the Federal Court."

Congress Attitude on the Separation of Executive and Judiciary

Sir John Beaumont had made another curious remark in that the Congress went behind their declarations of separating Judiciary from the Executive, that nothing was done when the Congress came into power and that the Congress Working Committee prevented the provincial ministries to fulfil their pledges in this direction. This is a gross travesty of truth. Dr. Katju, in the same article, writes :

In the first place Government of India Act, 1935, does not contemplate separation so far as the Magistracy is concerned. Under Section 256 no order could be made about the subordinate criminal magistracy in any district save after consultation with the District Magistrate of that district. In the second place from the political angle it felt that so long as High Court Judges are not subject to the control of the Indian Legislature, Central or Provincial, there is no reason whatsoever why they should be invested with powers larger than those conferred on them by the Act but, within the limits of the Act, there was a desire, everywhere to free the magistrates from direct or indirect pressure of District Magistrates or Superintendents of Police. In U. P. a scheme had been worked out under which all criminal work was to be performed exclusively by magistrates known as Judicial magistrates. They were not to be under the control of the District Magistrates. This scheme could not be put into force as the Ministry resigned on a much larger issue.

Nationalist Muslims Demand National Government

The Nationalist Muslims who had met in a Conference at New Delhi have released two resolutions : one asking for the formation of a National Government and the other setting out fundamental considerations on which communal problem could, in their view, be solved. The first resolution is

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims views with great concern the hardships to which India has been subjected in the present phase of the war and the sufferings borne by the Indian people under the existing system of government, evidence of which is to be found in the intolerable rise in prices, burden of taxation, scarcity of certain essential commodities and the total absence of others.

"In the opinion of this meeting, experience has shown that the present Government is not capable of saving the people from this distress, that no satisfactory solution is possible until a real National Government, exercising full authority, is formed at the Centre.

"This meeting further declares that all Indians, irrespective of creed or community, and all patriotic organisations, without exception, are deeply interested in the defence of India. They are inspired by a real patriotic urge and a true spirit of sacrifice which can be directed most effectively, under a National Government, for the protection of the country against foreign invasion and aggression by Fascist Powers.

"This meeting deplores the fact that the British Government, in spite of its knowledge that the Indian people are opposed to Fascism, is still unwilling, on account of its shortsighted policy, to transfer power to them through a National Government.

"This meeting now declares that the formation of a National Government is no longer a political issue but has become a first-rate military question, in view of the exigencies of the present phase of the war. The victory of the democratic forces, the defence of India, and resistance to Japanese aggression, all these considerations demand the immediate establishment of a National Government and the transfer of power to the Indian people.

"This meeting, therefore, urges the British Government to start negotiations with the leaders of India, without any further loss of time, so that a real National

Government, wielding effective authority, should be established in the country."

The arguments for and against National Government have been discussed threadbare over a pretty long time. But one good purpose will be served by this resolution inasmuch as it comes from a powerful section of Muslims in India who favour the establishment of a National Government expressing their willingness to work with the other progressive forces in the country. They have completely dissociated themselves from the unhelpful and unrealistic isolationist attitude of the Muslim League.

Nationalist Muslims Oppose Pakistan

The Nationalist Muslims, in this conference, declared themselves against Pakistan as detrimental to the country and their advice to the Muslims was that they should not want Pakistan but should let India remain a united country for all time to come. The second resolution, which sets out a formula for the solution of communal problem, runs :

"This meeting of Nationalist Muslims considers, in the best interest of the country, that a Hindu-Muslim settlement should be brought about without any delay. It appeals to both Hindus and Muslims that, having regard to the urgent need of such a settlement, they should take necessary steps towards this end, and considers that the release of Gandhiji offers an excellent opportunity.

A solution of the communal problem, satisfactory to all parties concerned, can be secured on the following fundamental considerations and such a solution will satisfy the needs and aspirations of Indian Muslims : (1) India should continue to remain a united country.

(2) The constitution of India should be framed by its own people.

(3) There should be an All-India Federation.

(4) The units of Federation should be completely autonomous and all residuary powers should be vested in them.

(5) Every unit of the Federation should be free to secede from it as a result of a plebiscite of all its adult inhabitants.

(6) The religious, economic and cultural rights of minorities should be fully and effectively safeguarded by reciprocal agreement.

The concession of the right to secede, we fear, would provide foreign intrigue with a breach in the dyke against domination and aggression, if it qualifies the federation from the very outset. The establishment of an indissoluble federation in the beginning with the largest measure of autonomy and with constitutional safeguards against the possibility of usurpation of the rights of the units by the federation is the ideal solution. To give the units the right of secession before they have been finally united into a federation will leave open the floodgates

of disruption which may in the end dismember Indian unity.

New Statesman on Gandhiji's Release

The *New Statesman and Nation* writes editorially under the caption 'India and the Empire' :

"Mr. Gandhi has been released from prison because if he died in jail his ghost would have for ever haunted the British in India. But Mr. Gandhi who has cheated death so often may still have years of life before him, and Lord Wavell will see in the Mahatma's release an opportunity too good to lose."

"He must long ago have discovered that no one else can speak for India. This does not mean that leaders of the Congress believe in the non-violence philosophy of Mr. Gandhi. It does mean that in or out of Congress, in or out of jail, Mr. Gandhi remains a decisive personality who must be consulted. Neither Mr. Rajagopalachari nor Pandit Nehru nor any other Indian would negotiate without his assent. *He has the detachment that enables him to support the democratic decisions with which he is not in personal agreement. As a realist, and as one who minds supremely about Indian independence he is prepared to bless any solution likely to promote the cause of a free India.*"

Stating that the Government would demand a complete assurance that during the war there be no recurrence of Civil Disobedience the paper writes :

"No evidence has been published which connected Mr. Gandhi or other leaders of Congress with acts of violence. We only know that the Government of India declared that they had found a document in one province which connected the Congress with violent plans. Yet Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad and other Congress leaders were outspokenly in favour of supporting the war in 1942 and would repudiate the policy of sabotage."

The *New Statesman and Nation* says that the formula of 1942 as embodied in the Cripps proposals would no doubt need be revived. There seems still a basis of agreement if Mr. Gandhi is once more allowed to meet the leaders of the Congress under conditions of amnesty and if they discuss the whole situation freely both with the Muslim League and with the Viceroy Lord Wavell.

There can be no last word in politics. The Cripps offer did not provide any lasting solution of the Indian problem and it was not accepted by anybody in this country as the final formula. In the determination of future Indo-British relations the Cripps plan may not form the basis of agreement. The Congress has her own formula for the future political structure of the country. That a political settlement with India is an urgent and indispensable necessity, has been stressed by the paper in the following words :

"Let no one think that India does not matter because it is superficially quiescent. It matters supremely and for many reasons. Chief of them is that 400 million people matter and that until India is governed by her own responsible representatives there can be no solution for the economic or political miseries of India."

Absurd Claims of Representation

In the same article, the *New Statesman and Nation* writes about the claim to represent India by Government of India's hirelings. It writes :

"Nothing but discredit can follow from statements such as made by Sir Firoz Khan Noon who with Mr. Amery and the Maharaja of Kashmir absurdly form the representation of India at the present Commonwealth Conference. English people scarcely mark the absurdity. Let them not imagine that it passes without ridicule or worse in India, United States or the rest of the world that Sir Firoz Khan Noon says : 'There are no two opinions in India so far as ties with Great Britain and the prosecution of the present war are concerned.'

"Why talk rubbish which every one knows to be rubbish? There are not only two opinions in India about the ties of the Empire and the prosecution of the war. There are many. The Congress which represents far the largest body of organised Indian opinion has for years demanded no Dominion Status but independence."

By the selection of such people for "representing" India abroad, the Government of India's prestige is injured beyond repair. Intelligent opinion outside this country has by now learnt to differentiate between India and the Government of India, it is now widely known that not only the two are not the same, but they are widely apart with little relation between them. India is not injured by Firoz Khan Noon's utterances, it is the Government which sent him is brought into ridicule.

Priority for Race Horse Transport during Famine

A Reuters message says that reviewing the book *Tell the Folks Back Home* by Senator Ames Mead of New York, one of the five Globe-flying Senators, Frank S. Adams of the *New York Times* says that Mead has written :

"A breezy, brash, entertaining book in which he does not back down on a single one of the points in dispute between the Foreign Affairs Committee and its critics. India made Senator Mead angrier than anything else he saw on the 45,000-mile trip. He was shocked that at the time when thousands of starving people lay on the side-walks of Calcutta, the authorities were still devoting precious space in freight cars to race horses en route for the Calcutta Gold Cup."

This was not the only instance. Priority for the shipment of whisky was granted at a time when the whole country was crying for medicines.

Half the World in Deepest Poverty

The British Labour Party's report on full employment and financial policy to be submitted to the party conference at the end of May, declares :

"Outside Europe—in Africa, India and China—half the population of the world lives in the deepest poverty, ill-fed, ill-clothed and dwelling in squalor. We can help them meet their urgent needs. The standard of living of the poorer peoples of the world can be raised through the International Development Board. It would be the business of this body to use the immense industrial resources of the wealthier parts of the earth to raise the productivity and the purchasing power of the thousand million human beings who live in China, India and Africa, and who are at present without the elementary means of subsistence."

Conditions in India and Africa speak volumes about the 'success' of British administration in these two places. In spite of all these revealing facts, all attention is still directed to Europe.

Health and Wealth

In a speech at Karachi, Dr. B. C. Roy, Chairman of the Medical Relief Advisory Committee of the Bhore Committee on Health Survey and Development, outlined the following scheme of medical relief :

Dr. Roy pointed out that the aim of any health policy should be to prevent and not merely cure disease. The prevention of disease is dependent on a number of factors, not the least important of which is the economic environment in which the individual lives and works. Under-nourished people fall easy victims to disease and no public health drive can effectively succeed unless by determined effort the productive power of the people is increased, so that the country comes to have more for distribution than it has today. In its broader aspects, the work of the Health Committee is intimately bound up with economics and the problem of combating disease cannot be tackled successfully without a simultaneous effort to improve economic conditions.

Dr. Roy emphasized that the country would within the next 30 years need at least 300,000 doctors. He foreshadowed an increase in the number of medical institutions in the years to come. In progressive countries national health insurance schemes have, by a system of cash and medical benefits, helped the citizens who fall ill, to secure proper medical attention. But a health insurance scheme means money.

Any provision for health insurance in India must be preceded by a rise in the general standard of living. The average annual income in this country is Rs. 65 per capita, but when the income of the peasantry alone, who constitute 75 per cent of the population, is taken into account it works out to the meagre sum of about Rs. 25 per annum, or barely Rs. 2 a month. The Congress sought to raise this income at least to Rs. 15 per month for the cultivating masses. When that is done, and an adequate number of

trained medical men with the requisite medicine and equipment are turned out, the problem of medical aid may easily be resolved. Health insurance schemes for a people living on half diets and without any means to take nutritious food is bound to be a costly failure.

In this connection, Dr. Roy's pronouncement about the inadequacy of post famine medical relief from the Government deserves special attention. The following is the summarised report of his speech :

LAHORE, May 16.

Dr. B. C. Roy, President, Medical Relief Co-ordination Committee, Bengal, in a public speech in Y. M. C. A. Hall opined that money and medical relief were the crying needs of famished Bengal at the present moment. He stated that about three millions had fallen prey to the cruel hands of famine. He asserted that there was bungling on the part of the Government and the famine was not merely God-made. He added that medical relief from the Government was inadequate and quinine was not supplied in sufficient quantity to meet the needs of the people.

Concluding Dr. Roy said, "Let us now succeed where the authorities have failed to achieve by not seeking the co-operation of the people."

Raja Narendranath requested to experiment with Tulasi in the absence of quinine. He appealed to the Punjabis to rush all possible aid to Bengal.

Scheme for Voluntary Rationing in C. P. Villages

The *Hitavada* reports that Mr. D. K. Kane, Vice-President of the Yeotmal District Association, has addressed a letter to the Commissioner, Berar, on the scheme of voluntary rationing in villages and for groups of families in towns. An extract of his letter is given below :

The Yeotmal District Association with a view to solve the rationing and supplying problem particularly in the villages and in small towns are making efforts to start voluntary "Co-operative Stores" in villages and also in towns. The minimum number of share-holders required is fixed at 10 and the minimum capital to be collected is Rs. 500. The "Sahakari Bhandar" (Co-operative Stores) has at the outset to prepare a chart, which is virtually a rationing chart, in which a detailed information of the monthly requirements of the family of the share-holders and of the agriculturists and villagers who agree to be affiliated to the store by becoming the customers and purchasers of the articles from the store, is to be prepared. This will give the correct figure of the quantity of the commodities required by a village or of a group of families. When this is ready, the President of the Store has to make arrangements for securing the commodities or articles from central places and from the bazar. In the case of the controlled articles, the President will have to secure a license in his name to make the retail sale and then to purchase the articles from some licensed wholesale dealers after satisfying the Food Control Officer of the locality about the monthly requirements of the Store. If the supply of the required articles is not in full, but is less in certain proportion, the registered share-holders and the consumers of the Store will all get their

supply less in the same proportion. It will thus be Co-operative Rationing Agency. The Co-operative Stores (Sahakari Bhandar) is not to be started on merchantile basis for making profits only, but is intended to serve as distributing centre which will regularise the supply and will effect economy in the use of the controlled articles.

It will be possible to bring under one "Co-operative Store" a group of about 200 families and if necessary more stores should be organised if the population of the town or village requires it.

The Yeotmal District Association have printed the application forms and the bye-laws of the Co-operative Stores. So far about 15 applications are submitted for registration under the Co-operative Societies Act to the Registrar of the C. P. and Berar, Nagpur. The capital is already collected by different stores and they have started working, of course, by selling in the beginning, the articles which are not controlled. The Presidents are asked to apply to the Deputy Commissioner for licenses to purchase, store and sell in retail all the controlled articles.

This voluntary effort of the agriculturists and villagers will be successful only if the stores get the licenses and permits to deal in controlled articles by retail sale and if they get the supply of these articles from wholesale license-holders from time to time from the wholesale licensed dealers.

Such Co-operative Societies, besides introducing voluntary rationing in villages, may render a very great service by setting up a machinery for the procurement of food-grains. The use of co-operative societies instead of middle-men out for profits for this purpose will make procurement both cheap and effective. The reaction of the C. P. and other provincial Governments to this voluntary effort of the Yeotmal villagers will be watched with great interest.

Challenge to Social Conscience

The Social Welfare writes :

Reports are coming from various parts of India of rescue of minor girls sold for prostitution and the prosecution of culprits charged with the crimes. The disaster in Bengal last year left a terrible trail. Hunger and destitution drove hundreds and thousands of young women and girls into the whirlpool of vice. Some of these unfortunate victims are slowly being rescued. Meanwhile, there are reports from the Punjab and the South of more regular traffic. These traffickings are carried on with great organisational skill and great daring. A recent Madras case refers to 31 girls being sold into Hyderabad State during a period of two years.

In hunting up these criminals the Police do not seem to show a tithe of the vigilance that they show in pursuing men and women whose political opinions are unpalatable to the Government. In fact these traffickings are carried on so openly and so systematically that it is difficult to believe that all the sections of the Police were entirely unaware of them all the time. The growth of prostitution in the more populous towns is making a heavy demand and this demand is presumably being met by growing traffic in minor girls from the districts and far-off provinces. There is imperative need for a comprehensive clean-up campaign. Public opinion also is culpable in so far as it does not effectively

express itself against this immoral traffic. These criminals cannot carry on their activities in absolute secrecy. People roundabout are bound to know but they do not intervene. This attitude of tolerance is anti-social in the extreme. The harm that accrues to society from this attitude, whether it is lethargy or complacency, is incalculable. It is a challenge to the social conscience that could not be ignored without disastrous results.

It is a pity that, requisite attention has not yet been focussed on this very important social problem which has already become an All-India one. Rescue homes and prevention of gangsterism are necessary no doubt, they do not provide any solution. This evil is a product of economic derangement and unless the womenfolk are provided with adequate employment, this evil cannot be stamped out. We had suggested long ago that in Bengal the rice mills might be restricted for some time and the work of paddy husking might be distributed to the village women through standing organisations like the Union Boards. The various relief centres might also be utilised for the purpose. We had also advocated the provision of spinning and weaving as an employment of village women. The wages for spinning might have been low in normal times, but in these days of cloth famine, there is no doubt that spinning will provide at least some relief. The various spinners' organisations and Khadi centres might have been utilised.

An Exemplary Punishment

A Delhi message stated that Mr. P. G. Kripalani, proprietor, Bombay Sports, was fined Rs. 5000 under the Hoarding and Profiteering Prevention Ordinance for selling poker dice at Rs. 11-8 whose cost price was Re. 1-9.

Such are the sentences that are needed if the Government really desire to stamp out hoarding and profiteering. Following some hard sentences passed by the Calcutta High Court on some similar criminals against the society, the magistrates began to take a little stronger view. But this has died out. The Court records both in Calcutta and in other places show that profiteers get rather lightly out. We believe it is time for the Government to enact that hoarders and profiteers would be fined at least 500 times the excess profits charged. Similar exemplary provision for the punishment of Government officials concerned

with these crimes, if any, should also be made, irrespective of their status or position in office. Criminals against the society, however highly placed, deserve no mercy.

Injustice to Indian-owned Collieries and Maladministration in Coal

120 collieries, all Indian-owned, have been served with an order of stopping despatches for the alleged purpose of creating reserves for emergency. Space in these small collieries being limited, the object would have been better achieved if big British-managed collieries with greater facilities for stacking coal had been requisitioned. Thus the attempt made originally by Sir Edward Bentall as Railway Member to stop supply of wagons to Indian-owned second class collieries against which he had inveighed years ago as a Clive Street magnate is at last bearing fruit though the present order, lamentably enough, emanates from the Department of Labour, Government of India in charge of an Indian Member. How we wish that the patriotism and sense of justice of Sir Joseph Bhore (an Indian Christian) who as Railway Member years ago placed for the first time large orders with Indian-owned collieries in the teeth of opposition from British merchants of Calcutta could move the present Indian Members of the Viceroy's Council and come now to the rescue of Indian-owned collieries which have been the Cinderella of the industry for decades. Payment will of course be made to these mines for coal reserves but their progress will be jeopardised by their raisings being restricted to small space available. Most of these collieries produce soft coke so that the suffering of the masses in cooking food is going to increase enormously.

As regards decline in raisings the evil can not be remedied so long as colliery managers have to devote the greater part of their time and energy to distribution of rice among miners at controlled rates. At least in respect of collieries situated in Bihar this work can easily be taken over by the local Government which had excellently managed controlled shops in all towns of the Province last year while such shops charged. Similar exemplary provision for the in Calcutta visibly demonstrated administrative break down.—SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—I

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.L.A.

THE private European trader was allowed the right to do business in India after the Charter Act of 1813 which deprived the East India Company of its monopoly. Gradually, the number of European businessmen increased and they organised themselves into Chambers of Commerce first in Calcutta in 1834, then at Bombay and Madras in 1836 and, later on, at other important centres of trade. It was under the Indian Councils Act of 1892 that European businessmen were granted representation regularly in our legislatures. With the passing of subsequent legislation, the number of seats occupied by Europeans has been gradually increased.

The position today is that the European community under the Government of India Act, 1935, has been accorded 96 to 97 seats in the Indian legislatures provided of course that the Federal part is implemented without any change. What is regarded as a grievance by Political India is that this measure of representation has been given to it without anything like a large increase in the number of non-official Europeans carrying on various kinds of activities in our motherland.

Rightly or wrongly, Political India has come to feel that what it regards as excessive representation has been granted to the non-official European community because our rulers have felt that, with the gradual diminution of British control, European financial interests are not likely to be adequately safeguarded.

II

European businessmen demanded the inclusion of statutory safeguards in the 1935 Act against any future legislative or administrative measure calculated to injure their interests even when they were aimed at the promotion of the interests of the nationals of India.

The point of view of Political India was clarified in the Sapru-Jayakar Memorandum submitted to the Third Round Table Conference in which dealing with this matter the signatories observed :

"We are clear in our minds that for the future development of Indian industries, many of which are

lying fallow or are struggling in an impoverished condition, it is absolutely necessary to leave in the hands of the Central and Provincial Governments enough power to initiate, subsidise and protect industries which can be briefly described as key or infant industries, even if such initiation, subsidy of protection should occasionally look like discrimination."

Messrs. Sapru and Jayakar also expressed the view that it was desirable that both the Central and the Provincial Governments should be accorded ample power

"to control the evil effects of unfair competition, such as sometimes has been practised in the past by powerful organisations against their weaker rivals."

It is hardly necessary to add that these Indian patriots were referring in both cases to the disadvantages Indian enterprise had suffered and, in future, was likely to suffer from the incursions of non-Indians into our economic life.

III

The decisions ultimately reached by the British Government were incorporated in the anti-discrimination sections of the Government of India Act, 1935, some of which have a direct bearing on the development of Indian commerce and industry. Without attempting any examination of these clauses, it may be said that they disregard Indian public opinion because they fail to give the first place to Indian interests.

In addition, we have the Instruments of Instruction to the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors which require them to "prevent" discrimination against British interests. Here they will act at their own discretion.

When Lord Salisbury described these and similar other measures as being made out of paper, Sir Samuel Hoare according to *Hansard*, December 10, 1934, p. 56, replied :

"No, Sir, these safeguards are not paper safeguards. They are safeguards with sanction behind them and with effective executive action to be put into effect if need arises."

IV

The various measures by which the economic interests of the non-official European community have been safeguarded have been sought to be justified on various grounds the most important of which are the social service it has rendered to India and the benefits it has

conferred on us through the development of our foreign trade and our industries. Our attention has also been drawn to the many advantages we have derived from the investment of European capital in India.

It is proposed in this and the following articles to ascertain whether the benefits we have derived under these heads have been of such a magnitude as to lend countenance to the view that the non-official European community is entitled to the favoured position it now enjoys in our political and economic life.

This, the first of the series, will be devoted to the discussion of the question of the recognition due from us to the non-official European community as a whole on account of the social services rendered to us by a particular section of it.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 and the Simon Commission Report of 1930 divided the European community into three sections. The first of these consists of the British section of the Indian Army, the second of those employed in various departments concerned with the civil administration of British India and the last of Europeans not employed by Government with whom only we are concerned here as it is to them that certain economic privileges have been given and it is also from them that the representatives of the European community are drawn.

This third section, the non-official Europeans, fall into four broad classes. The most important and influential among them in the language of the Simon Commission (Report, Vol. I., Paragraph 64) are

"the men of business, who with their families, are found in the principal shipping and trading centres and in other places of organised production, like the tea estates of Assam, or Darjeeling or Chota Nagpur, the tea or coffee plantations in the Nilgiris, certain coal fields, or the rubber plantations and oil producing areas."

It is to be noted that here the Simon Commission has lumped together Europeans engaged in commerce, industries, mining, planting etc., probably because the one thing common to all of them is their connection with capital invested in India with a view to the earning of profits.

Another class, confessedly small, of non-official Britons found in large centres of population consists of journalists, medical men, lawyers, engineers and other professional men.

Then we have some retired officials, army officers and planters who have settled down in

the cooler parts of India with the idea of making India their home. The number of such men is so small that, for the purpose of the present discussion, they may be safely neglected.

A more important section consists of missionaries, male and female, of various Protestant denominations and members, male and female, of various Roman Catholic orders directly engaged in Christian propaganda. With these should be mentioned a small and devoted band of workers, male and female, engaged in educational, medical and other social work.

An examination of the directory issued by the National Christian Council in behalf of all the Protestant denominations and of the Roman Catholic gazetteer issued from Madras will show that this section of non-official Europeans consists approximately of 10,000 adult males and females of whom roughly 25 per cent, as citizens of Britain or the self-governing Dominions, are entitled to exercise franchise in India, to seek election to our legislatures as representatives of the European community as a minority community and also to enjoy the advantages flowing from the economic safeguards incorporated in the Act of 1935.

VI

Even the most orthodox non-Christian Indian will admit readily the unselfish devotion of these people to what they consider their primary duty—the preaching of Christianity. He will still more willingly acknowledge the important services rendered by those among them who have spent and are today spending themselves for educational, medical and other social work for the benefit of Indians irrespective of caste and creed.

Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 referred to their work as consisting in

"furthering education, building up character and inculcating healthier domestic habits...for which India should be grateful."

Continuing it was stated in the following paragraph that

"It is difficult to over-estimate the devoted and creative work which missionary money and enterprise are doing in the fields of education, morals and sanitation."

VII

These missionaries and other social workers are stationed not only in the larger towns but also in remote corners of our motherland and it has to be admitted that their primary aim is to convince the Indian of the superiority of Christianity and then to convert him to their

faith. Even though, according to many, their theological propaganda has, from the standpoint of the material results achieved, been more or less a failure, it cannot be denied that they have done great service to India by spreading widely the knowledge of Christian ethics which the present writer, himself a Christian, regards as one of their most precious contributions.

With the spread of political knowledge among the middleclass intelligentsia and its communication to the masses by the politically minded middleclass leaders, the position of these missionaries has become very difficult. It is pointed out to them that the cardinal principles of the religion to which they seek converts and, worse still, the ethical standards to which they exhort their followers to adhere, are not always strictly observed by the more prosperous or the more honoured among their countrymen. If, led away by enthusiasm, they preach unselfishness which manifests itself in the political sphere as non-communalism, they are immediately confronted by the selfishness of a large section of non-missionary non-official Britons.

Their unselfish devotion to what they consider their duty is only too often ascribed to the necessity of earning their salary, which, few Indians are aware, is so small as hardly to deserve this description. In this connection, it is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that they could have easily earned far more than their meagre allowances had they but chosen some other walk of life.

VIII

So far as the knowledge of the present writer goes, the Roman Catholic missionaries are not permitted by the rules of the different orders to which they belong to take active part in politics. As for those belonging to the different Protestant denominations, it is well-known that they too are not encouraged to do so if only for the reason that they are sent to India for an altogether different purpose to which they are expected to devote all their time and energy.

From the contacts the present writer has been able to establish with European missionaries coming from Britain, Ireland, the self-governing Dominions, the United States and the Continent, scattered in nine British Indian provinces and more than two dozen of the larger and more important Indian States which he has visited and these, it may be added, have been many and intimate, he feels justified in stating with all the emphasis at his command that, as a class, the only preoccupation of these servants

of God is whether in an independent India, they will be permitted to carry on their present benevolent activities and the preaching of their faith with the same freedom as at present. On many occasions, apprehensions have been expressed that their liberty in the matter of propaganda would be curtailed and probably hindrances placed in the way of conversions.

On not a single occasion has any missionary expressed any desire to secure political influence by entering our legislatures in order to ensure the permanent enjoyment or extension of the existing political and economic rights guaranteed to the non-official European community under the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935.

From enquiries made by the present writer it appears that since 1919 when communal seats were thrown open to Europeans in our legislatures, not a single European missionary, Roman Catholic or Protestant, has even once tried to enter them through election. It is also a fact that in two or three instances, European missionaries were nominated to them for particular purposes and for a limited period only as for instance when the Rev. Dr. George Howells was nominated to the Bengal Legislative Council under dyarchy in order to pilot the Serampore (Theological) University Act.

IX

Where British businessmen have to safeguard their economic interests in order to continue earning profits the major part of which, Indians have always maintained, is taken away from and spent outside India, European missionaries collect money from their homelands and spend it here for our benefit. This fundamental difference is responsible for their attitude in regard to the question of both European representation in our legislatures and the continuance of economic privileges.

As a class, the European missionaries seek the friendship of Indians with whom they mix more intimately than any other class of aliens and are always unwilling to say or do things which are likely to lead to misunderstandings between them and the people among whom they have cast their lot. While they may not always be able to approve of the technique adopted by nationalism specially of the militant type, almost all of them sympathise with the economic and political ambitions of India.

On many occasions, as for instance during the last fast of Mahatma Gandhi at Poona, many of these mission workers have advocated an approach to the Indian problem much more

sympathetic than that recommended by European businessmen on the one hand and British officials on the other. Whenever there is something like a crisis, British missionaries have, as a class, very rarely failed to react to them in the truly Christian manner. And this true from the time of the Jallianwala tragedy down to more recent dates when efforts were made by some leaders among them to persuade the British Government to end the Indian political deadlock by releasing those Congressmen including Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Abul Kalam Azad and others who were not associated with the disturbances of August 1942. And all this has not certainly added to their popularity with all their countrymen.

X

If he is a student of Indian politics, the Indian cannot forget that in none of the numerous reports of Committees and Commissions appointed by the Parliament or the Government of India has any mention ever been made as to any permanent organised efforts for conferring educational, medical and social benefits on Indians irrespective of caste and creed initiated by non-missionary non-official Europeans. The obvious reason for this is that they have been drawn to India by other considerations. What the present writer regards as an admirable trait in them is the frankness with which they confess it. Thus Mr. Geoffrey Tyson, an English journalist said to be connected with *Capital*, the organ of British commerce and industry operating in Eastern India, says on page 37 of his *Danger in India* published in 1932 that

"The British businessman is in India primarily for business purpose, and for the making of money for the concerns which he represents"

which, naturally, does not bar out the making of money for himself.

What, however, seems ridiculous is that non-official Europeans, of whom businessmen form the most influential section, supply the leadership and shape the policy, should claim representation on the ground that their missionary countrymen have served India in these particular directions. If the Indian is told by non-missionary Europeans that some seats have to be reserved for these friends of India if only as a recognition of the services rendered by them to us, he would regard it as a very obvious subterfuge adopted with the definite purpose of increasing the influence of other and probably more selfish sections of the European community in our public life. Nor will he change this view unless and until he finds these European missionaries claim-

ing representation in Indian legislatures through their own organisations or, in the alternative, seeking election to our legislatures from the European communal constituencies and, in doing so, being supported by their non-missionary countrymen.

As none of these things has happened in the quarter of a century which has elapsed since elected seats from communal constituencies were thrown open to Europeans, the only conclusion the Indian feels he is entitled to draw is that missionaries do not seek recognition of the services they have rendered to India in the form of representation in Indian legislatures and the granting of economic privileges to their countrymen and that those who claim them for the European community as a whole on that score are not only guilty of misrepresenting the views of this most estimable class of people but also of exploiting, for their own purposes and probably in ways which often do not find their approval, the very great benefits conferred on us by them.

XI

Indians, irrespective of caste and creed, feel that, under these circumstances, what they regard as excessive representation of the European community cannot be explained as being due to the necessity of granting facilities to European missionaries to voice their opinion. So far as the attitude of European missionaries in regard to the diminution, maintenance or enlargement of the economic privileges granted to British business under the Government of India Act, 1935, is concerned, it is obvious that this can possess little, if any, interest for people who live in a world apart and stand neither to gain or lose whether they are abolished, kept up or extended. Nor has the present writer ever come across anywhere any evidence to show that this matter has ever interested any European missionary with whom he is acquainted.

The suggestion that European missionaries are in favour of securing over-representation and economic privileges to the non-official European community because they have served us does not seem to be based on facts so far as they are known to the present writer.

XII

What grieves the present writer, a Christian Indian, is that the work of the British missionaries is almost always made difficult by claims, such as those concerned with the protection of British vested interests often urged by people who, sometimes barely tolerating them, claim to

speak in their behalf and that without caring to ascertain their views—an attitude only explainable by the selfishness of the business section of the non-official European community.

It is, however, only fair to add that from such contacts as the present writer has been able to establish with non-official European businessmen in the executive of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Bible Society and other Christian organisations, he is convinced that almost every Briton associated with these organisations is a devoted Christian. Not only these men but others who do not profess to be strict Christians, and among these he would include some of his European colleagues in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, as individuals are not only upright by nature but also make every attempt to be fair to those who are unable to agree to their point of view. Some among these have even gone so far as to admit, but invariably in an indirect way, that they do not approve of the over-representation in the legislatures accorded to their community as also that they have sufficient confidence in Indian goodwill to forego the special safeguards provided for British interests under the Government of India Act, 1935.

But, it has to be observed at the same time, that whenever it is a question of acting as a community, the policy followed is the policy of the European Association, a policy dictated by

the leaders of business and, as such, conditioned exclusively by business considerations.

XIII

This reminds one of what Lord Acton said nearly half a century ago on page 506 of his *Historical Essays* where he expressed the opinion that

"The principles of public morality are as definite as those of the morality of private life, but they are not identical."

What Christ whom these men profess to follow stood for long ago and what Gandhiji is advocating today is the identification of public and private morality, the divorce between which is leading today to such awful carnage and destruction that the human imagination reels back at their mere thought.

It is to be hoped that, by the time we have the next revision of the constitution of India, non-official Europeans will have acquired sufficient unselfishness to set an example to our Indian minorities so as to place general above sectional and group interests failing which what leadership under the profit motive they have given in the development of our industry and commerce will be regarded by us not as a blessing but as a curse specially if it leads to the creation of yet another disruptive force in our national life.

THE CHINESE RENAISSANCE

By SHANTI SWARUP MATHUR, M.A.

THERE is a Chinese maxim that action is not so good as inaction. The maxim may have served as a good ideal of conduct in the ancient days but it was woefully suited to the temper of the nineteenth century when a lust to secure domination over the rich lands of the Orient had seized the European powers of the West. The result was that when the Westerners landed upon the Chinese soil and implored for exchange of commerce the Chinese people regarded them with supreme contempt as barbarians. They were, however, soon made aware of their folly. These barbarians, they soon realized, were not so simple as they looked. They came behind bayonets and fire-cannons-improvements upon their own invention of gun-powder and began to wrest by force one concession after another from them. Worst still, their neighbour Japan also started to emulate the tactics of these western powers. In fact she did this with such

consummate skill that she soon outdid the Westerners in their own game. The Chinese people were rudely shocked by these happenings which gravely jeopardised their national existence. A reawakening, unparalleled in the annals of human history, began to take place. The Chinese leaders called for a sweeping away of the old traditions and customs that stood in the way of the progress of the people. A new spirit pervaded the nation, a spirit which Madame Chiang Kai-shek has summed up in one word as courage; courage to resist the Japanese hordes, courage to abandon outgrown customs, courage to develop a new standard of citizenship placing the welfare of the state above the clamour of the individual.

Nowhere is this spirit of New China better seen in action than in the Great Migration that followed the Japanese invasion and is still in the process of taking place. Ruthless air

bombardment of civilian population, wanton destruction of private and public property, systematic closure of educational institutions—these were some of the high notes of Japanese savagery. The Chinese people simply fled in terror before such barbarism towards the unoccupied provinces of the West. This migration, it is surmised, has beaten all previous migrations known to have taken place in world history. Up to 1939 a total of 30,000,000 human souls, forming one-fifth of the entire population of the war-ravished country, has migrated to the West. A striking feature of the migration has been that it includes tens of thousands of intellectuals. We are indeed witnessing an astounding phenomenon of history.

To be more efficient in the conduct of war against Japan the National Government also transferred its seat of Government from Nanking to Chungkiang in November, 1937. Chungkiang is the commercial metropolis of the Province of Szechwan, the most populous and fertile province of the West and being situated on a rocky hill has excellent sites for dug-outs against air-raids. As such it is an ideal war-time capital.

From Chungkiang all the military and civil affairs of the state are directed. The civilian machinery of the Government has at its head the Supreme National Defence Council over which General Chiang Kai-shek presides. It is divided into five departments of Yuans—the executive, legislative, judicial, examination and control. The Executive Yuan is the most important of these and is responsible for the executive side of the Government and includes as subordinate organs the various ministries and commissions.

The Government, allowing for the exigencies of war, is essentially democratic in nature. Shortly after the war began, the Government convoked the People's Political Council, a representative body of two hundred leaders from all walks of Chinese life. The provinces have similar councils of their own. In 1940 a People's Convention met and adopted a constitution for the country. Similar democratization has been effected in the village and district Governments. The Chinese above all believe that democracy is the best form of Government for people.

These western lands where the refugees have emigrated comprise some of the richest provinces of China. They abound in minerals, vast timber resources and alluvial loess soil which is capable of producing three to five crops a year. The Chinese have been quick to realize that good transport was needed if this wealth was to be

fully exploited. It was no easy task. The land is traversed by deep river gorges, high mountains and thick forests but no obstacles are too great to be surmounted by the Chinese people. As a result of their superhuman industry and patience the Chinese today boast of eighty thousand miles of surfaced highways—most of them built without the help of modern machinery. Some of these roads pass through the most difficult terrain imaginable. Land slides and accidents are frequent but minimum of time is lost in repairing them and making the roads serviceable again. Equally satisfactory has been the development of her rail transport. New railway lines have been laid down to connect Kunming with Lashio, Kunming with Chungkiang, Chungkiang with Chengtu etc., etc. Not only these railways help in opening the rich interior, inaccessible hitherto, but they also provide employment for thousands of refugees who have emigrated before the Japanese terror. Waterways which are the most important channel of transport have also not been neglected. The rivers are constantly dredged; a new type of junk that has more cargo capacity than the old outmoded type of vessels and is convertible into a motorship has been evolved. The river waters have been also harnessed to yield electric power which will greatly foster the development of light industry. Three hydro-electric plants have been projected, one just below Chungkiang, one to the west on the Copper river and a third near Kunming in Yunan and they are estimated to yield a combined output of a hundred thousand horse-power.

Side by side with the political and economic development, a social ferment is also agitating the Chinese people. A new spirit breathes through its literature, its ways of living and thinking and its customs and beliefs. The war of resistance and the need for national regeneration dominate the literary scene, and books now either breathe blood, death, clenched fist and defiance or describe the diverse ways which other nations of the world by adopting have achieved great heights in social, economic and political fields. The art of vernacular drama has also made rapid strides of late. Its value as a very potent instrument of propaganda has not been lost sight of by the Chinese authors. The titles of the new dramas are: *It Rained the Ancient City*, *Song of the Refugees*, *Blood Drips from the Blazing Sky* and so on. Outdoor dramatic performances are very common. Parties of players roam the country-side and the market towns mix with the crowds and suddenly begin to act. The vernacular press has also progressed by leaps and bounds. In

Shansi province, for example, where there were formerly four newspapers there are now over four hundred. Many are mimeographed or lithographed. Wall newspapers with illustrations in colour have also made appearance.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of the Chinese reconstruction movement has been the development of the Industrial Co-operative system. It boasts of a membership of thirty thousand workers and aims to inoculate in the Chinese worker a spirit of comradeship and co-operation. The workers, who are mostly refugees, work in small units scattered throughout the country with implements salvaged from the Jap-invaded countries or use local materials produced by the farmers. Besides the Industrial Co-operative, there are other types of co-operative societies—mostly credit societies. Worthy of mention is the Farm Credit Bureau which has lent millions of dollars to the Chinese farmer for construction of storage granaries, development of farm irrigation and other kindred farm projects. The Government is also restricting poppy cultivation and the land thus made available is being utilised for more profitable crops.

The Chinese have held to the educational front with no less vigour. Such a front has been maintained against overwhelming odds. There are too few text-books so that four or five students have to share a single book. There are no proper buildings and it is a common sight to see classes being held in the open when the weather permits this or in old houses unused barracks or even old halls of Confucian temples. Even while the classes are on, the siren would ring and students and teachers would hurry to the shelter of the dug-outs. But nevertheless, instead of bowing to the might of the Japanese aggression, the educational centres decided to move to the west. About one hundred and ten universities, colleges and technical schools were in existence in 1937; only twenty of these have closed down; the rest have removed themselves to safer haunts in West China. The Government has also not neglected to encourage them in these efforts and extend a helping hand where necessary. It has placed a high premium upon the graduates of its universities and has never encouraged them to enlist as privates in the army. On the other hand, those of them who have a flair for military life and come up to the requisite standard, are trained at the Officers' Military Academy. Attempts have been also made to formulate a common programme of education for the whole of China. With this end in view was convened the Kuomintang Emergency Congress in April, 1938. As a result

of the deliberations of this Congress a programme was drawn up and presented before the People's Political Council in 1938. Another conference was called in March, 1939 to deliberate further on the problems of national education. A feature of this programme is the increased emphasis laid on practical education. New courses in natural sciences were drawn up; a net-work of two years' technical training schools was established and encouragement was given to research conducted for the development of agricultural resources. On the whole a new educational spirit is surging through the country and it may prove a determining factor in the evolution of the New China.

It is not enough if this new urge for education is confined to a small section of the people living in the few great cities. The Chinese farmer constitutes eighty-five percent of the entire population and unless he is educated China cannot play an effective part in contributing her due share to world peace and prosperity. With this end in view a mass movement for rural reconstruction has been started by those Chinese intellectuals who have the good of the Chinese farmer at heart. This mass education movement started during the last World War when a few Chinese educated youths were assigned the task of looking after the welfare of the one hundred and fifty thousand Chinese labourers who were sent to work as coolies in France at the close of the War. These young-men returned to China determined to improve the lot of the Chinese farmer at home. Tinghsien, a district of four hundred thousands people in the southern part of the Province of Hopei, was selected as the venue of the first experimental centre. The experiment proved highly successful and since then such centres have been started all over the country. A School of Public Administration was also established to impart technical and administrative training to the future district magistrates and junior officials recruited chiefly from college graduates. A National Institute of Rural Reconstruction for both research and training has been also launched near Chungkiang, the present headquarters of the Mass Education Movement. The foundations of a rejuvenated and regenerated China are thus being laid deep.

In the war of liberation and the programme of reconstruction the Chinese woman under the inspiring leadership of Madame Chiang-Kai-shek is playing a no less significant part than her male compatriot. Before the Japanese invasion Chinese women for the most part lived their lives within the four corners of their hearths

but the war sent them a new challenge to come out in the open and to this challenge they have heroically responded. The concern of women for the national defence of their country, in fact, appeared much earlier, for in the Revolution of 1911 a few hundred girl students petitioned General Yuang-Hung to send them to the battle front. The war with Japan afforded them still greater opportunities for showing their mettle in the national struggle. In August 1937, the National Association of Chinese Women for cheering and comforting officers and soldiers of the war of Self-Defence and Resistance was started; in March 1938, a second women's national organisation also under the leadership of Madame Chiang was inaugurated to deal with the problem of orphaned children. It took upon itself the task of removing orphaned children from war areas, setting-up of receiving homes for them and helping the mothers in the nursing of their little ones. As a result of the exertions of this organization about forty homes scattered over eighty provinces and caring for more than twenty thousand children have been set up. Women students too have combined service with study. In their spare hours and during vacations they organize themselves in parties and visit hospitals, cheer the patients, write letters home for them and carry the message of the New Life Movement to the convalescent and recovering. After short courses of training the young women are deputed to go to rural areas where they

provide games for the children, enact plays or teach the village people a few Chinese characters, so on and so forth. An anecdote is related of a head-man addicted to opium-eating who upon hearing of the arrival of such a party hid himself until three weeks later when he had cured himself of the obnoxious habit. So that this work of reconstruction may not run along haphazard channels a women's conference was called at Kuling in Kiangsi and unanimously they chose the Women's Committee of the New Life Movement as the co-ordinating agency for all their activities of war and reconstruction. The Chinese woman is thus playing a vital role in the rebuilding of her country's life for she has realized that no nation can rise to great heights unless its women also make their peculiar contribution to national life.

China thus stands at the threshold of a new age. The lesson has been brought home to the Chinese people that if they wish to lead a free, independent and honourable life of their own, they must pay the price in blood, tears and sweat. Thanks to the Almighty they have risen equal to the occasion. The fortitude, patience and skill with which they are today struggling against great odds will not only later constitute some of the brightest pages of their national history but are today a shining example and source of inspiration to all the allied nations who are locked up in a life-and-death struggle with the forces of darkness, evil and iniquity.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By CYRIL MODAK

In some distant, golden, faëry-peopled past,
Dreaming of the joy of new-wrought Beauty,
Love all-powerful breathed into a dream at last
Breath of life, you stood, a poet. Duty
Beckoned with her world-renewing strains that
guide

Planets through infinite space, and taking
Left you with the Master Flutist to abide,
Learning fiery secrets of song-making :

To our temple when you came,
Thus it was you brought song-flame
For the worship of Love's Name.

Like a Vaishnav priest in shining vestments clad,
Here you stood before us, Poet, singing
Of the beauteous life for ever sadly glad,
Little bells in every heart-shrine ringing.
And the West leaned forward ah ! to catch the
strain

Of your melodies that ached with rapture,
Of your threnodies that had the lilt of pain :
With the wiles of music you did capture
Beauty's vision that doth bless
With a happy restlessness
Souls that yearn for Loveliness.

Prince of pilgrims ! Comrade of the lonely
way !
Yours it was to blaze new trails untiring,
Trails that bravely pointed to the Newer Day ;
Ages yet unborn will stand admiring
Your immortal triumphs; seeking to regain
India's lost dominions you implanted
Regal manhood in a nation's heart again.
Let Time lisp her faltering praise enchanted,
Poet of Life's pageantry !
Poet of Death's mystery !.
Poet of Love's victory !

THE BENGAL SECONDARY EDUCATION BILL, 1944

BY SHRIMATI RENUKA RAY, B.Sc., (Econ.) Lond., M.L.A., (Central)

THE Secondary Education Bill which is now on the anvil of the provincial legislature and sponsored by the Bengal Government, has evoked much legitimate criticism and extreme discontent amongst responsible elements of society. In the mind of the unbiased educationist, it gives rise to serious cause for alarm in regard to the future of education in Bengal.

This bill has a history behind it. In 1940, a bill on somewhat similar lines was brought forward by the Government. Though purporting to be based on the recommendations of the Sadler Commission it left out some of the essential features of the Commission's recommendations. The bill did not receive public support and was allowed to lapse. Later in 1942 the bill was revived and a Select Committee of the Legislature was appointed to consider it. In the committee stage, the bill underwent several important and fundamental changes. A new bill incorporating the proposals of the Select Committee was first published in the *Calcutta Gazette* in April 1944. Against all canons of legislative procedure, this new bill has been taken up for discussion in the provincial assembly without re-circulating it for public opinion and is now being pushed through to its final stages. Even the opinion of educationists in the country has not been sought in regard to the present bill which has changed considerably in character in the Select Committee.

In the statement of objects and reasons of this bill, we find it mentioned that education has been un-planned and that there is need for a unified authority with power to regulate development according to a planned scheme. No one will deny the truth of this contention. But the most careful scrutiny of this bill, in regard to its composition, its powers, and its finances fails to reveal any provision for a unified authority or an adequate scheme for development. Nor is an autonomous Board provided on the line of the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. In the first place representations on this Board is not only on the basis of community and sect but through the method of separate electorates. Thus we find that the Calcutta University has six representatives of whom two are Muslims elected only by the Muslim fellows of the Senate, two are caste Hindus to be elected by caste Hindus, and one scheduled caste and one member of other communities to be elected in the same manner. The same method of separate electorates is

followed for the representation of the Dacca University and for electing representatives of Head Masters and even of Head Mistresses of the high schools and of the legislature. The eight members appointed by the Provincial Government are nominated on a communal basis. Apart from this, there are ex-officio representatives, amongst whom are included the Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, the head of the Sanskrit Department of the University of Calcutta, the head of the Department of Islamic Studies and Arabic of the University of Dacca and the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa. Yet experts on technical, engineering and scientific education whose presence on the Board are far more necessary in the light of modern education do not find a place here. Out of a Board of fifty-three members, the only two who can have any claims to be independent educationists are the Vice-chancellors of the two Universities and even they are not represented on the Executive Committee in their ex-officio capacity. There is not even an attempt to give educationists a chance to direct the choice of the President of this Board as he is to be the direct nominee of the Provincial Government. The representation of the Managing Committees of Schools is not provided for and yet the legislature has ten representatives. An analysis of the composition of this Board drives one to the conclusion that control is intended to be vested in the hands of politicians rather than of educational experts. Selection on communal lines is bound to bring the reactionary element of each community to the fore-front. Those who believe in educational progress or social reform will find no place on this Board. By the very nature of its composition, the Board will be unable to develop a progressive educational policy and all the defects of the present system of education will be perpetuated and magnified beyond measure.

No provision or scheme can be found anywhere in this bill for developing Secondary Education along sound and progressive lines. The funds at the disposal of this Board will be Rs. 25 lakhs per annum with an additional sum reaching up to another 25 lakhs by 1949. It would be impossible to carry out any real measure of expansion or development of Secondary Education with such inadequate resources. If Secondary Education is to be expanded and developed, if technical, commercial and art

education are to be given their proper place along with academic education then the money needed will be in crores. The estimated net minimum annual cost under the Sargent Scheme for high school education is 50 crores of which Bengal's share would be five to six crores per annum.

It is true that a separate Board for Secondary Education would be in a better position to direct and develop high school education than the University which being the seat of academic learning, is not the best authority to lay down the syllabus and method of examinations for a stage of education where the practical side has to be developed equally with the academic. But apart from being vested with the power of direction, the proposed Board is neither composed in such a manner nor given any such authority, as will enable it to improve upon the present system. The proposed Board cannot be called autonomous in any sense of the word, as it is under the direct supervision of the Provincial Government and can be disbanded, reconstituted or have any of its orders suspended by Government without the previous sanction of the legislature.

Let us examine how this Board can fit in with the new educational ideas that are current. In India today, along with other nation-building activities, education has been relegated to the background. The result is that only an infinitesimal minority can claim to have any education, and even the education provided for the few, suffers from obvious and glaring defects. With the growth of national consciousness and the desire for economic prosperity, the need of providing an educational structure which will meet the requirements of a country which has to make up much leeway to take its place with economically advanced and independent nations, has engaged the attention of our educationists and thinkers. Russia and China have shown us how this can be accomplished in an incredibly short period. This need not be a vague longing after an ideal but a practical and immediate possibility that faces India. An entire scheme for educational reconstruction has recently been placed before the public by the Central Advisory Board of Education covering every stage and every phase of educational development. It is a scheme for a national system of education based on equality of opportunity for every child, boy or girl, irrespective of class or community and giving scope for a wide variety of talents. It emphasises the need for a new educational approach for all stages of education through the basic system in the earlier stages. Practical

education is placed on an equal footing with the academic. Above all it lays down the essential minimum training for citizenship.

The scheme laid down by the Central Advisory Board stresses that an educational scheme has to be treated in its entirety, each stage being considered an integral part of the whole. Secondary Education cannot be separated from primary education which is its basis, or from University education which is its superstructure. Any attempt to do so would be unbalanced, and likely to cause disruption. This does not mean that Secondary Education should not be developed and supervised under a separate autonomous Board provided it is in keeping with, and forms a part of, the entire educational edifice. The Sadler Commission recommended an autonomous Board of this nature. Today, an entire scheme of educational development is before the country and provided that all the stages of this scheme are put into operation there is no reason why there should not be a separate Board to follow up and develop the educational policy for the different stages. But it must not be forgotten that the mere appointment of an authority to control Secondary Education without an accepted plan for educational development will not serve the purpose.

One of the most important features of the Sargent Scheme is, that there is no place in it for separatist treatment for different sections of the community, whereas under the proposed Board the education of different sections, such as Hindu, Muslim, scheduled caste and women are to be under the guidance of separate committees. This separatist treatment will tend towards keeping back the progress of education as a whole, as it is now recognised that separatist treatment of any section does not help the progress of education of that section, and this is particularly true in the case of so-called educationally backward classes. The report of the Central Advisory Board points out clearly that it does not make specific reference to the question of the education for girls and women because separatist treatment has not advanced the cause of their education and that it is better to provide equal educational facilities for all. Provincial Governments have for years past, treated women's education as a separate section, presumably because women are educationally backward. Statistics show that the rate of progress of women's education remains far behind the pace of general education. Anglo-Indian education too was given separatist treatment so that the community might gain certain

advantages but this has failed in its effect. Thinking members of this community are now clamouring that Anglo-Indian education should be brought into conformity with the broad lines of the general educational structure. Separatist treatment cannot benefit any community but will be to the detriment of all. The only way to do away with the existence of any educationally backward section is to provide equal facilities for all as provided under the Sargent Scheme. Whatever justification there was for the bill of 1940, born as it was out of a desire to overhaul Secondary Education, circumstances have now completely changed. No such justification exists now for rushing through a bill to provide a Board which will be antagonistic to the fundamental principles underlying this new educational scheme.

Education is inextricably bound up with the structure of society. It shapes man's behaviour, his ideals and his way of thinking. In fact it is the foundation on which the State itself has to be built. H. G. Stead has said, "Education will be the instrument by which the function of society is made explicit to its developing citizens." No country that desires to exist or to uphold its way of living can afford to ignore or neglect the education of its future citizens. If the seeds of dissension and disunity are laid in the educational structure, then the harmonious development of society becomes impossible. The secondary stage of education is one of vital importance for it is here, that the future leaders of the country will have their first training in the different walks of life. We cannot afford to allow the education of those who are to inspire others and to give the lead for the regeneration of the nation, to be vitiated at the source, and torn by conflicting interests

and disharmony. No rational man or woman desires that the culture of any section should be super-imposed on all. Nor would it be possible, for in a society which is dynamic and changing a fusion of all cultures must take place. A rigid separatist movement can only spell disaster and is fundamentally opposed to all the forces of evolutionary progress.

It is greatly to be deplored that this bill should have been made a bone of contention between community and community. This has only resulted in clouding the real issues. There is no provision in this bill that will help forward the educational growth of any section or of the province as a whole. The theory that it will help the education of Muslims at the cost of other communities is as absurd as the contention that Hindus are responsible for the present educational backwardness of the Muslims. Where the percentage of literacy is so low and education still more rare, the blame for the lack of educational development and facilities either rests on all communities equally or on extraneous factors and causes. Education is in the same plight as all other nation-building services in India. The Secondary Education Bill must be judged on its educational merits alone and as such it fails to provide any scope for progress. On the other hand, it gives facilities for the Madrassa and Toll type of education to be extended to all high schools. The net result will be that a large majority of our people will be deprived of such education as a progressive community requires. If the sponsors are determined to go forward with the measure, and prove successful in their attempt, it will mean that Bengal will revert back to the dark medieval ages, while the rest of India builds up a sound and rational educational structure.

A SURVEY OF THE CALCUTTA DESTITUTES

By J. K. BOSE, M.A.,

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THE movement of people for want of food from the adjoining districts of Calcutta started in the month of July, 1943 and in the course of a month the city population felt this influx. The street pavements, the covered and uncovered verandahs, the market places, the railway platforms, etc., were the usual shelters for these people. From morning till midnight they came out in batches and begged from door to door for a morsel of food. But the middle class people who were already hard hit by the soaring prices of articles

could not give them anything for their proper nourishment. Rice-water which was generally thrown away from every household was the only food to be distributed, with remnants of dishes left in their daily courses. This type of food could not keep them alive for a long time and very soon, death from starvation and malnutrition became a common sight in the streets of Calcutta. The local people organised and took up the cause to tide over the distress. In each locality free-kitchens were started out on the

subscriptions of the local people. But the shortage of foodgrains came in their way. The quantity of foodstuff necessary to keep them alive could not be found in the ordinary markets. Some of the relief organisations became paralysed for want of foodgrains. Foodgrains could be available in the black market at a very high rate but these relief organisations could not take advantage of it for fear of the Government Ordinances, and the net result was the increasing number of deaths everyday from starvation. This was the condition of Calcutta with death-rate increasing in greater number everyday.

From the month of September with the help of Government and relief organisations, such as Bengal Relief Committee, Marwari Relief Society, People's Relief Committee, etc., a number of gruel kitchens and free-kitchens were started. But the quality and the quantity distributed by these kitchens were not sufficient to keep this starving masses alive. Cases of malnutrition became apparent among these people and death from it could not be avoided. In these centres the same kind of food was generally served for the adults, children and infants, the result was the death of numerous infants and children in the course of a few days. It was apparent that separate arrangements should be made for infants and children but it was difficult to procure proper food for them. Some of the relief organisations started milk canteens but they were out of proportion to the needs of the people. In this way stumbling at each step with the difficulty of procuring necessary materials the relief organisations in Calcutta helped these distressed people in the best possible manner under the circumstances.

The people of Calcutta were anxious to know the proper cause of this sudden influx and movement of a larger number of women and children in relation to adults. The Department of Anthropology with its staff and students took up the cause seriously and tried to collect actual facts from these famine-stricken people. Data from about 800 families had been collected during the month of September. The writer was entrusted with a portion of this work to collect facts from these people in the Ballygunge area within the Municipality of Calcutta and to extend that work in the villages of Howrah, Hughli and 24-Parganas—the places of their dispersal. The writer has collected data from 100 families in Calcutta and another 150 families from the adjoining districts of Calcutta.

Now I shall give you some instances of the experiences of these destitutes. Out of curiosity to get an idea about the cause of movement of this large number of people from villages the

writer enquired of some of these people who were daily visiting the gruel kitchens.

Under the shade of a tree a number of women and children were sitting together waiting for the distribution of their daily meal. I was passing by the place and found a woman among them was crying incessantly. I knew the woman for several days as she was living in the locality and was a regular visitor to the free-kitchen. I asked her the reason. She gave a graphic description of her suffering for the last few months. Here is the story. She was living in a village at 24-Parganas with her husband and four children. The husband was an agriculturist and they were well-off in their village for the last twelve years after her marriage. They had two big rooms, a kitchen, a cowshed with a pair of bullocks and a number of agricultural implements. With the failure of crop last year they had the first taste of difficulty. In the course of June, July and August, 1943, they incurred a debt of one hundred rupees and they were forced to sell the pair of bullocks, tins from the roof, windows and doors of one of the rooms. In this way with some earnings of her husband as day labourer they managed with difficulty to live upto the month of August. But then it was difficult to secure any loan. Not getting a full meal everyday for more than a month the husband was also unable to do any hard work. Starvation faced the family. They began to sell their household utensils, ornaments and other household furniture. But as most of the cultivators were willing to part with these articles to save them from death by starvation there was hardly any market for them. And all these articles were sold for a paltry sum of rupees twenty only. In this way they spent another twenty days taking one meal with boiled vegetables and pulses sometimes with half a seer of rice. Now the only thing left was their room in which they lived. They mortgaged it for twenty rupees at an interest of annas two per rupee per month with the intention to release it with the harvesting of the next crop. But by this time rice had disappeared from the market and it was difficult to secure even at rupee one per seer. They had no alternative but to live on boiled vegetables and were getting on with great difficulty. This type of food told upon the health of the whole family and the oldest child of ten years was suddenly attacked with cholera. The best doctor of the village was called upon and they spent to the last furthing to save him but it was of no avail. The child died leaving them in a state of helplessness. Cremation was impossible for want of money.

and the local people came to their rescue by helping them to cremate the dead child. But this was not the end. In the next three days two more children died of the same disease. They were perplexed and the father unable to bear these calamities left the house and was not heard of ever after. Hearing this news her mother came and took her to her father's village. There she lived for three days with one meal a day but found the conditions were becoming worse day by day. From the villagers she learnt that a large number of people were going to Calcutta where food was being distributed free. She with her only child of two years and the mother came in with a batch of other women of the village. After coming to Calcutta they became separated as they moved from one place to another. Now they have settled in this locality with other women and spent their night on the street pavement. The only child who was moving with her died yesterday and it was impossible for her to bear this loss. With this she began to cry again. The story was told in a minute or two with such vividness that I was at a loss and unable to find a word of consolation for her.¹

On another occasion a destitute woman who was a regular visitor to the free-kitchen asked me for a piece of cloth. I wanted to know the cause of her movement from her native village. She gave a graphic description of her pitiable adventure. This unfortunate woman came from Midnapore. There she had a happy home with her husband and children. They had a commodious house of two rooms, a kitchen, a cowshed with a pair of bullocks and a large number of agricultural implements. Her husband was a tenant-cultivator and they had never been in want. Last year at the time of flood, water rushed into their house and they were forced to climb on the roof of the house. She with one of her children was on one roof and that roof was washed away before her husband could climb on it. In this way she was afloat for about four hours. Then some boatmen picked her up with her child. She was eager to know of her husband and other children but it was of no avail. She then came with these boatmen to Kulpí, 24-Parganas, where they helped her to build a small hut in which she was living. Here she was engaged in pounding rice and sometimes working in some households. In this way she was managing herself. In the course of six months she managed to purchase a goat and some household utensils. But with the failure of crop in this area, there was scarcity of food and she was unable to get any work.

She began to sell her household utensils, the goat and lastly when it was impossible for her to get even one meal a day she came out with other girls of her village to Calcutta. In the course of movement they were all separated and she is now living under the verandah of a gentleman who is very kind to her. She regularly takes her meal in the free-kitchen but she is in great difficulty as she has only one piece of cloth which is also torn in several places.¹

From the above statements it could be easily understood that these girls were not beggars. They had their family life and they were forced by circumstances to come to our doors. They had unavoidable claims on our sympathy. Our enquiry among them in the villages of 24-Parganas and Howrah reveals how this agricultural labour class is on the verge of extinction and if proper arrangement to send these people to their original villages are not made in time, Bengal will face the problem of disruption of the families of agricultural labourers. This is a problem which should be properly thought out by the people and the Government and it is high time to see that these families are united.

Now I shall deal with my data on a hundred families collected in Calcutta. The total number of persons included in these families is 346, out of which there are 220 females and 126 males. This total number may be divided into the following age-groups :

Infants upto 5 years	102
Children between 5 and 15 years	111
Adults above 15 to 50 years	126
Old persons above 50 years	7

95 per cent of these families came from 24-Parganas and only 5 per cent from Midnapore district.

These families include Hindus and Muhammedans. Among the Hindus scheduled caste tops the list with 188 individuals, i.e., 54.3 per cent and the caste Hindus numbering 16 i.e., 4.6 per cent. The Muhammedans number 142 individuals, i.e., 41 per cent.

The number of unmarried persons among them is 207, i.e., 59.9 per cent, the married 103, i.e., 29.7 per cent and widowed 36, i.e., 10.4 per cent.

To ascertain socio-economic status of these people the principal occupation of these families has been taken into account. The occupation is divided into the following categories :

- (a) Agriculturists—those who possess land and also those who work as tenant-cultivators;
- (b) Farm labourers—those who work as day labourers in the field of others;
- (c) Small traders—those who carry on petty trades such as vegetable selling, peddling, hawking etc.
- (d) Beggars—those who were professional beggars in their villages;
- (e) Others—such as carpenters, fishermen etc.

The farm labourers are the worst sufferers with 65 per cent; agriculturists come next with 17 per cent, small traders 11 per cent, beggars 5 per cent and others 2 per cent.

I have also taken height and weight measurements among the destitute children between the ages of five and nine. Measurements of the adults were not possible as most of them were women who were reluctant to go through this ordeal.

The average height of the children of five years is 92.85 cm. and the weight 9.6 kg. (1 kg.—2.22 lbs.). The maximum height of the individual in this group is 105.2 cm. and the minimum 87.2 cm. The maximum weight of the individual in this group is 13.1 kg. and the minimum 8.1 kg.

The average height of the children of six years is 104.4 cm. and the average weight is 12.0 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 112.9 cm. and the minimum is 94.8 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 15.0 kg. and the minimum is 8.6 kg.

The average height of the children of seven years is 114.2 cm. and the average weight is 15.0 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 124.7 cm. and the minimum is 102.1 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 20.0 kg. and the minimum is 12.7 kg.

The average height of the children of eight years is 118.8 cm. and the average weight is 17.1 kg. The maximum height of the individual in the group is 125.9 cm. and the minimum is 112.1 cm. The maximum weight of the individual is 21.3 kg. and the minimum is 14.0 kg.

The average height of the children of nine years is 120.8 cm. and the average weight is 18.4 kg. The maximum height of the individual is 137.0 cm. and the minimum is 116.6 kg. The maximum weight of the individual is 25.4 kg. and the minimum is 13.6 kg.

I may cite here an instance of the reduction of weight. In the age-group of nine I found a boy with a height of 137.0 cm. which is the highest individual height in that group but his weight had reduced to 14.0 kg. which is just above the lowest individual weight of this group. The boy's mother told me that he was tall and robust among the children of his age but they

were on starvation diet for about three months and were practically without food for the last three days. Cases of this type were not infrequent.

One striking thing among the destitutes was the large number of females and children. This led us to enquire why they had left their village homes. The general answer was that their husbands were unable to maintain them at the present moment and they asked them to go elsewhere in search of food. In some cases the husband had already deserted the family being unable to maintain them.

Among these families about 80 per cent had never come to Calcutta before and were observing purdah system. When enquired into, how it was possible for them to come over to Calcutta, they answered that the railway authorities did not rigorously insist on payment of the due fares to come to Calcutta and some elderly persons of the villages informed them that food was being distributed free in Calcutta. In the first instance they came in a group with a man of the village but after reaching Calcutta they became separated as they went out in search of food. Some of them lost their relations and children and were unable to meet them again. When these people were separated from their groups they generally stopped in one locality where they could get food regularly either from the free-kitchen or from some local people. In this way new groups were formed with members from different villages. As they lived in one locality they became familiar with the people of the locality and some of them were utilised by the local people as daily workers of different types, such as maid-servants, for gardening purposes, carrying loads, making cowdung cakes, standing in controlled shop on behalf of a family, etc., and in this way some of them earned something which although negligible yet helped them to get a shelter in nearabout *bustees* at a monthly rent varying from annas eight to rupees two. This type of earning attracted them and at the time of enquiry we always met with requests to find out some work for them. When the question of repatriation to their village homes was asked, most of them replied in the negative but the rumour of forcible removal of the destitutes from Calcutta by the Government created a panic among them and in the course of a few days most of them left Calcutta and the result was the increasing death-rate in the villages where there were very little arrangements for their food and shelter. In this way the problem of influx population in Calcutta was solved.

RABINDRANATH AND LITERARY ETHICS

BY GURDIAL MALLIK

SOME time ago, one day, I was reading a book of Rabindranath when suddenly I heard the strains of a song. So I pricked up my ears to listen to it a little more attentively. And this was the burden of the song, which was being sung in infectious ecstasy by my neighbour :

"Verily, the man of the world is foolish.

All around him, day and night, there flows the ocean of joy and yet he proclaims to the people in a piercing voice that he is thirsty. Only if he were to deep dive, he would come upon the elixir of life ! He looks at the world and is confounded by its meandering mazes. Only if he were to see everything with the eyes of the Soul, he would discover the truth of delight and the delight of truth everywhere !"

The song ended. But the train of thought it set in motion continued its journey through layer after layer of my consciousness. After a while, however, it stopped and I found that it had brought me to an illuminating understanding of the literary ethics of Rabindranath.

For, what is the pivotal principle of all true literature ? It is the realization by the writer, first and foremost, of his own soul and then of the soul of things. But most of the authors start the other way round. They call in the aid of the intriguing intellect to unravel the mysterious universe which surrounds us. And, alas, it proves to be a soiled and smudged piece of glass through which they see but darkly. This might be the reason why the ancients defined the mind as "the slayer of the Real."

The truth is that no sooner does one contact consciously his own soul than he begins to transfigure every molecule of manifestation. For, the soul is like Majnun who searched for, and saw, his Leila in every speck of sand. With this Alladin's lamp the Self-realized person can enter the darkest cave in the valley of existence and bring out precious pearls.

The unveiling of the soul in one's own being unveils the soul of every aspect of life one after another. For, the joy of self-discovery endows everything with the joy of self-revelation. And so the universe, in the hour of spiritual communion, becomes one, though the masks it wears may be many.

Furthermore, a sense of independence supervenes. It files away the fetters, which usually bind one's conscious mind to a set of particular prejudices and patterns. And the delight that one experiences is akin to that of the primitive caveman, who having witnessed for years the play of shadows on the walls of his cave, at long

last stood face to face, on coming out of his little world, with the Reality.

And strange to say, this sense of independence is followed by a sense of complete submission to the Power or Person, "other than ourselves." Hence, the conception of *Jeevan-Devata*, the Lord of Life, to whom Rabindranath owed affectionate allegiance. As Emerson has said somewhere, "He (the author) is great only by being passive to the superincumbent spirit."

Along with the sense of joy of self-discovery, of the unity of the universe and the independence of the spirit, there is also the sense of newness. Every sunrise is not only reminiscent of the first morn of creation, "when the stars sang," but it brings with it the feeling and fragrance of unadulterated originality. And so the author welcomes it with the love and loyalty of the virgin. This is the reason why one of the major refrains in Rabindranath's song is, "Thou comest to me in the shape of the ever-new."

But all this sublimation of the senses into the soul or the indwelling of the soul in the senses is conditioned by the presence in the author's heart of "peace that passeth understanding." To this end, he must, as Emerson would say "embrace solitude as a bride." And Rabindranath wooed this bride for long stretches of years on the banks of the Padma and in the idyllic environment of Santiniketan. It will not be an exaggeration, therefore, to assert that Santiniketan saved his soul, just as he saved the soul of Santiniketan.

"Be still and know I am God," thus runs a scriptural statement. The world, too, says in a similar strain, "Be still and know I am God's."

But the authors of today believe in rush and in realism, forgetting that realism is animalism, as Rabindranath observes, and rushing about with the restlessness of a sufferer from eczema makes it impossible for the light of the soul to burn as if in a windless atmosphere. They may have the speed of the cinematograph film, but they deprive themselves of the solid stateliness of the Himalayas and the fragrant flow of the spring-breeze.

In short, Rabindranath's literary ethics were born of the truth of the soul and of the soul of Truth. And so while his genius gave us burning truth (and, believe me, Truth burns), the majority of writers send forth scintillating sparks of truisms.

SANDALWOOD CARVING IN SURAT

By S. I. CLERK

LOCAL tradition ascribes the introduction of inlaid borders are generally made only during sandalwood carving in Surat to the middle of monsoon because the humidity in the atmosphere the last century. At present there are about twenty families engaged in this craft. Some of them manufacture the boxes including inlaid work; some others manufacture only all sandalwood boxes (*i.e.*, without any inlaid work) and the rest specialise themselves in carving designs on sandalwood pieces which are required in preparing the sandalwood boxes. The first two are known as Pettigaras and the last as Nakshiwallas. Among the Nakshiwallas some work independently while others are labourers. The Pettigaras mostly take the work from the Nakshiwallas on a contractual basis. At present owing to the wartime brisk demand quite a number of Nakshiwallas have established themselves as Pettigaras mostly making all-sandalwood boxes.

In this Surat craft limitations of caste do not at all exist. Sutars, Parsis, Ghanchis, Kachhias and Kumbhars are to be found among the Surat sandalwood carvers. These craftsmen work daily from about 9-30 a.m. to 7-30 p.m., with an hour and a half rest interval. They observe holidays on No-Moon days (Amos) and on some of the Hindu festival days.

PROCESS AND MATERIALS

The Pettigaras work for about eight months in a year on the manufacture of the boxes and during the monsoon they are engaged in making the borders of ivory, ebony and a species of inlaying known locally as "sadeli." Obviously, those Pettigaras who make only all-sandalwood boxes work on the boxes the whole year as they do no ivory inlaid work. The process of ivory inlaid work is very interesting. Long narrow strips of ivory, ebony, tin, stag horn and 'pattan' (*i.e.*, Indian Red Wood) cut generally into triangular and/or hexagonal shapes are fitted together; the pattern appears in the cross-section. The stick so made is lozenge-shaped; it is cut into pieces of about six inches long and these are placed together with the result that a slab is produced which has the patterns on the edge as many times as there are pieces of the sticks. These strips of about $1/16$ th of an inch in breadth are cut from this edge and are kept ready for use during the rest of the year. These

than otherwise as the glue cannot be kept sufficiently moist in another season and the final product is more durable and better. On the other hand, there are one or two craftsmen, who having entered this craft only recently, have been compelled to manufacture these borders in the winter season; this shows that these borders can be prepared even in summer or winter months, but that is only exceptional.

The materials required in making sandalwood inlaid boxes are:—sandalwood, teakwood, redwood, ivory, stag horn, tin, glue, velvet, hinges, screws, locks, nails and copper sulphate and green colour (the last two for colouring stag horn). On account of the present war, the prices of most of these materials have reached fantastic levels and some of them, such as tin, ebony and teakwood are hardly at all available.

We give below the pre-war prices and the present prices of these raw materials:

Sandalwood—

Pre-War Price Rs. 24-25 per maund.* Present Price Rs. 45 per maund.

Teakwood—

Pre-War Price As. 1-3 per sq. ft. Present Price As. 3 per sq. ft.

Redwood—

Pre-War Price As. 0-3 per lb. Present Price Rs. 2 per lb.

Ivory—

Pre-War Price Rs. 2 per lb. Present Price Rs. 13 per lb.

Stag horn—

Pre-War Price Rs. 6 per maund. Present Price Rs. 13 per maund.

Tin—

Pre-War Price Re. 1 per lb. Present Price Rs. 12 per lb.

Glue—

Pre-War Price As. 6 per lb. Present Price Rs. 3 per lb.

Ebony—

Pre-War Price Rs. 3 per maund. Present Price Rs. 20 per maund.

Copper Sulphate—

Pre-War Price Rs. 3 per lb. Present Price Rs. 12 per lb.

Velvet—

Pre-War Price Re. 1 per yard. Present Price Rs. 3 per yard.

* 1 maund is equal to 80 seers.

Hinges--

Pre-War Price Rs. 15 per gross. Present Price Rs. 100 per gross.

Locks--

Pre-War Price Rs. 15 per gross. Present Price Rs. 115 per gross.

Screws--

Pre-War Price As. 4 per gross. Present Price Rs. 3 per gross.

Even the prices of the tools such as saws, chisels, drills, planes, files and hammers are to-day at least more than almost three times what they were in the pre-war days.

Against this we give below the popular sizes of the sandalwood boxes, their pre-war and present-day prices :

Money Box—Size 6 ins. by 4½ ins. by 2 ins.

Pre-War Price Rs. 9. Present Price Rs. 30.

Handkerchief Box—Size 7 ins. by 5 ins. by 2 ins.

Pre-War Price Rs. 19. Present Price Rs. 35.

Handkerchief Box—Size 9 ins. by 6 ins. by 2½ ins.

Pre-War Price Rs. 20 to 22. Present Price Rs. 40.

Pen Box—Size 8 ins. by 4 ins. by 2½ ins.

Pre-War Price Rs. 16. Present Price Rs. 35.

Glove Box—Size 12 ins. by 5 ins. by 2½ ins.

Pre-War Price Rs. 20 to 22. Present Price Rs. 40.

The above-mentioned figures are to be taken merely as rough indication of the existing state of affairs. They are average figures arrived at from various estimates supplied by a number of craftsmen. Although not verified in a scientific manner, they do indicate the trend of the things.

(To be continued)

THE WAR AND THE YOUNGER WRITERS IN BRITAIN

By JOHN LEHMANN

FOR the younger generation of writers, the under 40s, who were in Britain in September 1939, the four years of war conditions have brought many changes. If one looks at the literary scene today and compares it with the scene in that last summer of peace which seems so far away, one finds that several young writers, who were active then, have now relapsed into silence; in a great many cases, the tendency, the mood of those who are still writing has changed; and a number of new writers, particularly poets, have come forward, whose aims seem, at first sight, to be markedly different from those of their predecessors.

It has been the gradual extension of mobilisation for total war which has been the chief cause of silence. Some writers joined the armed forces early on, and have found it difficult to achieve the concentration necessary for creative work in the middle of their duties. Others have been working in Government Departments, or on the B. B. C., and leisure has been severely restricted: the harassing daily routine work of an office under wartime pressure is not the kind of background which encourages the production of a literary masterpiece. Nevertheless many of these authors have continued to write, though their output has been much smaller; as with the newcomers, poetry has been their chief—though not their only—activity.

It is easy to understand this. A poem can be written in a shorter time than a novel or a serious critical work; it can be worked on between manoeuvres or sea voyages, between air raids, between office hours, and all its apparatus is a pencil and a piece of paper. It is also the natural vehicle of expression at a time of heightened emotion and ever-present danger, and when—as in war—the fundamental loyalties are uppermost in men's minds.

The change in the theme chosen, the mood communicated, has been due, I think, to more complex causes, many of which it may be difficult to assess until the war is behind us. One important thing, however, can be found in the evolution of the attitude towards political and social action of these younger writers. For many years before the war their interest in politics had been growing. Their hatred of Fascism, the deep anxiety they felt as they saw Europe accelerating towards war, brought many of them to believe that only by radical action on the part of the whole community, themselves, included, could disaster be averted. For a time revolutionary dogma had a powerful appeal for them, and this produced, as often before, an impatient and visionary optimism, strongly reflected in their work.

The outbreak of war shattered many of their hopes and their beliefs. As time went on and

the true nature of the world crisis revealed itself, and the peril and historic opportunity of Britain became more sharply illuminated, their preoccupation with party political or economic issues of the moment gave way to deeper, more permanent and more purely human problems. If one is looking for patriotic enthusiasm, in the cruder sense of the word, one will not find it in their work; but one will find a new assumption, the sense of a community united in a common purpose, so completely accepted that scepticism, pity, horror at human suffering can play over it without affecting its strength.

This preoccupation with the human side of the conflict is also characteristic of the work of many of the poets who have recently begun to make their names. The revolt against the ideas of Day Lewis, Spender, MacNeice, which their protagonists have made much of, is more theoretical than real; they are attacking a position which the poets of the thirties may be said already to have abandoned.

The poetry, for instance, of Alun Lewis, one of the most gifted of the new generation, is at times strongly reminiscent of Stephen Spender's recent work. This is not, of course, true of all, and there is great variety of temperament and style among them: such poets as Laurie Lee, Terence Tiller, Nicholas Moore, Alex Comfort, Norman Nicholson, Vernon Watkins and Peter Yates already have distinct personalities as well as promise of interesting development in the future. Nevertheless, the differences between the generations are less than the iconoclastic impatience of youth may be inclined to claim. One of the most interesting and accomplished of the poets writing at the moment is Roy Fuller. He has been in the Fleet Air Arm for over two years, and his poems have been for many serving

oignant expression

of the tragedy of the war and the supreme reality of human relationships as they have felt it. Fuller had begun to write some years before the war, and his early poetry was deeply influenced by Auden and Spender; his active service has brought a striking new simplicity and intensity to his work. He and Alun Lewis, who is now an officer in the army overseas, have attracted a good deal of attention among the poets in uniform, though several who showed considerable promise, among whom Sidney Keyes and Gervase Steward were outstanding, have most unhappily been killed in action.

Poetry is undoubtedly very much alive in Britain at the moment. A great deal of bad poetry is being written, but the impulse is so strong, and the experiments are so diverse, that one cannot help feeling optimistic about the future.

There are two tendencies in particular which encourage me in this hope. The first is the renewed interest which is being shown in long poems or series of poems. Cecil Day Lewis has recently published a beautiful sonnet sequence on childhood and youth; George Barker has also just published a striking sonnet sequence in *Horizon*; Stephen Spender has been working on a number of long, elaborate Odes; Roy Fuller's *Teba*, Terence Tiller's *Birth of Christ*, Peter Yates's *Motionless Dances* are a few among many examples of long and highly wrought poems in the work of the new poets.

The second tendency is the return to strong technical structure, a renewed feeling for the subtleties of music and texture. This is just beginning; it is by no means a flight to an empty classicism, but an infusion of classical form with modern feeling and modern rhythms. The next few years in Britain may yield much that is exciting for those who care deeply about poetry.



BRITISH AIRMEN AND HIGH ALTITUDE FLYING

BY ADAM GOWANS WHYTE, B.Sc.

IN deep-sea diving great care is taken to avoid the effects of breathing compressed air. If the diver is brought up quickly into air at normal pressure the nitrogen absorbed by his body forms

the air is much lower than it is at ground level. Any great and rapid reduction of pressure below the normal is liable to cause "decompression sickness." High altitude flying, however, has its own special dangers. About 10,000 feet up the air is so rarified that the oxygen supply becomes insufficient; the airman's breathing is disturbed, and he suffers from headaches and impaired sight and hearing. Above 17,500 feet the effects become still more serious, as the airman cannot either think clearly or control his limbs. At such heights, therefore, the wearing of an oxygen mask is absolutely necessary.

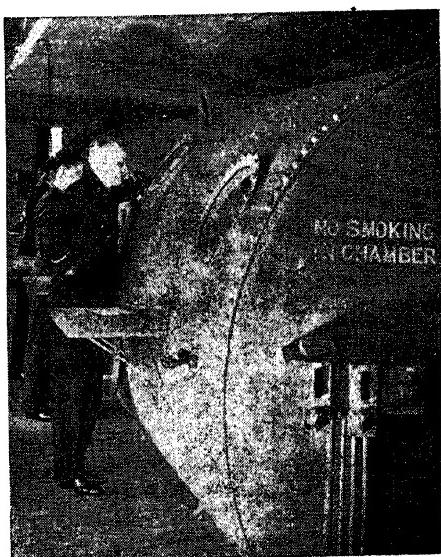
All these facts, and many others of great importance, were learned from experiments made by the British Air Ministry with a special pressure chamber. Most of the equipments used are mobile, being mounted on trailers so that they may be transferred from one training centre to



Pilots undergo pressure tests in this chamber and their response to orders given them through inter-communication telephone under these artificial conditions is recorded by various meters and gauges

bubbles in his tissues and causes a painful and dangerous form of paralysis. In the early days of diving this trouble was overcome by bringing the diver up by short stages, with a rest at each stage, in order to give the gas time to escape harmlessly. Later the eminent British submarine engineer, Sir Robert Davis, invented a submersible compression chamber which is lowered into deep water; the diver enters it, removes his diving gear, and sits in comfort and warmth while the pressure is gradually reduced to atmospheric level. The British Admiralty, which undertakes deep-sea salvage on a large scale, made experiments to discover the best decompression times for various conditions, and the results were published in "diving tables" now adopted all over the world.

A somewhat similar problem is met with in flying at high altitudes, where the pressure of



Through the port-holes experienced doctors watch the reaction of pilots undergoing pressure tests and also observe their response to orders given them through the inter-communication telephone.

another. Each chamber consists of a cylindrical tank of welded steel, approximately 7·5 feet in length and 5·5 feet in diameter. Seats are pro-

vided for six men, who enter by an air-tight door at the rear, and the interior of the chamber is lined with white felt to deaden sound and



An airman is undergoing blood pressure tests before being allowed to undergo high altitude flying tests

prevent the condensation of moisture. Each man is provided with an inter-communication telephone and an oxygen mask, the oxygen being supplied from steel cylinders stored at the side of the chamber. On a platform at the rear of the trailer is mounted a vacuum pump driven by an electric motor or a petrol engine.

The medical officer conducting the experiments sits in an observation cabin at the front of the chamber, and by operating the vacuum pump he can produce, inside the chamber, all but one of the conditions of flying at high altitudes. The exception is the intense cold of the upper atmosphere, but the precautions required in that connection are too well known to call for investigation. Exhausting the air from the chamber corresponds to climbing in an aeroplane, and flooding the chamber with air corresponds to descending. The equivalent height at each stage in the experiment is recorded on an altimeter, and the rate of ascent or descent is shown on a separate instrument. The chamber is constantly ventilated by exhausting the air from the bottom of the cylinder and admitting an equal amount through the top.

Not only does the medical officer watch the effects of changes in height upon the men, but he tests them by means of the inter-communication telephone. Each man is told to repeat a familiar

nursery rhyme over and over again, and it is found that as the height increases his memory tends to become confused through lack of oxygen, or "anoxia," as the deficiency is officially described. At great heights he completely forgets the simple words he has known since his childhood. The effect of "anoxia" on his hearing can also be tested by the inter-communication telephone. The airman is thus trained to detect the symptoms which warn him that he must put on his oxygen mask.

One of the most important points in these trials is to determine the safe rate of ascent and descent. Repeated observations show that the maximum rate of ascent is 11,700 feet per minute, and that the maximum rate of descent is about 29,250 feet per minute. It has been found, however, that there are considerable differences among the men in this connection; some of them can stand much higher rates of both ascent and descent than others. Similar differences exist among divers, and in diving and flying alike the



A pilot fully clad in electrically heated flying clothes and oxygen mask is ready to take off on a high altitude flight to collect meteorological data for weather reports

ability to adapt oneself to rapid changes can be greatly increased by training. Indeed, airmen who have had many hours of high flying may

be hardly affected by quick rises or falls. The tests thus enable the Royal Air Force to select the recruits who have a natural aptitude for flying at very high altitudes, and also to observe the effects of training upon their power to withstand the severe conditions and to deal promptly and

efficiently with any mishaps which may occur. In fact, the full resources of modern science have been utilised to ensure that British airmen will achieve the highest possible standard in a type of air warfare which has become of vital importance.

THE MOLD THAT FIGHTS FOR THE LIFE OF MAN

By DANIEL SCHWARZ

USUALLY the first thing doctors say when the subject of penicillin is brought up is, "Please don't call it a 'wonder drug.'" But then they proceed to grow enthusiastic.

Penicillin inspires such enthusiasm partly because it has come on the medical scene at exactly the right time. Army doctors have always searched for a drug that would cure infections in open wounds. The sulfa drugs help, but they aren't always completely effective against pus-forming bacteria. Penicillin has cleared infected wounds that had defied all the usual treatments.

In addition, penicillin has proved extremely useful in treating types of pneumonia that have resisted all other treatment; boils and abscesses, infected burns, the bone disease called osteomyelitis and dozens of other less familiar illnesses.

Moreover, unlike the sulfa drugs, which are sometimes hard on the kidneys, penicillin has the great advantage of being practically non-toxic.

What is penicillin? A rare drug secreted by a greenish-blue mold similar to the familiar mold that forms on cheese, oranges that have spoiled, bread, etc., as Dr. Alexander Fleming, English bacteriologist, discovered by accident in 1928. The particular kind of mold from which penicillin is secreted is called technically *Penicillium Chrysogenum notatum*.

It was not until 1939, eleven years after Fleming's original discovery, that a group of British scientists at Oxford, led by Dr. H. W. Florey, Professor of Pathology, began work on penicillin in earnest. They knew that if they grew *Penicillium* in a liquid under favourable conditions something that killed bacteria was somehow added. So they grew *Penicillium* by the square yard and after a week or two poured off the liquid in which it grew and tried to extract from it the essential compound. The problem of extracting penicillin was, and is complex. Its properties were unknown, it proved to

be exceedingly unstable and it was mixed with a number of other organic materials any of which might have been a part of it or a necessary ally in its work.

So the job was difficult but, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Oxford group of bacteriologists pushed it along and began to get results. In time they were able



Unless it is in its purest form, penicillin is a very unstable drug and must be handled with the utmost care

to make a concentrate over 1,000 times the strength of the original fluid. They tried it on mice and it had no poisonous effects. They shot deadly doses of bacteria into other mice, produced infections that were "incurable"—and then cured those infections with their concentra-

ted penicillin. By 1941 they had a pure enough form of penicillin and enough evidence that it was non-toxic to justify experiments with it on human cases, people desperately, hopelessly ill, and it produced amazing results. They went to America and demonstrated their technique here.

From all this work some of the advantages of penicillin became clear. Other drugs that killed bacteria worked much faster than penicillin, but they had some nasty toxic effects. Even the sulfa drugs, despite their amazing results, had the disadvantage that a number of people were apparently allergic to the forms of sulfonamides known at the time and some persons even suffered permanent harm. But penicillin singled out the bacteria and left the patient alone. Furthermore, penicillin worked against some bacteria that the sulfa drugs could not cope with, in particular the pus-forming bacteria that gather in open cuts and wounds.



In bottles like this, an ordinary mold produces that amazing new drug penicillin which has proved to be such a powerful weapon against pneumonia, meningitis, syphilis and gonorrhœa

Then came Pearl Harbour. Medicine, like everything else, was mobilized in the U. S. and penicillin research and production, up to that time conducted only on a laboratory scale, was given an A-1 priority. Manufacture was strictly controlled; a number of chemical houses were encouraged to set up plants for the mass production of penicillin (there are now about

twenty such plants in operation); twenty-two groups of investigators were promised supplies of penicillin to carry out experiments in hospitals; and the U. S. Army and Navy created penicillin units to do similar work in the armed forces.

Complete authority over every drop of penicillin produced for civilian use was given to a sort of penicillin director, Dr. Chester S. Keefer of Boston. Now requests come to him from doctors all over the United States and he doles out the precious-stuff on the basis of a set of principles set up by a group of doctors. If previous experience has shown that penicillin won't fight a particular kind of sickness, he is in duty bound to refuse a request for the slightest bit of it. But if penicillin seems likely to help, he rushes the necessary supply and keeps a check on the result.

While penicillin has probably been the most carefully rationed war essential of all, the output is being stepped up so rapidly that a surplus for civilian doctors may be available by this spring or summer. Details of how penicillin is being mass-produced are a military secret, but it isn't revealing anything to Hitler's technicians to say that three methods of growing the temperamental mold are in use: surface culture, bran culture (in which the mold is grown on bran moistened by a liquid nutrient) and submerged culture.

In submerged culture the mold is grown in huge, covered vats holding hundreds and perhaps thousands of gallons of nutrient fluid (the preferred culture medium is corn steep liquor). The necessary air is pumped through the fluid. After several days, when the mold has produced a sufficient supply of penicillin, the fluid is led through pipes to other containers, where it is concentrated at low temperatures and under high vacuums by a technique somewhat similar to that of drying blood plasma. It has been estimated that the cost of producing penicillin is Rs. 58,500 a pound, but the doses needed are so small that each costs only Rs. 6-8-0.

Penicillin must be concentrated some 20,000 times, or until it is completely dry, before it can be stored without deteriorating. It arrives at the hospital as a yellow or yellow-brown powder and is stored in refrigerators until it is needed. Then it is diluted and jabbed with a hypodermic needle into the muscles (not necessarily near the point of infection) or allowed to drip into a vein in a glucose mixture.

According to an estimate made early last year, five gallons of culture fluid were needed to yield a single gram of penicillin. Current production is a secret but it probably is still a

relatively low percentage of the fluid treated. Fortunately the potency of penicillin is extremely high: it requires only one part in 2,50,00,000 staphylococcus aureus, which causes boils.

One object of current penicillin research, and a most important one, is to synthesize the drug with known chemicals, as some of the vitamins have been synthesized. The first step, obviously, is to decide what penicillin is made of, itself an exceedingly difficult thing, and progress has been made on that line. Then, since many houses can be made with the same set of bricks, the particular molecular structure of penicillin will have to be worked out. Biological chemists are convinced that both these things will be done before very long.

Another thing that nobody knows yet is how penicillin does its job; it is known to work relatively slowly—in a matter of hours rather than minutes, as some other bactericides do. Therefore, one hypothesis is that it doesn't kill the bacteria but simply upsets their process of reproduction. That is enough to do the job. If the total number of bacteria can be kept constant, the white blood cells can be relied on to clean them out.

It hasn't yet been possible to explore all of penicillin's possibilities because the supply has been so limited and the need so great that even qualified researchers have had difficulty in getting it. Moreover, after penicillin is synthesized, it seems likely that variations of it will be worked out, just as they were in the case of the sulfa drugs, and these derivatives may do miracles as yet unthought of. Finally, the success of penicillin seems certain to lead to extensive research on similar properties of other fungi, a field whose possibilities have hardly

Courtesy : USOWI.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Bombay Economic Plan and Agricultural Classes

THE Bombay Economic Plan seems to contain certain defects which, it is essential, the Planners should remedy.

The Plan attaches disproportionately greater importance to industry than the interests of a predominantly agricultural country would warrant. 70 per cent. of our population are maintained by agriculture and even if industries be developed to the point of saturation, the number of industrial workers can not increase from the present figure of 1 per cent. to more than 5 per cent. The average national income per capita is Rs. 65 while the average income of the agriculturist is Rs. 22 per capita. The increasing disparity in the standards of living between rural and urban areas is a disquieting feature of India's economy and calls for immediate redress. Under the circumstances the allotment of Rs. 1,240 crores to agriculture as against Rs. 4,480 crores to industry and the targets of 130 per cent. increase in one case and 500 per cent. in the other are, to say the least, irrational. India's poor have been getting poorer since the adoption of the policy of 'discriminating' protection of industries by the Government and the process of merciless exploitation by big business, as in cloth, has increased five-fold since the beginning of the war. The vast masses of the country look forward to the day when hostilities will cease and prices will crash as after the armistice of the last Great War. If the

Plan be put into effect, these hopes will be belied and inflation not only maintained but augmented for a fearfully long period of 15 years. Rs. 3,400 crores, i.e., one-third of the total capital to be spent is to be obtained by 'created money' which is another name for inflation. Even borrowing in foreign countries like America to the extent of Rs. 700 crores is counted upon while our experience of industries worked with foreign capital, such as jute, coal, paper, shoes and motor tyres is the bitterest imaginable.

The Sterling securities of Rs. 1,000 crores should be spent entirely on the improvement of agriculture, rural industries and of rural areas by the import of tools, agricultural implements and machinery for irrigation. A true plan for the development of India will begin at the right end of agriculture which, when rendered prosperous, will lead to savings that will naturally be attracted to industry.

We may point out here that the rural industry of handloom weaving which, next to agriculture, employs the largest number of persons, needs immediate relief and any scheme of planning in future will be meaningless if weavers be allowed to die out. The Handloom Board recently appointed by the Central Government will prove useful only if it copy the example of the Government of Madras and secure yarn from the mills all over India under the D. I. rules on the basis of standard profits and supply it to weavers at cheap rates.

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA.

THE EDUCATION OF THE BLIND

BY J. M. RITCHIE

THE high honour of being the first to undertake the organised education of the blinds belongs to a Frenchman, Valentin Haüy, who founded the earliest school of the kind in the world. This was in 1784, when he established in Paris the Institution Nationale des Jeunes Aveugles.

His splendid example was quickly followed by philanthropists in other lands, and in 1791 the first School for the Blind in Great Britain was opened in Liverpool. Before the end of the eighteenth century, four other Institutions had been opened in different parts of the country and by 1850, 16 more had been added to the list. These Institutions were established and maintained by charitable funds. They varied in type, some providing education to junior children, some technical training to older pupils, some workshop employment and some an asylum for the aged and incapable blind. Not a few included within their walls several of these sections.

STATUTORY MEASURE

In 1890 a law was passed for Scotland and in 1893 a similar measure for England and Wales whereby it became a statutory obligation on School Boards or local elective Councils for education to see that efficient elementary education was provided for all the blind children in the country between the ages of five and sixteen years. This education was mainly furnished by the existing charitable Institutions, but partly by new schools established and maintained by the School Boards or by the Local Education Authorities which took the place of School Boards in England in 1902. In England the central body responsible to Parliament for national education is called the Board of Education. In Scotland the corresponding body is the Scottish Education Department. By the Acts of 1890 and 1893 these bodies became charged with the supervision of the education of blind children and sent their inspectors into all those schools which desired financial assistance from the State. During the next generation this central control did much to bring a higher standard of efficiency. Buildings were extended and equipment modernised, while a certain uniformity of method and curriculum was established.

In 1907 there was founded the College of Teachers of the Blind whose object was the advancement of the education of blind children. Since 1908 it has conducted examinations and granted diplomas to teachers in schools for the blind. The securing of this diploma is made a condition of permanent recognition by the Board of Education.

In 1924 the number of blind children in England and Wales from 5 to 16 was 1,400, and the number of young blind persons from 16 to 21 was 1,100. This is an interesting index to the size of the problem.

THREE STAGES OF EDUCATION

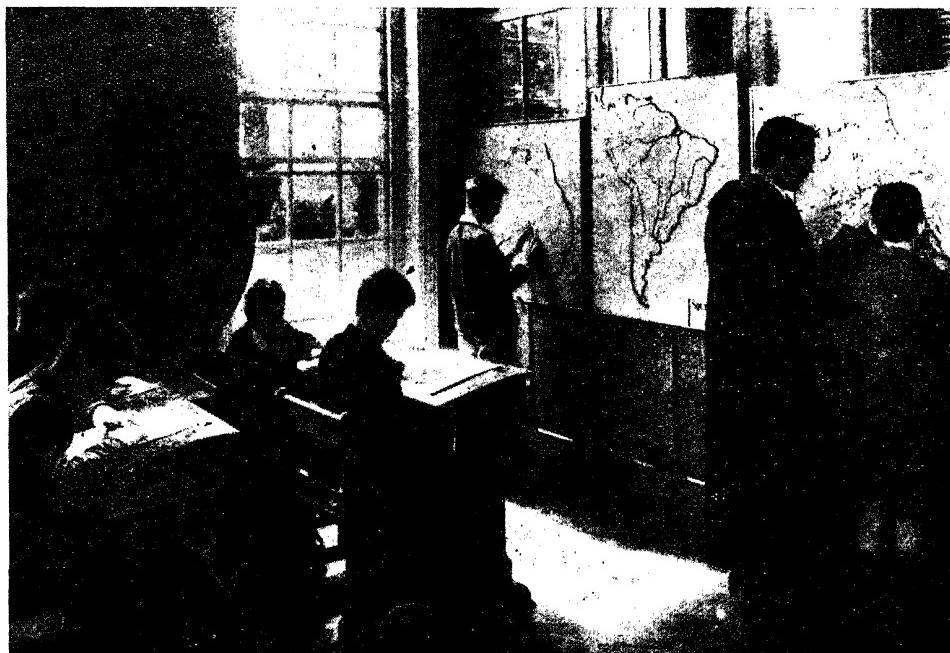
At the present time the educational machinery is in three stages : (1) Nursery Schools for children under 5 years of age, (2) Schools for general education for pupils from the age of 5 to the age of 16 and (3) Training Institutions where pupils from 16 to 20 years are taught the occupation at which it is hoped they will earn their livelihood. There are also schools, one for boys and one for girls, which prepare blind pupils for the University with a view to academic careers and the learned professions. These types of schools are all residential, that is to say, the pupils are boarded in the school and are thus guaranteed good food and regular hours in suitable surroundings.

The medium for reading and writing is exclusively Braille and the principal piece of apparatus for arithmetic is the Taylor frame, of board in which square pegs are used in octagonal holes, the varying positions of the peg determining the digit. The curriculum and timetable of these schools closely approximate to those of schools for seeing children. In addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, history, geography, nature study, English literature and language find a place. Special attention is paid to the physical education of the pupils and most of the schools have on their staff a teacher specially trained for this branch of the work.

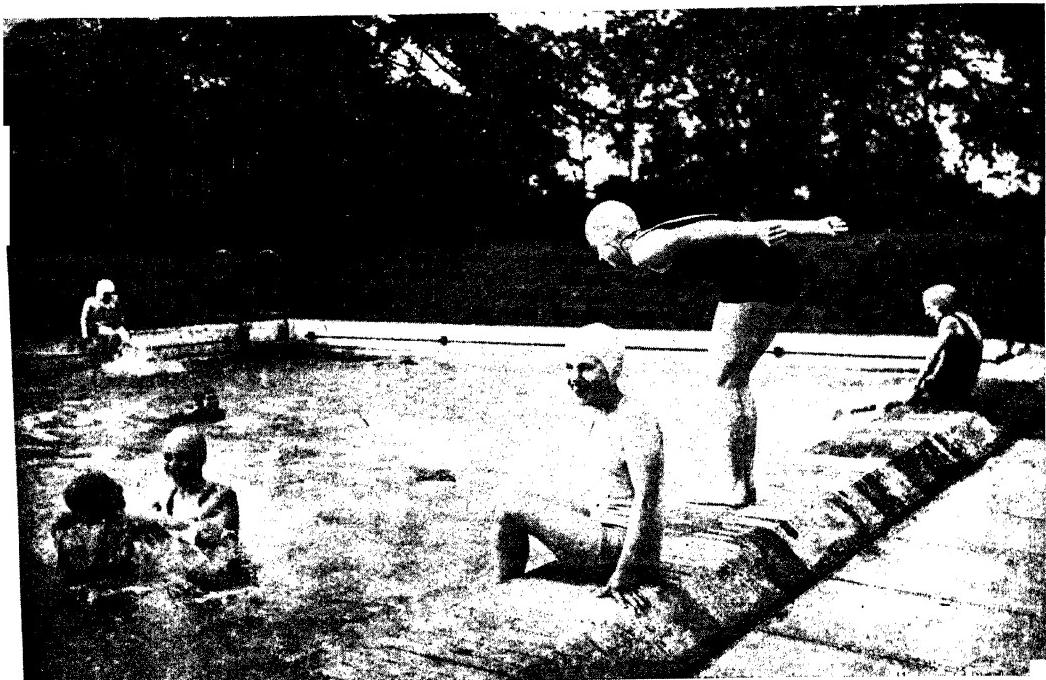
The occupational courses include music and pianoforte tuning, shorthand and typewriting, basket-making, shoe-repairing, mat-making, brush-making, machine-knitting, and a few other



The well-equipped braille library of Worcester College for the Blind. Books on every conceivable subject have been transcribed in braille for the use of the blind boys



Special maps are used for blind boys to teach them the outlines of countries and to give them an understanding of the world's configuration



A happy party of blind girls at a school for the blind in England enjoying a swim



A well-equipped nursery in a school for blind boys

trades. During the four years in which the student is receiving this training he is also being given general education so as to widen his mental horizon and to fit him more adequately for the deeper purposes of life.

OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITIES

It should also be mentioned that most schools encourage out-of-school organisations, such as scout and guide companies, folk dancing, literary and debating societies, and hobbies of all kinds. The aim of the school is to make the most of the pupil's powers, to give him as full and active a life as possible, to prepare him for

his future career and to enable him to mix normally and happily with people who possess their sight.

At the end of training the pupils pass to specialised workshops or if they are unable to attend a workshop daily, they are usually given supervision and assistance under a Home Workers' Scheme where, as the name implies, they are enabled to work in their own homes. This is no part of education but it is mentioned here because in Great Britain it is considered essential that continuing service should be extended to the blind from the cradle to the grave.

THE BRITISH POSTGRADUATE MEDICAL SCHOOL

BY COLONEL A. H. PROCTOR

IN 1921 a Committee was appointed by Dr. Addison (now Lord Addison) to investigate the needs of medical practitioners and other graduates for a further education in London and to submit proposals for a practicable scheme for meeting them. It was presided over by the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Athlone, and the committee has since been referred to as the Athlone Committee.

The London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine and the British Postgraduate Medical School are the direct result of its recommendations. The former was made possible by a grant of £250,000 from the Rockefeller Trustees and was opened in 1929.

It was not till 1931 that funds were provided by H.M. Government for a postgraduate school, and considerable delay arose owing to the difficulty in finding a suitable hospital with a site for school building available. Eventually an agreement was entered into with the London County Council whereby one of their hospitals was made available for the purpose of post-graduate medical education.

WHOLE-TIME STAFF

The British Postgraduate Medical School was opened on May 13, 1935, by the late King George V. At present it provides postgraduate medical education in Medicine, Surgery, Obstetrics and Gynaecology, and Pathology, free from the limitations imposed by providing undergraduate education at the same time. No undergraduates were to be admitted and post-graduates were expected to join one or other

department and to devote their time to attendance in that department.

The staff provided were almost entirely whole-time staff, but large use was made of well-known teachers and authorities for individual lectures. The school was associated with Hammersmith Hospital, a large London County Council hospital of 750 beds and the school staff



An attentive audience of physicians and surgeons of considerable experience in the lecture room.

were appointed as Physicians or Surgeons in charge of beds, while the pathology requirements were provided for in the Department of Pathology. The school steadily developed in the four and a half years preceding the war. Its work was organised by departments and to those mentioned above was added a Department of

Radiology; a special department to organise Revision Courses for general practitioners; and a central information bureau situated in the centre of London.

The number of students enrolled showed a steady increase from 479, in the year 1936-37, to 1,124, in the last year before the war. Not only had students been enrolled from all parts of the British Empire but in addition there had come students from 23 foreign countries.

WARTIME CHANGES

It was with genuine regret, therefore, that at the outbreak of war the founders of the School saw the carefully built-up organisation broken up by the mobilisation of some of the staff and the departure of practically all the

students and starting or expanding research on wartime problems. The two problems on which they concentrated were the preparation and value of serum in the treatment of shock and on blood volume and haemo-concentration in shock.

STEADY EXPANSION

For three months it remained doubtful whether the British Postgraduate Medical School should continue its activities as a Medical School. Towards the end of this period it became evident that there was still a considerable demand for postgraduate instruction. Many doctors who had retired or never been in active practice, had decided that their most useful war-work would be to resume practice. They wished

to refresh their knowledge and bring themselves up to date. A large number of refugees from occupied countries wished to acquire British degrees and diplomas or to continue in close touch with professional work till they secured employment. Convalescent medical officers of the Armed Forces were anxious to improve their knowledge and usefully occupy their time.

Though the need for undergraduates to be attached for general duties had ceased, the removal of the Medical Schools outside London and partial closing down of the central hospitals raised difficulties in their education, more especially in Obstetrics. The Governing Body, therefore, approved as a wartime measure that undergraduates



In the post-mortem room doctors are listening to the pathologist's discussion of the illness of a deceased patient

students. Fortunately a number of the members of the staff were required to stay on to staff the hospital which came under the administration of the *Emergency Medical Service*.

Organised by the Minister of Health in preparation for air raid casualties the hospital had been emptied of all patients who could be moved. The staff had been reinforced and suitable arrangements had been made for the reception of air raid and other casualties. A number of undergraduates from St. Mary's Hospital Medical School were attached for general duty and while waiting for casualties the staff found an outlet for their energies in instructing these

should be admitted to the School if their own school was unable to accommodate them. As a result teaching duties increased to such an extent that it was found necessary to increase the staff and since that time the activities of the school have steadily expanded.

It was also at about this time that correspondence in the medical journals suggested that a number of doctors, joining the Services including the Emergency Medical Service, were anxious for instruction in the treatment of casualties.

THE E. M. S.

The E.M.S. is the service specially organised for the collection and treatment of air raid

casualties. It was staffed largely by medical officers who had no experience of war wounds. The suggestion of special war courses was taken up and the British Postgraduate Medical School began in a modest way with a demonstration of plaster of paris technique given by Colonel

present series is as follows:—*War Surgery of the Extremities; The Surgical Care of the Soldier in Training; War Surgery of the Abdomen; War Medicine; Treatment of Fractures; War Surgery of the Chest; War Surgery of the Nervous System; and Special Problems in War Surgery.*

These are held in rotation every alternate week. They do not lend themselves to such practical work as the Fracture Course, but a demonstration is given in each surgical course of operative work on the Cadaver, and from time to time a practical operative surgery course is held which has special reference to war wounds.

The British Postgraduate School is therefore continuing to fulfil a valuable educational function during the war. Its wartime courses are probably the most effective way in which recent advances and the lines upon which research is being conducted, can be brought to the notice of serving officers. This is being increasingly recognised and many serving officers who attend these courses prepare notes for circulation to their units when they return. Professor Grey Turner, Director of the Department of Surgery, prepares the programmes and selects as lecturers those surgeons with special experience or responsible for more recent advances and research.

NOTEWORTHY RESEARCH

The most noteworthy research result obtained by the School workers has been in



A minor operation is watched intently by a group of doctors of different nationalities

Buxton of King's College Hospital. It was so successful that it had to be twice repeated at short intervals before the applicants were satisfied. Sixty seats were provided at each demonstration but many more attended.

The next war course was a course on the "Treatment of Fractures" conducted by Mr. Watson-Jones of Liverpool. This was essentially a practical and intensive course. From 10 a.m. to lunch, Mr. Watson-Jones lectured with the aid of lantern slides, patients and models. In the afternoon the members of the class actually applied the splints demonstrated in the morning, and after tea reassembled for discussion. This course is limited to 40 as the practical work requires considerable space. All places are taken up at an early date and there is usually a waiting list for the next course on fractures.

SURGERY COURSES

Thus encouraged, the School proceeded to organise further courses of instruction and the



After a demonstration, two doctors study the mechanism of a new surgical appliance connection with shock, and what is provisionally described as the "Crush Syndrome." In a paper published by Dr. Beall and Dr. Bywaters, they drew attention to the fact that patients who survived severe crush injuries of the limbs for

some days died at a later date from anuria associated with a special kidney lesion. This syndrome has since been intensively studied and information of great importance in traumatic surgery has been gained.

Research on Shock and on Blood and Serum transfusions has also continued at the School, and work on associated problems is being vigorously pursued in all departments.

War conditions and reduction of staff have diminished the amount of ordinary peace-time research, but the work on Silicosis is still being continued at the request of the Medical Research Council. Radium Beam Research is now transferred to the Hammersmith Hospital and is working in conjunction with the Radiology Department of the School. Routine of post-graduate teaching is being carried on and students are being enrolled in sufficient numbers to make systematic teaching worthwhile.

PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

In Medicine and Surgery a large proportion of students are from Empire Forces serving in England. The majority of foreign students are refugees from occupied countries, while others come from China, America, and Peru. Even countries such as Siam are represented. A use-

ful feature of the School's activities are the various house appointments filled by newly qualified medical officers for six months before being called up to the forces.

The Maternity Department is particularly active owing to the closing down of the maternity units in London. About 2000 births take place in the unit annually and this figure could be exceeded in wartime if more beds could be made available. The undergraduate students who attend are able to fulfil the requirements for their university degree and obtain the necessary experience. At the same time there is a constant flow of practitioners who desire to refresh their knowledge before going into practice and thereby release younger men for service with the Armed Forces. Many of these are women who have married and given up practice for many years; others are older retired practitioners anxious to assist in the war, but who feel they have lost touch with present-day practice.

The School is hoping at the end of hostilities to expand its activities considerably and enlarge its staff. Plans are already being considered to provide postgraduate instruction on a larger scale than hitherto and we are looking forward to admitting in the future many students from other countries.

RAJNARAIN BOSE AND INDIAN NATIONALISM

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

RAJNARAIN Bose has been rightly called the grand-father of Indian nationalism. So far back as 1861, twenty-four years before the Indian National Congress was started, he had laid down in a pamphlet what we may call the basis of Indian nationalism. He put in black and white the broad principles for the promotion of national feeling among our educated countrymen. Those of our countrymen who felt proud of their new education, found nothing good in our own culture, literature, music, manners, customs, dress and similar other things. In a way they were fast becoming denationalised. But the public generally follow the educated men. It was apprehended the whole nation would forget its own culture in no time. Lack of physical culture was also one of the main causes contributing to the weakness of the people. Rajnarain felt the necessity of stemming the tide of denationalisation and, while at Midnapore, started a society in 1861, called the "Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal." He issued a prospectus in the form of the aforesaid pamphlet. For the

history of Indian nationalism, its importance as a valuable document cannot be minimised. The *Tattwabodhini Patrika* for Chaitra 1787 Sak (March-April 1866) reproduced it from *The National Paper*. To understand the trend of thought behind our previous national movements as well as to be apprised of the claims of Rajnarain to be the grand-father of Indian nationalism, the prospectus is given here *in extenso*:

A Society for the Promotion of National Feeling among the Educated Natives of Bengal.

Now that European ideas have penetrated Bengal, the Bengalee mind has been moved from the sleep of ages. A restless fermentation is going on in Bengalee Society. A desire for change and progress is everywhere visible. People discontented with old customs and institutions are panting for reform. Already a band of young men have expressed a desire to sever themselves at once from Hindu Society and to renounce even the Hindu name. It is to be feared that the tide of revolution may sweep away whatever good we have inherited from our ancestors. To prevent this catastrophe and to give a national shape to reforms, it is proposed that a Society be established by the influential members of native Society for the promotion of national feeling among the educated natives of

Bengal. Without due cultivation of national feeling, no nation can be eventually great. This is a fact testified to by all history.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall first of all use their best endeavours to revive the national gymnastic exercises. Half a century ago, there was a gymnasium in almost every village. This old practice should be again brought into life. The remark, lately made by our Excellency the Governor-General on seeing the boys of a Vernacular School at Ootterparah, to the effect, that the rising generation of Bengalees is not so strong and able-bodied as the previous one, is quite true. The cause of it is the too great importance attached now-a-days to bookish education in neglect of physical. The consequences are want of energy, a sickly habit of body, and premature old age and death. Many a young man after shining at College has broken down early and proved a regular incapable in after life. The Nationality Promotion Society shall publish tracts in Bengalee on the importance of physical education with special reference to its prevalence in ancient times, quoting passages from Sanskrit books in proof of such prevalence, and shall afford pecuniary aid to gymnasias established in the most important places in Bengal, where Hindu gymnastics will be taught. The Society will also publish tracts in Bengalee, giving, by instances quoted from the ancient history of the country, proofs of the military prowess of the ancient Bengalees, and mentioning isolated instances of the existence of such prowess in modern Bengalees also, such as the celebrated "fighting Moonsiff" who figured in the late Sepoy Rebellion on behalf of the English. The National Promotion Society shall take into consideration in connection with this subject that of the best means of improving the present very weak and innutritious diet of the Bengalee, which has in fact deteriorated from that of former generations.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall establish a Model School for instruction in Hindu music. Every nation has its music. It is to be regretted that the majority of the educated natives of India neither cultivate European nor native music. If they have any taste for music they have a little for the rude one of Jattras. The writer of this article recollects the cultivation of Hindu Music having been general in his infancy. Now little attention is paid to it by the general mass of educated natives. It will be the duty of the Society to establish a Hindu Musical School, and cause such songs to be sung by its students as have a moral scope and have a tendency to infuse patriotism and martial enthusiasm into the heart.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall also establish a school of Hindu Medicine, where Hindu Materia Medica, and practice of physic will be taught freed from the error and absurdities that disfigure them. There are many excellent Hindu medicines which have been found to be very efficacious in some severe disorders. It is to be highly regretted that the knowledge of such medicines is being lost. It would have indicated want of foresight on the part of Providence, if India, so rich in every other thing, could not have produced medicinal herbs calculated to heal the diseases of its inhabitants. The hopes, that were formed of the graduates of the Medical College enriching English Pharmacopoeia with Hindu Medicines, after due trial and experiment have proved vain. The Nationality Promotion Society shall endeavour to fulfil such expectations. The teacher of the proposed Hindu School of Medicine should be one who is acquainted with both English and Hindu medical sciences.

The Nationality Promotion Society will publish in the Bengalee the results of the researches of the Sam-

skrit scholars of Europe in the department of Indian Antiquities, giving special prominence to their descriptions of the prosperity and glory of ancient India, physical, intellectual, moral, social, political, literary and scientific. It will collect and publish both in English and Bengalee testimonies in favor of native character. It will publish in those languages tracts containing the panegyrics pronounced by European writers on the merits of the people of ancient and modern India. It will also publish in the Bengalee, biographies of the illustrious men of Ancient and Modern India, especially of Bengal, containing translations of the eulogiums pronounced upon them by European writers.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall afford every encouragement in their power to the cultivation of Sanskrit. It shall patronize the publication of important Sanskrit works, co-operating with the Asiatic Society of Bengal in this respect, and shall offer pecuniary rewards or panegyrical addresses to the best Sanskrit scholars of Bengal.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall make it binding upon its members to ground the knowledge of their sons in their mother-tongue before giving them an English education. Education both in Bengalee and English, if carried on simultaneously, does great injury to the Bengalee education of a student, as he pays greater attention to the English than to the Bengalee language. Even for the sake of English education, we should ground our children's knowledge in their mother-tongue, before setting them to learn English. If a boy, after studying the Bengalee for six or seven years, study English, he makes rapid progress in the last mentioned language, and gets clearer ideas of what he reads in it than he would otherwise have done. Vernacular Scholarship-holders are found by experience to be the best boys in an English school. Any man who has the least patriotic feeling, will not neglect to ground his sons in their mother-tongue first of all before giving them an English education.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall try its best to prevent the daily increasing corruption of the colloquial language of the educated natives who mix, in common conversation, English words with Bengalee in the most ridiculous manner imaginable. An idea which can be easily expressed in the Bengalee, they express by an English word. Southey says in his essay on style : "Ours is a noble language, a beautiful language. I can tolerate a Germanism for family sake; but he who uses a Latin or a French phrase where a pure old English word does as well, ought to be hung, drawn and quartered for high treason against his mother-tongue." If our educated natives had a tittle of such patriotic love for their mother-tongue, they would not commit such gross violations of propriety and taste in their common conversation as they are at present observed to do. The poverty of the Bengalee is no excuse as such poverty is not real but imaginary. The Bengalee language has of late been much enriched by the exertions of some of the educated natives whose names will be held in grateful remembrance by posterity. Even if the Bengalee were really a poor unfurnished language, it would be the duty of every patriot to improve it by constant use of it in a pure form in conversation. It must be admitted that it is impossible to avoid using English words to express particular scientific ideas, particular posts and offices, certain public buildings, particular furniture, etc., etc., for which there are no equivalents in the Bengalee language. We would be quite unintelligible if we use new coined Bengalee equivalents or such as have not come into common use in order to express the above

ideas,* but it is quite unpardonable on the part of an educated native to express in English what he can easily do in the Bengalee. He should speak either pure Bengalee or pure English, but he should not jumble up both the languages. At present the colloquial language of the educated natives is a *lingua franca*, a most corrupt jargon, shocking, though we are unconscious of the same, to men of sense and good taste and reflecting great disgrace on us as a nation. An European gentleman would laugh to hear our conversation. Our written language is receiving daily improvements, but it is to be regretted that our colloquial language is so much neglected. No nation can make rapid strides in the path of progress unless they possess a highly developed language fit to answer all the requirements of conversation or writing. The Revd. Mr. Richards in his address to the University of Madras, says : "Gentlemen, let me say there is but little hope of a nation, until it has some sense of nationality; and nationality without a national language, which is the free spontaneous outcome of the national mind, is a delusion. Probably, the best index to the growth of a people is the growth and development of its language. Moreover, there is an interchange of cause and effect; help a people to develop their language in accordance with its own laws and you help them to acquire freedom of thought, and so gradually the other habits which are necessary to the formation of national character. I appeal then to your patriotism. I appeal to you on behalf of your mother-tongue; it is well worthy your regard."

The Nationality Promotion Society shall make it binding upon its Members to correspond with each other in the Bengalee. The Members of no nation correspond with each other in a foreign language. No Englishman for instance would correspond with another in French or German. Why should educated natives then insult their mother-tongue by writing letters to each other in English? Is our language so poor as to render it too difficult for one to write a common letter in it? It is excusable, nay more, it is proper, on the part of youths studying English, or even those who have recently left College to correspond with each other in English for the sake of acquiring proficiency in English writing; but it is not at all proper on the part of elderly people to do so. Business letters that require to be written in English should of course be written in that language.

The Nationality Promotion Society shall endeavour to prevail upon their countrymen to hold in the Bengalee language the proceedings of such societies as do not require the co-operation of Englishmen, and are exclusively composed of Bengalees, or have not as their object the improvement of youth in English speaking or writing. If it be necessary to publish such proceedings for the information of Government and the European public, they can be translated into English for the purpose. Although the time is not yet ripe for the change, the Nationality Promotion Society shall from this time endeavour to impress upon the minds of their countrymen the impropriety on the part of an educated native of delivering at public meetings, speeches addressed to his countrymen in English or of writing pamphlets so addressed in that language. An Englishman, for instance, would not address his countrymen in French and German.[†] It must be admitted that

reformers and public agitators are obliged to address their educated countrymen in English, or else they do not obtain a hearing from the majority of them, such is their fondness for every thing English and aversion towards everything Bengalee; but it is expected that the good sense of our educated countrymen would gradually allow this practice to fall into disuse. The writer of this article regrets the prevalence of Anglo-Mania in his time which has obliged him to initiate a movement in favour of his mother-tongue by addressing his educated countrymen in English.

No reform is accepted by a nation unless it comes in a national shape. The Nationality Promotion Society will not initiate or take an active part in social reformation—as such reformation is not its principal end or aim—but will aid it by rousing national feelings in its favor. Men naturally look to the past for sanction for their acts and nothing aids reformation so much as a former national precedent. The Nationality Promotion Society shall therefore publish tracts in the Bengalee containing proofs of the existence of liberal and enlightened customs in Ancient India, such as female education, personal liberty of females, marriage by election of the bride, marriage at adult age, widow-marriage, inter-marriage, and voyage to distant countries. It will try to introduce such foreign customs into educated society as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members such as that of holding festivities in honor of men of genius as is done amongst European nations. The Nationality Promotion Society will not resist the introduction of good foreign customs into educated native society, as that would be a bar to all improvement; but will try to give if possible to foreign customs already introduced a national shape. It has for instance become almost a custom among the educated natives to congratulate each other on the occasion of the New Year's day. The Nationality Promotion Society will endeavour to induce them to offer such congratulation to each other on the occasion of our New Year's day, the 1st of Bysakh. It will use its best endeavours to prevent the introduction of pernicious foreign customs such as that of drunkenness. It will attempt to prevent the falling into abeyance of the good old customs of our country. There is for instance a custom prevalent in our country of sisters making affectionate presents to brothers on a certain day of the year. It would be a great loss if the tide of revolution sweep away such beautiful customs as the one above-mentioned. No one can object to the Bhatridiya if freed from the superstitious observances that accompany it. The Nationality Promotion Society shall, in a few words, try, firstly, to prevent the introduction of evil foreign customs into educated native community; secondly, to introduce such foreign customs as have a tendency to infuse national feeling into the minds of its members; thirdly, to give, if possible, to foreign customs already introduced a national shape; fourthly, to aid social reformation by citing old precedents in its favor; and fifthly, to prevent the abolition of such old customs of the country as are beneficial in their nature.[‡]

The Nationality Promotion Society will not overlook even such trifling points as the regulation of etiquette, with a view to give a national shape to the same. It would be impossible to abolish all foreign modes of

* Persian words that have been naturalized into the Bengalee language and for which common unpedantic pure Bengalee words cannot be substituted should of course be considered as Bengalee words.

[†] Periodicals for the discussion of political subject and pamphlets intended for the perusal of both

Europeans and natives, or of the natives of the different presidencies should of course be written in English.

[‡] There would be no hindrance on the part of a Member of the Nationality Promotion Society to be a Member of a Social Reformation Society, the rules of which do not require him to surrender his nationality.

etiquette that have crept into educated native society, nor is it desirable to do so. Such cordial usages as the hearty hand-shake, something similar to which has, by the bye, prevailed among our countrymen of the North-West, from a remote antiquity, as is evidenced by the Sanskrit plays, but the Members of the Nationality Promotion Society shall give the preference to our national *numuskar* and *pranam* on all occasions on which it is practicable to do so.

With regard to dress, the Nationality Promotion Society need not direct its attention to that subject, as the educated natives have already adopted a mode which is not strictly European. This has been as required by the demands of nationality. If we at all imitate other nations, we should not do so slavishly. We should chalk out a path of our own. We should follow the same principle in the improvement of the dress of our women.

With regard to diet, the educated natives belonging to the higher classes of Society have adopted a mode of living that cannot be called *exclusively* European. It cannot be otherwise. The European mode of living is quite unsuited to the people of this country. Those educated natives who adopted an exclusively European mode of living were obliged by ill health in the course of a few years to resume the native or to modify the former. Those who have adopted a partly European mode of living will find it beneficial to Indianize it still further. The Nationality Promotion Society will direct their attention to this point, as well as to the diet of the majority of the educated natives which is in fact deteriorated as has been observed before from that of our ancestors. Anent this subject, we may observe that it would be the duty of the Nationality Promotion Society to reprobate the practice of frequenting European hotels so common among our educated countrymen. This practice shows a greedy hankering after European food, and demeans us in the eyes of

foreigners. It must appear ridiculous in the eyes of all Europeans, except hotel-keepers.

With regard to dramatic entertainments the Nationality Promotion Society need not direct its attention to the same, as the educated natives of Bengal are already adopting a national plan of such amusements. They do not, like the Parsees of Bombay act English plays, but do so Bengalee dramatic compositions on the English plan. This is as it should be. For carrying out our nationality, we should adopt the principle of adaptation in other things as we have done in this.

An attempt to shew that the religion of our ancestors contains much that is worthy of respect as well as union to represent political grievances to Government are calculated to promote national feeling; but the Nationality Promotion Society will not take measures for the same as there are separate associations, namely, the Brahmo Somaj and the British Indian Association, established solely for the purposes above-mentioned. It will abstain from the agitation of religious and political subjects.

The above Scheme of a Society for the promotion of National feelings among the educated natives of Bengal is of course subject to modifications by the public.

It would be unreasonable to expect that such a Society would prove to be the cause of every national feeling. Its main object would be to promote and foster national feelings which would lead to the formation of a national character and thereby to the eventual promotion of the prosperity of the nation.

Such movements as the establishment of a Society like the one proposed should originate in the metropolis. People of the Mofussil as is the case in every country follow suit in everything with those of the metropolis.

It is intended to publish a translation of this article in Bengalee in the form of a pamphlet and circulate it among the mass of our countrymen.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

DURING the month of May, fighting in Europe underwent a change. The Russian front assumed a troubled calm after almost three years of continuous warfare on a scale never known previously in human history. Sevastopol was re-captured by the Soviets' forces on the 9th of May and after that Russia has been practically out of war-news up till the time of writing. The month of May has but a day or two to go, but as yet the grand assault on Hitler's Fortress of Europe has not started. Moscow made it clear some little while back that the situation in the East now demands that the Germanic defence forces be deprived of reinforcements and be weakened by withdrawal of troops. In order that such a change may occur, intense pressure must be brought on to bear on the Germanic defences on the West. Until that happens apparently nothing much can be expected in the East.

In Italy, on the other hand, the fighting has blazed up to a degree never before attained

on any theatre of war where the Western Allies have fought. Artillery, airplanes and tanks are now being employed on a vast scale and the battle for Rome is now on in real earnest. German resistance is stiff and their defences skilfully made which means that progress must be necessarily slow but General Alexander made it clear that victory was sure since the Allies have overwhelming air-forces and in guns and tanks they far outnumber the Germans. Kesselring's defences were reported to be showing distinct signs of loosening by the 20th of May but evidently those hopes were a bit premature as the fighting is continuing with undiminished fury on both sides even now. The Germans are not likely to give up easily in this sector as that would spell disaster to the entire Axis defence plans at this stage. Some people see in this new Italian offensive the opening move of the Second Front and perhaps they are right to a certain extent. This offensive marks a definite departure from the "conquest by Air alone"

theory and on the fate of Kesselring's forces will depend the Allied final preliminaries for the Second Front, logistic and tactical.

The aerial offensive over Germany and occupied Europe has continued. German aerial defence however has not yet cracked up under the intense hammering it has been receiving for many months now. This aerial assault has been kept up for nearly two years and immense damage to Germany and France must have resulted thereby. The assaults reached a new peak about the beginning of this year and with short intervals have been kept up regardless of loss and enemy resistance. But in spite of this tremendous and long sustained bombardment Germany has not shown any signs of collapse and as such the aerial knock-out theory must be discounted now.

German plans of defence seem to be based on the theory of making each battle front separately self-sufficient, in order to obviate the necessity of large-scale transfer of reserves from one front to another. Defences in each sector of the various battle fronts are also possibly arranged along the same plan, the general idea being to put up an extremely stubborn resistance to Allied onslaughts resulting in a long drawn out struggle ending in a stalemate. In Russia the Axis defence lines are now very far off from the Russian power centres and the Soviets further are faced with immense transport difficulties over vast stretches of devastated country. The Axis, on the other hand, are now near their supply, refitting and reserve centres with excellent communication lines, freed from guerilla assaults. The result for the time being is a kind of balance in which the attacker is at a disadvantage. In Italy the defender has taken advantage of the terrain to such an extent that despite immense all-round superiority the progress has become slow, arduous and costly. As yet we have had no news of reserves being brought into Italy by the Germans from other fronts, which eventually must result in the weakening of the sector from which they would be drawn. If the present offensive results in a general retreat of the Germans in Italy and the campaigns in Russia and the West start in concert in real earnest then would come the supreme test of the Axis plans.

The months of April and May in China have seen the biggest flare-up since 1938. About the middle of April the Japanese initiated the first large-scale drive in six years in the province of Honan, and in the course of a thrust of great intensity lasting for just over three weeks they

wrested a vast slice of territory from the Chinese, succeeding in the closing of the gap in Peiping-Hankow railway held by the Chinese and in the cutting of the Lunhai railway. The Japanese were reported to be using over 300 tanks and many divisions of extremely mobile and highly well-equipped forces. The position was disquieting about the middle of May. But soon after that period the effect of Chinese counter-moves began to take effect. The Japanese control on the Peiping-Hankow railway was again broken and at Loyang, the main objective of the Japanese thrust in that direction, the Chinese defence did not go down before the terrific mechanised assault of the advancing Japanese columns. Undaunted by the new Japanese offensive the Generalissimo's forces began an assault on the Japanese forces in Yunnan about the 10th of May when the situation was critical in Honan. Curiously enough the English *Daily Mail* started writing on China about this time reporting that the general situation in China was grave and giving such details about the internal situation of that country as must have brought joy to the hearts of anxious watchers in Tokio. The least that can be said about such remarks about China is that they are not only totally unjustified but are positively insulting to that heroic nation. The Chinese forces are perhaps the poorest in armament and in general military requisites. Despite all big talk about aid-to-China, the Japanese blockade has succeeded in keeping out all but the absolute minimum of supplies from reaching China. Indeed we believe that no western commander would even dream of holding up an enemy of the calibre of the Japanese for as many months as the years the Chinese have done, even if he had several times the supplies that she has received. The Chinese soldier and his commander have repeatedly shown that given good—even reasonably good—equipment he can show results equal to any, and that his morale and toughness is beyond all cavil. Famine has been raging in Honan province for the last three years, making it extremely difficult for guerilla operations which form a regular part of Chinese defence tactics.

On the Indo-Burma front the monsoons are near. After a prolonged effort the Kohima hills are now being cleared up of the enemy. Elsewhere in the Naga Hills and the Manipur area there is nothing much to notice. In Burma Brigadier-General Merrill's forces have shown that the Japanese can be equalled at their own game if bold leadership and accurate observation be coupled to resolute fighting tactics.

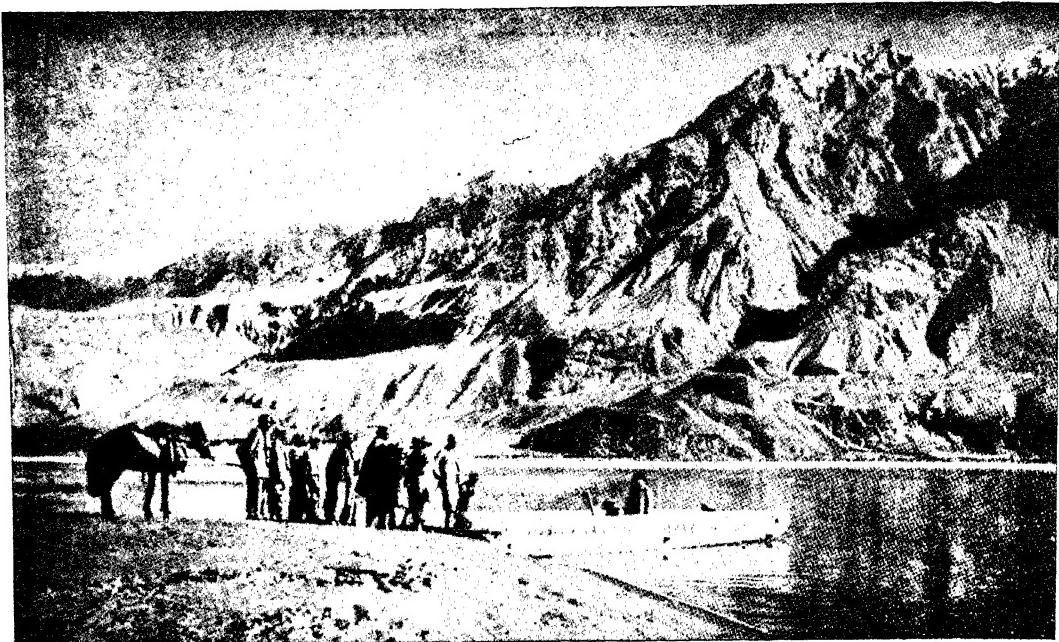


Allied scouts build shelter for the night in the jungles of Northern Burma



Japanese anti-aircraft positions on Boram Airfield at Wewak in New Guinea loom like giant bird-nests as U. S. bombers swoop low to raid the enemy air base

Courtesy : USOWI



In the shadow of the cool Himalayas, a ferry takes on its load of passengers and a horse to cross the Indus River



On the way from Alaska to Asia. The Commander Islands are the most eastern territory of the Soviet Union, and lie midway, almost as a connecting link between the American Aleutians and Kamchatka

Courtesy : Asia

MONEY—MASTER OR SERVANT ?

By "CHITTAGONIAN"

IN the memorandum outlining their plan of Economic Development for India recently released by eight eminent businessmen the following sentence occurs :

"Money or finance is therefore completely subservient to the requirements of the economy as a whole and must be treated merely as a means of mobilizing the internal resources of the country in materials and manpower."

Money or finance should be completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole—it should be the servant of the State, not the master. To make it so a complete re-orientation of thought on money matters is necessary, especially so in India where the imposition of a planned economy based on thraldom to finance would be calamitous. The study of economics, which should be a study of fundamentals, has tended to become more and more a study of the effects of the adaptation by an ever-increasing number of countries of policies which, at bottom, meant the subservience of the community as a whole to money. The antithesis of what our eminent businessmen, very rightly, proclaim as an ideal ! One very serious result of this misapplied study is the acceptance as inevitable of such blots on civilisation as poverty amidst plenty, booms and slumps, the burning of food while millions starve. Such blots are not inevitable. They are the logical consequences of nations being placed in thraldom to money—the logical consequences of money being the master, not the servant. A premium (in the form of increased money prices), has been placed on conditions of scarcity, a discount on production. Can the process be reversed ? A premium placed on production ? Would not the lives of India's teeming millions be transformed if this could be done ?

The carrying out of a nation's financial policy, in its day-to-day functions, is entrusted to the Currency Authority, which acts under Statute and has to comply with certain statutory provisions. To-day, if the improvements science has made possible were wholly harnessed to production, it is possible to visualise productive capacity reaching to the stage when human demands could be fully met. Yet this can never be achieved so long as currency authorities, as to-day, (war conditions apart), are required to

carry out statutory provisions which put a premium on conditions of scarcity. In supporting the adoption of those provisions few legislators were aware of this aspect of the provisions; some supported the provisions in the hope that they, personally, or the interests they represented, would benefit from putting a premium on scarcity : others were misled through the misapplication of the study of economics mentioned earlier. Briefly, it can be said currency authorities are required to direct all their efforts towards equating production—food, raw materials, finished articles—with purchasing power in the hands of consumers. To equate Supply with Effective Demand. As it has now become possible to visualise productive capacity reaching to the stage when human demands, in the form of food, clothing, housing needs, can be fully met, does it not follow that consideration should be given to laying down statutory provisions whereby currency authorities would be required to direct their efforts towards equating purchasing power in the hands of consumers with production ? Equating Effective Demand with Supply, a complete re-orientation of thought on money matters, to make money the servant of the State, not the master, to make money or finance completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole—towards these currency authorities would be required to direct their efforts.

To get a correct conception it will, perhaps, be helpful to look backwards, to see where existing systems have failed. When the Gold Standard was operative an exporter in country "A" who could find a market for his products in country "B" knew he could be sure of getting paid a definite sum in his own country's currency, if necessary by taking bar gold from country "B" and exchanging that gold for currency at country "A"'s central bank. If he did so the purchasing power (money) in circulation was increased but, be it noted, the quantity of goods available for consumption had not been increased, this particular merchant's production having been exported. The exporting country, through effective demand (purchasing power) having been increased without a corresponding increase in the supply of consumption goods, then was faced with the problem of

a rising price-level, because of more money competing for the same quantity of goods available for consumption, or of importing goods from abroad. In the gold standard days goods would have been imported, production stimulated, employment increased. This, at bottom, explains, to a considerable extent, why that proportion of a nation's mercantile activities which is devoted to overseas trade has now assumed an importance out of all proportion to its quantitative relation to the nation's total trade. So long as the Gold Standard, with its corollary, free trade between nations, was found to work, exports, by creating a demand for imports, possibly deserved the specially favoured position they were given in nation's economics. But the Gold Standard, and free trade, no longer work. Yet the importance attached to exports remains, and, in fact, increases. Hence the attempts to build up 'favourable' balances of trade.

A "favourable" balance of trade connotes a surplus of exports over imports. The nation exporting has distributed among its own nationals the value of the exports in the form of wages in the manufacturing process, interest on capital invested in the particular industry concerned, wages to transport workers, dock services, insurance and shipping companies. Effective demand for goods has been increased but the supply has not. If there is a genuine surplus of goods awaiting consumption in the home market, well and good. If not, the internal price-level will rise which would tend to put the variance with the real well-being of their country out of the world's markets as *an exporter*.

A "favourable" balance of trade being considered to be of first importance every effort is made to keep the country in the world's markets as an exporter, so a highly developed technique of tariffs, quotas, subsidies, has been universally adopted, all tending to restrict production at the same time as science is putting us within sight of the day when productive capacity could be equal to human demand. Over recent years the nation which has been successful at working this technique has, in fact, put itself in the position of a creditor who made it impossible for his debtor to pay. The exporter, it must be remembered, requires payment in currency of his own country. Yet his debtor cannot obtain a right to that currency because the exporter's country will not allow imports to equal exports, being committed to a policy of building up a "favourable" balance of trade. Could anything be more absurd? Can it be wondered that the pursuance of policies of this kind for a number of years has led to a world-wide war?

Over recent years the more advanced nations have been developing a sense of social consciousness; of the responsibility of the State to provide food for destitutes, shelter for the homeless, medical aid to the sick. This has provided an increase in the effective demand and has, by keeping manufacturers for the home market working at a higher pitch than would otherwise be the case, tended to obscure the false foundations on which policies aiming at achieving "favourable" balances of trade are based. Unemployment relief does likewise. When a nation's sense of social consciousness develops to a realisation of the fact that a "favourable" balance of trade is a mirage, a completely false god, a certain preventive of ever achieving a real increase in the standard of living, then will arise hope for that complete re-orientation of thought on money matters which our eminent businessmen imply is necessary in their plan for the economic development of India. Perhaps it will help us in India to start on the road to that complete re-orientation of thought if we remember that the inflation from which we are at present suffering so badly is the logical result of having built up, in the form of "Sterling balances," the biggest "favourable" balance of trade in all history, biggest in relation to the period of time taken to build such a balance. Admittedly, this balance has been forced on us through war but it is true, nevertheless, to cite it as a perfect example of the absurdity of nations pursuing policies completely at variance with the real well-being of their nationals.

What is the remedy?

If the existing sorry state of affairs has been brought about by attaching over-importance to export trade, it may well be that the easiest method of finding a lasting, beneficial solution would be to concentrate on internal trade. History shows it would be fatuous to continue to expect nations to abide by agreements which provided for exports being paid for by imports so long as currencies are based in such a manner as makes it possible for one nation to get another into unpayable debt. Agreements based on this conception, no matter how attractive at the time they are made, are bound to fail. So, it is suggested, concentration should first be on internal trade. The problem would be to develop a technique which would put a premium on production while at the same time maintaining a stable internal price-level. The latter requirement is stipulated as greater concentration on internal trade does not by any means imply non-participation in foreign trade. Far from it,

a genuinely prosperous internal trade should of itself offer unlimited possibilities of expansion abroad. If each nation developed a technique of distributing purchasing power to its people in a manner to ensure of effective demand being created for their total productive capacity any nation could exchange a proportion of its productive capacity for an equal proportion of some other nation's production which it was in need of, in the form of raw materials or manufactured products as the case might be. It could reasonably be expected that the increased standard of living which would follow from an internal policy aimed at increasing production, coupled with the necessary circulation of new purchasing power, would also increase international trade. Such an increase would be on a sound basis, genuine consumptive demand, not, as at present, based on unsound attempts to build up "favourable" balances of trade. Given a sound internal money policy, foreign trade and foreign exchanges would come in to the correct perspective.

As we stand to-day India has built up a "favourable" balance of trade of approximately Rs. 763 crores. The total of currency notes in circulation is Rs. 867 crores, so we are in the position of our currency authorities, by statutory provisions, having been compelled to hold over ninety per cent of our currency's cover overseas. The industrialists' plan of economic development for India anticipates the growth of these sterling balances to Rs. 1000 crores by the end of the war and they make provision in their plan for utilising the balances in importing capital goods for construction in India. But they appear to have overlooked the statutory provisions under which our currency authorities function. Before machinery, for instance, to the value of our sterling balances could be bought the British Government securities held in London in the currency reserve would have to be sold. When such a sale takes place the currency in India must be contracted correspondingly. If, to-day, sterling securities to the value of Rs. 763 crores were sold and the equivalent in notes withdrawn from circulation India would be left with only Rs. 104 crores of notes in circulation! It would be impossible to make such a contraction. Yet that is what our currency laws require. The total notes in circulation at the beginning of the war was about Rs. 172 crores, which, it must be admitted, is much too low for a country with a population of nearly four hundred million, only Rs. 4·4 per head. The problem is to find a means of getting the notes into the hands of the people who need them most. If utilisation of our Sterling Balances means a contraction

of the currency beyond what could possibly be found practicable here would seem to be the ideal opportunity to switch over to an attempt to equate Effective Demand with Supply.

How ?

First we should think over what commodities the community would derive most benefit from if supplies were increased. Good quality milk would claim high priority. Milk of good quality is the one perfect food. India a few years ago had more than two hundred million cattle, (sixty for every hundred of the human population), yet it can be said without fear of contradiction not one family in a thousand gets sufficient good quality milk. The all-India average production per cow is estimated to be 886·5 pounds milk while the estimated daily consumption of milk per head of human population in India is only six ounces. In Australia the average yield per cow is 4,255 pounds annually, approximately five times the all-India average. If a means could be found of making available for human consumption in India five times the quantity of milk consumed at present the resulting benefits to the nation's health and well-being would be incalculable. Five times six ounces per head daily would still be less than what the medical profession consider desirable. Australian development points the way. Most of us in India look upon Australia as a land flowing with milk and honey. Maybe it is now. But it was not always so. In Sydney, about 150 years ago, every one, including the Governor, was strictly rationed and some wondered how many weeks would elapse before food supplies gave out completely. To-day, ships leave Sydney carrying food—dried milk, cheese, meat, to the four corners of the earth. An illustration as to how this has been achieved may be cited from the history of the famous Australian Illawarra Shorthorn cattle. This breed originated with the early pioneers of the Illawarra district of New South Wales as far back as 1790, when the foundation was laid by selecting from importations of European stud dairy cattle, and in some instances ships' cows, which in the early days provided milk on the voyages. By concentrating on breeding only from the best animals the pioneers laid the foundations of to-day's Illawara herds which are now extremely popular in all the dairying districts in Australia. In 1924 an Australian Illawarra Shorthorn cow captured the world's butter-fat record (1614 lb.), her milk yield for the year being 32,522·5 lbs., nearly thirty-seven times the all-India average yield. Apart from the density of population pastoral conditions in many parts of

Australia are very similar to conditions in India goods. Increased purchasing power put in to and it is interesting to recall that many of the the rural areas in the suggested manner would animals who have helped to lay the foundations provide an incentive, which has up to now been for the present-day Australian herds went from lacking, for producers of farm products to expand production beyond subsistence levels. With Gujarat. What has been achieved in Australia that increased purchasing power a market for can be done in India. The part of the dairyman consumer goods could be established with almost is clear. He must concentrate on the breed most unlimited possibility of expansion.

It is important to distinguish between subsidies as we know them at present and this suggested form of bonus. Subsidies come from taxation or from Government borrowing which places the producing element in debt to non-producers, thereby giving non-producers the right to a share of the benefits of production, in the form of interest on the money lent to the State, without having taken any part in the actual production. The bonus would apply only to increased production, the State recognising the service the producer has rendered by paying him in the form of notes representing an addition to the currency which the State should not be required to borrow. The actual notes would not be different in appearance from currency already in existence. If it were found in practice that issues of this fresh currency in the rural areas upset the price-level of the country as a whole the currency authority could restore equilibrium by appropriate action in the developed money centres, by open market operations, or even by contracting the currency in those centres at the same time as it was issuing fresh currency in the rural areas. Given the conviction that an attempt should be made to equate Effective Demand with Supply, it would not be difficult to develop a technique which would serve the double purpose of stimulating desirable productive activity and at the same time maintaining a stable price-level.

The people on the land know how to do their part but as conditions would be if our currency were deflated by conversion of any substantial proportion of our sterling balances, an increase of five times in the country's milk supply would put the supplies in the position of trying to market larger supplies against smaller effective demand (money) in the hands of potential consumers. The potential consumers would be perfectly willing to work for the right to obtain money, but there wouldn't be enough to go round. Here you have a position where the capacity to produce a commodity agreed by all to be most desirable for the well-being of the nation is available for development, potential consumers are in abundance, but effective demand is lacking, money not being completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole. Money would be completely subservient to the needs of the community as a whole if the country's currency authority were required by statute to develop a technique whereby the State made available, direct, to suppliers of much-needed good quality milk, a bonus, in the form of fresh currency notes, for their increased production. Conditions attaching to the bonus would require that the milk be up to an approved standard, from cows whose annual production reached the prescribed level, housed in approved sheds, with concrete floors, concrete flush-down drains, fly-proof dairies. These and similar precautions would ensure of the milk being free from pollution but they would also create a demand for commodities, such as cement, drain-pipes, etc., thereby encouraging production in other industries also. Money paid in wages for the construction and maintenance of approved dairies and for attention to the cattle herds would circulate the new currency in the areas where purchasing power is just now at the very lowest. India will finish this war with highly developed industries capable of switching over to the manufacture of very large quantities of consumer

The soil of India is sick. In many areas both the quantity and quality of crops are decreasing. The most effective method of increasing quantity and quality of crops would be through the extension of compost manuring. Fundamentally the productivity of the soil is the foundation of the wealth of India. As with a sick person, so with the soil. Drugs and palliatives help in the cure, but their misuse will inevitably result in a worsening of the patient and, eventually, death. Chemical fertilisers are to the soil what drugs are to a sick person. In the hands of a skilled practitioner, they may work wonders, temporarily. Misused, they will kill the soil. They are stimulants and stimulants can never prove so beneficial as a method of rejuvenation based on nature which, at bottom, is the base of the compost. Compost heaps

should be composed of all natural remnants to be found on the farm, or in the village, animal dung, vegetable remnants, leaves, straw, egg-shells, bones, fish skins. To the heap should be added such plants and herbs as are known to have beneficial effects upon our health, dandelion, nettle, camomile, valerian, etc. The addition of these, or similar, plants, sets up in the soil chemical processes similar to that caused by chemical fertilisers, but organically, not forced upon the soil suddenly, like stimulants, as is the case when chemical fertilisers are applied. Thousands of years ago compost heaps were a feature of Indian agriculture; to-day they are a rarity. If production of compost was encouraged by the issue of new currency in the form of bonus paid direct by Government, without Government being compelled to borrow, as in the case of the bonus proposed for increased milk production, the potential benefits would be enormous. The quantity and quality of food-crops would so improve that the spectre of famine would, in the not far distant future, be as far removed from Bengal as it is from Sydney to-day.

The production of poudrette by Municipalities from municipal refuse, could be encouraged similarly. Poudrette, like compost, has excellent organic fertilising qualities and is extremely simple to prepare. Nightsoil and rubbish like household and street sweepings are mixed in the proportion of one part of nightsoil to four of rubbish. Copper sulphate is added in the pro-

portion of one pound for every four hundred of the mixture, then the mixture is raked up into heaps of convenient size. Water is added to the heaps and raked in every fortnight, then the heaps built up again. This process is repeated every fortnight for about two months. Then the manure is ready for use, free from all smell. It is easy to handle, being powdery and dry. The inclusion of copper sulphate prevents putrefaction. Poudrette prepared in this manner contains about one part per cent of nitrogen, varying quantities of phosphoric acid, potash and lime. Its organic fertilising properties are what our soils are crying out for. In addition, production of poudrette on an extensive scale would provide much needed revenue to Municipalities from departments which up to now have been a steady drain on their finances.

The masses in India's 600,000 villages have suffered grievously through the world's chasing the mirage we call "favourable" balances of trade. Each one of these villages, with all it contains, human life, animal life, plant life is a living organism, part of that far greater macrocosm which is the universe. Encouragement of the expansion of these living organisms, by attempting to equate Effective Demand with Supply on the lines suggested, would go a long way to building that healthy, happy agricultural community which is the bed-rock of true civilisation and through which the soul of India must, eventually, express itself.

THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

By PROF. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

IV

It is only natural that in such a state of society, when the poet can contrast the present decay with a certain human value which he loves, the chief poetic instrument will be satire. This satire will not be the conventional lash of the moralist at obvious moral lapses nor will it be the instrument for maligning personality. It will be mocking, biting and at times slashing. It will be broadbased upon the sociological idea, and it will view everything in terms of society with its economic foundation.

The vision of W. H. Auden as a satirist is the vision of one who sees the society of his time as a patient consumed with a deadly disease.

He wishes to place in our mind the idea of the wickedness of society as the sickness of society. And what are those disease germs that have entered the body politic? They are the mystic's muddled philosophy; the middle class groping for security, its betrayal of itself in fantastic Back-to-Nature movements, its sheltering itself in a kind of social revolution which turns out to be a fascist reaction; the passive neurotic individualistic man for ever on the defensive against life. He tilts at an age gone awry because of contradictions. The spiritual decomposition of society and its attendant morbidity of the self-conscious individual provide Auden with a butt for his satire. Mildly mocking at the failure of mysticism W. H. Auden says :

"When through exhausting hours they had flown
 From the alone to the Alone
 Nothing remained but the dry as bone
 Night of the Soul."

The mockery of the flight of "Alone" for the "Alone" is packed in these lines. Auden's *Dance of Death* is a vivid and symbolic representation of the decay of the middle class and its metaphysical and idealist system of philosophy. In his next verse drama *Dog Beneath the Skin* Auden exposes rank exploitation and germs of a fatal social disease; Francis, who is disguised as a dog all along the play says, "It is an awful shock to try seeing people from underneath." He describes the bullying and blustering and swaggering of the strong towards the less strong, the meanness, hypocrisy and ignorance filling the atmosphere in which individuals are like birds gone astray. He tilts at the press, politics and literature of the day. Finally the semi-chorus enters, exhorting the audience in these terms:

"Mourn not for these; these are ghosts who
 Close their pain,
 Mourn rather for yourself, and your inability to
 Make up your mind."

Here, the allusion to 'ghosts' is significant. Those who are helpless victims of a vicious system do not evoke the poet's sympathy. He does not bother about them. But his sorrow becomes bitter rebuke when he upbraids those who sit on the fence, those that are unable to take sides either for progress or reaction. It is this 'neutral' man who is the object of Auden's ridicule.

"Those who sit on the fence" is not quite so innocent a statement as it appears at the first sight. It is full of meaning for our present purpose. It brings to one's mind a host of ideas which should be taken into account in evaluating contemporary literature. What is the relation of the artist to his art-work and the world around him? What is the real impact of commercialism on the artist's mind? What are the forces in conflict in society and what attitude should the writer adopt in respect of this tension? These are some of the many problems that face us.

We shall take up the question of commercialism and art. It has already been shown that with the advent and triumph of capitalism the relation of man to market had become supreme over all other relations. Human progress and achievement were reckoned in terms of material progress of the propertied class. The artist, too, was up against the problem. Shall he play the second fiddle in the capitalist orchestra? If he did, he must produce art with a view to selling

it better. Copyright, royalties, market for pictures and statues were some of the compelling forces which could make him think in terms of market chance. The artist in this case would cease to create. He would produce art with both eyes on the law of supply and demand. He would thus vulgarize art and ultimately cease to be an artist.

But there is another possibility. Besieged on all sides with forces of commerce he may turn his back on market completely and regard work of art as an end in itself. The sincerity in an artist goes ill with instincts of commerce-magnets and philistines. He, therefore, revolts against the dictates of the age of commerce, and buries himself completely in his art creation. In this case the art process becomes an extremely individualistic affair. The result of it is clear. As Caudwell puts it :

"This necessarily leads to a dissolution of those social values which make the art in question a social relation, and therefore ultimately results in art work's ceasing to be an art work and becoming a private fantasy."

We have a concrete illustration of literary art becoming a private affair, and hence decadent, in the last decades of the nineteenth century. England witnessed, by eighteen nineties the triumph of the capitalist class; in 1887 at the Jubilee celebrations of Queen Victoria the Englishman gaped with wonder, when he was told that Queen Victoria reigned over an empire upon which the sun never set. There was a glint in his eyes and imperialism put arrogance in his tongue. Economic imperialism—the concomitant of competitive capitalist production, had won a resounding victory. Cecil Rhodes in South Africa had already planted the British flag, and the discovery of gold and diamond mines had started quickening the spirit of market owners. It was a period of triumphant march of capitalism.

Literary artists in general, in this age of great material achievements, found themselves sequestered. Having ignored the market and militant commercialism they ignored also the developing tension in the social relations. They were left with old passions, decaying dreams, and played out ideas. Fed up they turned to new experiences of senses, in the spirit of adventurists. Not repetition but novelty was the watchword. But this quest for novelty led them to the dangerous alley of private fantasy. Art embodied new experiences of the egotist man pitted against himself. This attitude is summed up in a poem by Ernest Dowson, with the refrain : "I was desolate, and sick of an old passion" and the significant line :

"I cried for madder music and stronger wine."

This cry of 'madder music and stronger wine' was indeed the cry for fresh experiences and newer sensations. Tired, played out, dejected in spirit they turned round to playing with fire and every imaginable shocking delight. This process resulted in decadence in a pronounced form. Egotism, artificiality, a certain delight in perversity became the features of a literary art of which Oscar Wilde was the main representative.

Art, therefore, runs the risk of degenerating into an extremely private and individualistic affair if the artist regards his art-work as an end in itself. The moment it secedes from the scale of social values it bleeds itself to death. Because, that art is moribund which regards the external world and the pulsations of social life therein as something injimical.

The writer of today, who sees horizons changing and new phenomenon invading his attention, must therefore protest against individualism in art. T. S. Eliot's value lies in his correct appraisal of the individual's talent as an artist. The artist's view should be the community view, according to him and not 'personal view.' The modern man sees today his quiet dissipating with the quick hum of events, and his mind turning into a battle-field of ideas. He can no longer retire to his Ivory Tower and shut himself away from filth and smoke. He has seen the wickedness of war, it took his breath away in the last Great War; he has known the futility of cherishing ideals which rest upon shifting sands of time; he has seen unemployment, struggles between the people and the police, the terrible nakedness of platitudes. He has been disillusioned about God, about religion, about immortality, about biological fiction of 'progress.' Objects upon which in youth his fancy lightly turned are now seen in their hideously real form. Conscience, eternity, race, marriages are some of the idols which have now been shattered. In this background of universal disillusion he watches the clash of forces in society. The communist poet W. H. Auden describes his disillusion :

"For now, the moulding images of growth
That made our interest and us are gone.
Louder today the wireless roars.
It's warnings and it's lies, and it's impossible.
Among the well cosily to fit,
Or longer to desire about our lives
The beautiful loneliness of banks, or find
The shores and resignations of the frozen planes."

"Louder today the wireless roars it's warnings and it's lies"—because the wireless has ceased to be an instrument for spreading culture. It is the mouthpiece of a complicated

civilization where market-holders are continually arming and rearming, warning and preparing. It is a civilization where the instinct of possession, extolled and rationalized as something worthy of achievement, is the motivating force. In a capitalist society, woman is a private property, strips of territory are a private property, means of production are a private property. This social relation is hampering the greater welfare of society and therefore it has gone out of gear with productive forces. Those who Have and who Have-not are split into two camps. It is as if society lies in a trough between two waves soon to be wiped out.

V

It is at such critical times when social relation comes to a parting of the ways with productive forces, much to the detriment of society as a whole, that a new synthesis appears in sight. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the protest against machine was indeed a protest of withdrawal; but when industrial capitalism was mounting to its apex the anti-thetical class—the workers—began to show signs of unrest. Trade Unions, Labour parties, Socialist movements were a pointer to the class tension becoming deeper and deeper. Now, when capitalist production was demonstrating its hollowness in slumps, booms, unemployment and doles, the tension had become revolutionary. Bourgeois social relation had exhausted itself; the old world was dying as a result of its own myths and contradictions, and with it were dying its attendant values, truths and certainties.

The writer now stands between two fires. The old values and illusions are vanishing on the one hand, but on the other a reaction is developing which is but an attempt of the old world to rehabilitate itself. The myth of the liberal credo and the 'freedom' of the individual are gone, but a new set of myths have arisen—the Aryan race, the Leader, the Absolute Nation, and mythologies of primitive gods and goddesses. The artist has now to determine his path. As an artist he knows that art-process is the result of tension between decayed consciousness and new facts—at least that is how art keeps pace with time. He is aware that art becomes decadent if it escape conflicts in a dynamic society. He will choose to move with time, if he may. But, there is also another way. He may join the reaction. In this case he turns back to false gods of race, hero-worship and trusteeship and outmoded concepts of a by-gone age. He is then no longer a writer with insight into the social process. He is a reactionary. In Europe

this dilemma expressed itself in terms of a choice between Communism and Fascism.

Cecil Day Lewis, another Communist poet, states the situation. He was once one of those of the air.

Singing I was at peace,
Above the clouds, outside the ring;
For sorrow finds a swift release in song
And pride its poise.

But the poet is conscious that

Yet living here,
As one between two massive powers I live
Whom neutrality cannot save
Nor occupation cheer.

He knows the consequence of neutrality in the midst of conflicts :

And private works fade in the blood-red dawn
Where two worlds strive.

Therefore he finally exhorts :

Move then with new desires,
For where we used to build and love
Is no man's land, and only ghosts can live
Between two fires.

The poet has struck the right note : ' For where we used to build and love is no man's land.' A society which is inimical to human tenderness again and again fills the poet with a poignant recollection of the ' No Man's Land.' The revolutionary poet's starting point is love—the string that binds individuals in a common bond of comradeship. It is the centre which would place him in contact with the circle of his fellow-beings. The poet thirsts for this vanished touch of human hands.

Perhaps it has been made sufficiently clear that the first problem that confronts the modern artist is one of re-examining his position *vis-a-vis* the society in which he is born. England in the eighteenth century had attained a certain equilibrium of values—the balance between man and nature, town and country, individual and society. The age therefore was conscious of its achievements and could look back with a superior sense of complacency. The result is that writers of the age betray a striking quality of tolerance, good form, serenity and reason. But the modern age is one of complete uprooting of obsolete values and a rapid disintegration of those systems which the contemporary facts do not warrant. No longer does any one believe in the institutions based on *laissez faire*; the recurrent wars and political convulsions are an index of the deeper distress in the social organism. The

writer today either escapes reality or faces it boldly. But what would be his writings worth cut away from the living touch of the period he is born in ? And what would be the meaning of his art if it be a mere picture of his day-dreams, fantasies, neurotic self-analysis ? No true writer has ever succeeded in dodging the influence of his age, particularly when the age is one of cataclysmic changes.

Of course, the writer is not the spokesman of people's political opinions nor is he the standard-bearer of any political party. But as a sensitive barometer he must record the changes in the emotional life of his people. What a man feels about this or that part of his life, what importance he attaches to its different aspects, what he dreads and what he values most, what he is prepared to sacrifice for, what he trusts—these are some of the questions that can be answered by a writer.

In the very nature of his art the writer is the spokesman of the people. The writer is different from the man-in-the-street in that his experiences are more organized and coherent and that he is able to communicate them. For his art-work he finds different varieties of expression, but the fact remains that his material he has derived from sharing, observing, and criticizing the life of the age. Bernard Shaw remarks in his ' prefaces ':

"Life as it appears is senseless; a policeman may watch it and work in it for thirty years in the streets and courts of Paris without learning as much of it or from it as a child or a man can learn from a single play of Brieux. For it is the business of Brieux to pick out the significant incidents from the chaos of daily happenings and arrange them so that their relation to one another becomes significant, thus changing us from bewildered spectators of a monstrous confusion to men intelligently conscious of the world and its destinies."

The raw-material of the literary artists is : Words. Now, words are not mere sign-posts to meaning, they have a definite psychological association. They vary in their aptness not only from place to place in the syntax, but also according to the change in the structure and needs of society. The writer to be an adept craftsman, must discipline a critical handling of his raw-material; and this essential literary job can be practised only through a full and critical living of the life in the age.

(To be continued)



THE COLONIZATION OF AUSTRALIA

By PROFESSOR P. L. STEPHEN, M.A.

ONE of the lasting effects of this war is likely to be closer relations between India and Australia. And that is as it ought to be. In Australia there are many things that must be of interest and profit to India. The agricultural and industrial developments of the country have many useful lessons for us here. Hence as Sir Iven Mackay, the Australian High Commissioner in India, said rightly, it will be very profitable if there be visits "by scientists, industrialists, agricultural experts, students, artists, journalists, tourists, in fact by all those with inquiring minds." Some Australian Universities have offered scholarships to Indian students; and already there are about 1500 to 2000 Indians living in Australia. It is perhaps not generally known that exchange of goods between the two countries engages crores of rupees. In 1942-43 goods worth 16 crores went out from India and goods worth 3½ crores came from Australia. No doubt there is the shameful white Australia policy, and that when a country capable of being the home of fifty million people is occupied by only five million. But in the inevitable changes of the post-war world there must be great revisions of ideas, and better and friendlier and more useful relations must be established between countries.

For that the first essential is a better knowledge of each other. It was from that point of view that I wrote an article on the Aborigines of Australia for *The Modern Review* some time back; and it is from that point of view that this article is written. There is a notion that Australia was a mere convict colony, and that Australians are simply the descendants of convicts. The following article will show that there is an element of truth in this; but only an element, as the convicts were convicts only because of the unbalanced vagaries of the laws of the time; and even so, only the beginnings were concerned with the convicts.

II

Sir John Seeley's famous observation that the British Empire was acquired in a fit of absent-mindedness is perhaps nowhere so clearly seen as in the history of the colonization of Australia. That continent, as everybody knows, is at present a flourishing British colony with a population of about five millions. But

what was the aim of the British Government when first it turned its attention to Australia, sixteen years after Cook's voyage? It was nothing but the dumping of their surplus criminals somewhere. The first British fleet that sailed for Australia carried about 700 convicts to form a colony there. Similar fleets followed year after year, and efforts were made to turn Australia into a useful convict settlement. The legislations, the instructions, the procedure were all intended for this purpose. Only, it soon became evident that the system was heading for failure, and by 1843 it had to be given up. Half a century of efforts and a million pounds thus failed to realise the direct aim of the British Government; but the British had occupied the continent and a great colony had its foundation laid.

It is an irony that this foundation was the result of the increase of crime and convicts in Great Britain. The Government made no earnest attempt to understand the reasons for this great prevalence of crime. As pointed out by a modern authority on the subject, Dr. Charles Mercier, "Crime is due to temptation or opportunity, the environmental factor or stress, acting upon the predisposition of the offender." How true this is may be seen even from a cursory study of the economic and social conditions of the eighteenth century. There was a great deal of urban as well as rural poverty and unemployment, and this was the real reason for the great prevalence of crime. Without noting or paying attention to this fact the propertied class that made up the Government tried to check crime by multiplying punishments and listing many offences as grave crimes. About 200 offences were classed by Blackstone as capital offences. Stealing linen from bleaching grounds, stealing horses from anywhere, breaking down the head of a fish-pond, cutting down river or sea banks, sending threatening letters and many such were capital offences. The cruelty of these laws made many sentences to be commuted to transportation. There were, besides, many offences for which transportation was the legal punishment. The Newgate Calendar of 1791 is quoted by an authority as recording a number of sentences for transportation for larceny—some of them being for stealing a watch, a petti-coat, a looking-glass or a soap. "Two were sentenced for stealing a pocket-handkerchief—one a boy of

at this moment compels almost half a million of our people to endure the denial of the freedom and liberties for which this war in the cause of human freedom is being fought?"

It is apparent that from the very first Mr. de Valera has been sceptic about the alleged democratic nature of this war, and that he has found very little difference in the fundamental ideologies of the two belligerent parties. The *New York Times* has recently grumbled in wounded vanity:

"Mr. de Valera asserts that he and his Government cannot do what we ask 'without a complete betrayal of trusts.' But what kind of loyalty to democratic trust is it to hold the scales even between Hitler and the democracies."

But the attitude of Mr. de Valera can easily be explained in the background of Irish history. Mr. de Valera himself significantly said in the reply to the U. S. A. request:

"Irish neutrality represents the united will of the people and Parliament. It is a logical consequence of Irish history and the forced partition of the national territory."

Ireland has got "centuries-old grievances" against England, as Mr. Bernard Shaw put it; and every student of history knows that Ireland may quite naturally regard England's difficulty to be her opportunity. When the War began, all the Dominions, except Eire, promptly sided with Britain; but Anglo-Irish relations for a long time remained 'anomalous,' as Mr. Churchill admitted in a speech in the House of Commons. Mr. Churchill desperately said:

"If a catastrophe were to occur to Allied armies . . . a gulf would be opened between Britain and Southern Ireland which even generations would not bridge."

But 'the gulf' of which Mr. Churchill spoke has already been there; and the cause of this gulf is as well-known to Mr. Churchill himself as to anyone else. The 'gulf' at last seemed to be bridged in 1922: the Irish Free State was born, but Britain 'altered geography' by creating an Ulster in Northern Ireland as her watch-dog. It is the bitter memories of Britain's treatment of Ireland that are at the bottom of Mr. de Valera's policy of neutrality which is undoubtedly supported by a majority of his countrymen.

Leaving apart the subjective side of this controversy, let us examine the policy and action of Mr. de Valera from the juristic standpoint. At the very outset it should be noted that the request of the U. S. Government to remove the Axis Legations from Dublin is one-sided. As Mr. de Valera stated, if he were to abolish the Axis Missions he would, consistently with his policy, remove the Allied diplomatic representatives too. Britain and America would

not surely feel disposed to acquiesce in such a proposition. The root trouble arises from the fact that in view of Southern Ireland's close proximity to Britain and its separation only by an intangible boundary from the North, where there are important American bases, the Axis agents enjoy an opportunity to gather military information of vital importance and transmit it by various routes and methods to Germany. For geographical reasons the United Nations are denied a like opportunity. But Mr. de Valera can in no way be blamed for this. He perhaps foresaw such a trouble as has actually arisen to-day. As he said in October, 1941:

"Through no fault of ours our nation is in a position of the greatest danger. Numerically small, we are placed geographically in a position obviously tempting to combatants."

From the strict juristic standpoint, Eire has complete right to remain neutral. The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 was subsequently followed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. According to this famous statute, the Irish Free State was accorded a place among the Dominions. These Dominions were to enjoy a status equal to that of Britain in all respects, the most important bond of union being common allegiance to the British Crown. The Statute of Westminster, 1931, was followed by the Executive Authority (External Relations) Act, 1936, and the Constitution Act, 1937, which carried the implications of the Statute of Westminster to their logical conclusion. The name of the Irish Free State was changed into Eire, and it became a sovereign, independent, democratic State having the right of choosing its own form of government and determining its relations with other nations. But the common allegiance to the British Crown still remained. Hence the present war made the position of Ireland so anomalous. The King of England, with the assent of most of the Dominions, was in a state of belligerency; but he was neutral so far as his relations with Ireland were concerned. Whatever that may be, the legal position is clearly in favour of Eire: any State coming within the scope of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, is fully entitled to guide and control its policy in regard to war and peace.

What the upshot of this strange interlude is going to be we cannot possibly foresee. History explains and law justifies the position Mr. de Valera has taken. But such a crisis is perhaps to be determined not by juristic principles but by purely political and military considerations; and to such a possibility we are looking forward.

March 22, 1944.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

TO THE HINDUS AND MUSLIMS : By Mahatma Gandhi. *Gandhi Series, Vol. III. Edited and published by Anand T. Hingorani...Karachi (Sadar). 1942. Pp. xix+508. Price Rs. 6.8.*

By collecting and publishing Mahatma Gandhi's advice to students and women, his suggestions on the Hindu-Muslim question and by announcing the publication of his writings on the Indian States Problem, Mr. Hingorani has placed at the disposal of all interested in these matters, in an easily accessible form, a series of books which must hold an abiding place in Gandhian literature. This self-imposed duty has entailed not only arduous labour and close study of Gandhiji's writings but also great care in making the selections from the voluminous writings of our great national leader. The volumes published so far are characterised by attractive printing and get-up. It is perhaps needless to add that no admirer of Mahatma Gandhi or student of Indian public affairs can afford to be without them.

As regards the volume reviewed here which consists of nearly 180 extracts of varying size from Mahatmajji's writings and speeches from 1908 to August, 1942, in addition to a thoughtful preface and a carefully prepared index, what strikes the reader is the mass of materials placed before him. Instead of adopting the chronological method which, of course, would have entailed much less labour, Mr. Hingorani has arranged his materials in such a way as to make prominent the various aspects of the Hindu-Muslim problem as well as the phases through which it has passed, the best possible proof of its intricacy as well as the difficulties which have to be overcome for its satisfactory solution.

Starting from such external causes of Hindu-Muslim tension as desecration of places of worship, abduction of women, proselytism of the objectionable type, inter-communal marriages in the face of opposition from guardians and community members, inflammatory literature, lack of sympathy evidenced by untouchability, Gandhiji almost insensibly passes on to the evil effects of the communal distribution of seats in our legislatures and local self-governing institutions, communal ratio in services, etc., not failing to place the required emphasis on the question of the sharing of political power by Hindus and Muslims.

As the reader goes through the different methods advocated by Mahatma Gandhi to cope with the protean forms which communalism has assumed in different spheres of our public and private life, the one impression left on him is that though the value of racial identity as a means of unity is insisted on, though very cogent remarks on the utility of arbitration as a means of realising communal harmony are offered, though the part which genuine patriotism on an all-India basis and

mutual toleration can play in ending our troubles has been clearly pointed out, Gandhiji has drawn special attention to the one way of permanently removing this great blot on the Indian nation—the adoption of steps for abolishing the deep distrust which separates the two communities.

After arguing that the fear of the majority is an illusion for what is called the majority really consists of various sections of the Hindu community with divergent aims, interests and policies, Gandhiji points out that the larger economic and political interests of all, majorities and minorities, are identical which he and probably most thoughtful Indians feel, should prove a force strong enough to bring them together for the attainment of common ends. And therefore Gandhiji envisages the time when political parties instead of being formed on religious lines will be along political and economic programmes.

Mahatma Gandhi, however, is not prepared to wait till the emergence of this new outlook, delay in which is inevitable mainly on account of the selfish leadership which is systematically disrupting our national unity. He would hasten the process of unification and that through a more potent means. The clue to this is found in the statement occurring on page 247 of the book where, agreeing with a correspondent, he says that he is not "a statesman in the garb of a saint" but "a votary of truth" in spite of all his "errors of unconscious omission and commission." In explaining why his acts "appear to be consistent with the highest statesmanship," Gandhiji says that it is so because "truth is the highest wisdom."

This over-mastering desire to adhere to truth has made Mahatma Gandhi adopt *Ahimsa* as the deciding factor in all his activities. And it is adherence to *Ahimsa* that has induced him to pit unselfishness against the selfishness underlying communalism. This feeling has impelled him to advocate complete surrender to the demands of communalism. This again explains the blank cheque he has offered to the Muslims and the other minority communities. It is unfortunate that generous as the offer is, it has failed so far to remove the distrust and the fear which play so large a part in keeping communalism alive.

However much this attitude of Gandhiji may be resented by certain sections of the so-called majority community which undoubtedly stands to lose by its adoption, there can be little doubts that it is the one and only satisfactory solution of our most urgent problem. Those who condemn it should remember that unadulterated democracy implies that it is the minorities which have the right to enter their demands just as it is the privilege and the duty of the majority to accept them of course with such modifications as may be agreed to by the minorities concerned. Any failure to do so

on the part of the latter must result in the prolongation of the present deplorable state of things.

Before closing what many would be tempted to consider too lengthy a review, attention has to be drawn to two important contributions made by Mahatma Gandhi to the solution of the communal problem—his very pregnant remarks on the two nations theory which he proves to be an untenable one and those on the utility of the constituent assembly as a means of removing communal distrust.

The reviewer, a member of the second minority community in India who, as far as lies in his power always makes it a point to study as much as he can of the literature published on the communal question, has found that while nearly every book on this subject discusses one or other aspect of the problem, we have here a book which deals with it in all or nearly all its aspects whence its superiority to them. There is also the fact that though addressed primarily to Hindus and Muslims, what is peculiar to it is that what is said here is worth the attention of and is generally applicable to members of all communities.

Mr. Hingorani, obviously a sincere admirer of Mahatma Gandhi, has, in this book, discharged his labour of love with unrivalled conscientiousness and conspicuous ability thus deserving the gratitude of those among us who are eagerly and confidently looking forward to the emergence of national unity with all its political, economic and social implications.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE WAY OUT: By C. Rajagopalachari. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 32. Price annas eight only.

THE HEALTH OF INDIA: By John B. Grant. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 32. Price annas four only.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: By K. G. Saiyadain, H. V. Hampton, Amarnath Jha, Ranjit Chetsingh, K. Venkataraman and R. N. Joshi. Oxford University Press, 1943. Pp. 64. Price annas twelve only.

These are three recent publications of the Indian Branch of the Oxford University Press and deal with important Indian problems. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari discusses the present political situation in its various bearings in his pamphlet, *The Way Out*. The author attempts to meet with ability and acumen, the controversy that the Cripps plan has given rise to. He exposes the utter hollowness, unfairness and untrustworthiness of the propaganda that seeks to place on the Congress and Gandhiji the responsibility for the failure of the Cripps mission. Mr. Rajagopalachari, however, at the same time, affirms that "the Congress cannot be acquitted of the charge of not displaying the required ability for successful negotiation." He has come to the conclusion that in the light of the altered circumstances, the whole position should be reconsidered and the Cripps proposals of 1942 accepted. He says: "Let us declare our acceptance of these proposals when Britain has declared, in spite of die-hard unwillingness, that they still remain open for acceptance. Thereby shall we save for India many precious post-war years which should be used for constructive effort in a new world." "True it is not a scheme in which we shall have no difficulties." "But we can accept the scheme and deal with the difficulties if we have the wisdom to do so." "It is open to the imprisoned leaders to repudiate such decisions when they are again in a position to undertake the direction of policy." Mr. Rajagopalachari appears to have overlooked the fresh difficulties and complexities inherent in his proposals and to have almost shut his

eyes to the strength of the criticisms that the Cripps scheme evoked, in his discussion of the question at issue.

Dr. John B. Grant, Director of the All-India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health, Calcutta, points out, in his pamphlet on *The Health of India*, the underlying causes of India's lack of health and quotes figures to show the low level of health as reflected in the expectation of life in British India as compared with some of the progressive countries of the world. While in British India the figure is stated to be 27, the corresponding figures for other countries are: Australia 67, England-Wales 63, Germany 63, Japan 47. Dr. Grant deals with such subjects as social assurance and welfare, health education, public health, its organisation and administration, medical education, industrial health, etc. Bernal in his *Social Functions of Science* says: "It is probable that an overwhelming majority of diseases that occur throughout the world are due directly or indirectly to the lack of primary necessities, generally food, and many of the remainder . . . to bad living conditions." While quoting the above extract, Dr. Grant makes the following observation: "In the past, states regarded these questions as responsibilities of the individual, but today progressive states recognise the need for providing such necessary services as one is unable to obtain as an individual. This is fundamental to modern organised life. Included in these is the right to food and everything necessary to maintain health. It is only when such a health policy is adopted that important pre-medical causes of disease can be rooted out." The chief immediate problem, in the opinion of Dr. Grant, is to bring medical relief to the individual villager. This, he adds, has not yet been made available even to the extent possible within the present economic resources. Dr. Grant was Professor of Public Health for seventeen years in the Peiping Union Medical College and has been an officer of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation throughout his professional life. His services have been lent to the Government of India since 1939. Dr. Grant has discussed the main problems relating to health in India in a remarkably thorough manner notwithstanding the limited space at his disposal. The important suggestions made by him should receive careful consideration at the hands of the authorities, the medical profession and the general public.

In the pamphlet on *The Educational System*, Mr. K. G. Saiyadain, Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmir State makes a fair and able survey of the policy hitherto followed in the sphere of primary education in India; Mr. H. V. Hampton, formerly Principal of the Secondary Training College, Bombay, who has recently retired from the Indian Educational Service, establishes a strong and reasoned case for a complete overhaul of the existing system of secondary education prevailing in the country; Mr. Amarnath Jha, Vice-Chancellor, Allahabad University, urges that the Universities should be faithful to their high ideals and adapt themselves to the altered circumstances and the conditions that are arising; Mr. K. Venkataraman, Head of the Department of Chemical Technology in Bombay and Mr. P. N. Joshi, Principal, Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute, Bombay in their joint contribution on Technical Education point out serious deficiencies in the present state of technical and scientific education and suggest important reforms in various directions; and Mr. Ranjit M. Chetsingh, Warden of the Friends' Settlement at Hoshangabad in the Central Provinces, gives a bird's-eye view of the existing public activities for the promotion of adult education. While referring to the problem of primary education, Mr. Saiyadain enumerates the recent achievements of other countries

in this sphere. He then very appropriately asks, is there any reason, in the very nature of things, why India should be unable to do what countries like China and Turkey, struggling against the heaviest of odds, have been able to do? He urges that educational reconstruction should form as part of national reconstruction. The various proposals for educational expansion and reconstruction set forth in the pamphlet deserve the immediate attention of all who are anxious that every possible step should now be taken without any loss of time for accelerated progress in this important sphere.

S. K. LAHIRI

No. 9. THE LAND AND ITS PROBLEMS : By Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya. Oxford University Press. 1943. Pages 32. Price annas four.

No. 10. INDUSTRIALIZATION : By P. S. Lokanathan. Oxford University Press. 1943. Pages 32. Price annas four.

There are few who are competent to speak with greater authority on Indian agriculture than the illustrious author of the pamphlet entitled "The Land and Its Problems." This pamphlet provides a panoramic view of the salient features of agricultural policy and practice in this country where "farming is not a business, it is a tradition." The author has valuable suggestions to offer in regard to every obstinate problem patent to Indian agriculture, such as soil erosion, diminishing fertility, manuring, fragmentation and subdivision of holdings, marketing, mechanization, scientific research, animal husbandry and welfare of the ryot. He summarizes his observations in one simple but piquant sentence : "What Indian agriculture needs, is more brains to be put into the land and more state money to be put into agricultural improvement and research." Some important questions had, however, to be left out due to the obvious limitations of space, and one only wishes that the learned author will be persuaded to write a comprehensive volume on Indian agriculture for the benefit of scholars as well as framers of India's future agrarian policy.

The pamphlet on "Industrialization" by Dr. P. S. Lokanathan seeks to focus attention on certain fundamental problems with which Indian industry is faced today, particularly in the light of the stimulus which the war has offered to its development. This development, however, has been haphazard and not planned. The author feels that if the newly established industries are not to stagnate, the defects in India's industrial structure and organization must be remedied and a vigorous policy must be followed. This can be achieved, according to Dr. Lokanathan, only if the State can be made to accept greater responsibility for industrial development and a policy of economic socialism in the industrial sphere is pursued. In the narrow compass of a 32-page pamphlet the author makes it possible to refer to many other dominant questions concerning Indian industrialism, and the reader will be amply repaid by a careful study of this able survey.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

PUNJAB'S EMINENT HINDUS : Edited by N. B. Sen. New Book Society, Lahore. 1943. Pp. 163. Price Rs. 10 only.

This is a collection of short biographies of some leading figures of Hindu society in the Punjab during recent times. Written by different hands, but all inspired by discerning sympathy and intelligent understanding of character, this sheaf of life-sketches sums up

the magnificent work done by the Hindus of the Punjab—a minority community—in fashioning the building of modern India. Of the persons forming the subject-matter of these sketches, it may be said that they were often men of brilliant academic attainments with the benefit of advanced Western education and have left the stamp of their vigorous personalities upon various walks of life in the province. Some of them have even carried messages of renascent Hinduism beyond India's shores to the lands of Europe and America. Among the twenty notable sons of the Punjab whom their biographers have delighted to honour in this volume are numbered doughty champions of Hindu interest (Raja Narendranath and above all Sir Gokul Chand Narang and Bhai Parmanand), a missionary of Hinduism to Europe and America (Swami Ram Tirath) and fathers of Hindu Renaissance (Mahatma Hans Raj and Swami Shraddhanand). Others have been successful public men (Sir Chhotu Ram and Sir Manohar Lal) and eminent jurists shedding lustre on the Bench (Sir Shadi Lal, Sir Jai Lal and Sir Tek Chand). Still others have been wizards of industry (Sir Ganga Ram and Lala Harkishen Lal). Finally, we have to mention selfless patriots who have suffered the extreme privations for their ideals (Dr. Har Dayal and Lala Laipat Rai). One only misses, for reasons sufficiently obvious, any outstanding names, in literature.

Not only as a record of glorious achievements in different spheres of national life, but also as human documents, this little volume is of absorbing interest. We find here striking contrasts between scions of aristocratic families worthily maintaining their high traditions and self-made men who by the sheer dint of their genius have risen to the topmost rung of the ladder. There are also dramatic contrasts between careers marching steadily from triumph to triumph and those rising to meteoric greatness only to end in a sudden eclipse, as also between those with fixed ideals almost from childhood and those involving the very interesting process of conversion of a sinner into a saint. By the side of characters easily fitting into the existing social groove, we have dynamic personalities that have sought manfully, though not, alas, always with success, to create a better world for Indians and for humanity.

Altogether this exceedingly readable volume is bound to be a source of unending inspiration to Hindus of the present and future generations.

U. N. GHOSHAL

OUR INDIAN HERITAGE : By Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma, M.A. Published by Blackie and Son (India) Ltd., Warwick House, Fort Street, Bombay. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-4.

Prof. Sharma is already known as the author of some good volumes such as "The Prophets of the East," etc. In the volume under review, he appears in the role of a popular historian of Indian civilisation. In order to make this brief account of our heritage vivid, he "builds it up round great kings, distinguished Indians, eminent women and noble monuments." It can be said without hesitation that the learned author has admirably succeeded in giving an idea of the fundamental unity of India and of its unique achievements in every field of human activity.

Illustrations of Buddha, Taj Mahal, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath adorn this nicely got-up and beautifully printed volume of unusual interest. Prof. Sharma's accounts of Asoka, Akbar, Shivaji and Shah Jehan are as impressive and instructive as those of Buddha, Gandhi, Rabindranath and Rammohun.

About Rammohun the author aptly observes that he was most honoured of all the persons who have given a direction to the life of new India. About Gandhiji the author pertinently remarks that it is not possible to think of new India without him, for the India of today is the India of Gandhi. Speaking about Rabindranath he rightly opines that he was a world figure and perhaps one of the most many-sided personalities that India has ever produced. The first three chapters on "Our Civilisation," "Indus Valley Civilisation" and "Aryan Culture" are so inspiring that a perusal of them will fill the minds of the readers with pride in our past heritage. The remaining thirteen chapters are equally well-written and thought-provoking and are sure to enlighten the reading public as well as the students.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

PRAKRIT

USANIRUDDHA. A PRAKRIT POEM IN FOUR CANTOS : By Ramapaniwada. Edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanyam Sastri and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja. The Adyar Library Series No. 42. Demy Octavo. ix-xii + 1-142. The Adyar Library, Madras. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is an edition of a late Prakrit poem of a South Indian poet of the 18th century. It deals with the well-known mythological story of the love and marriage of Usa and Aniruddha, grandson of Krishna. The edition is stated to have been based on two manuscripts, the readings of only one of which are recorded and discussed in an appendix. The introduction gives an account of the author and tries to definitely establish his identity by distinguishing him from authors of Malayalam poems who are generally identified with the former. There appears to have been some sort of duplication of work in the publication of the text. It was, it is stated, already published in 1941 by the well-known Prakrit scholar, Prof. A. N. Upadhye (who previously edited the *Kamsavaho* of the same poet) in the Journal of the Bombay University on the basis of one of the two manuscripts utilised for the present edition. It is true that this edition has had the benefit of a second manuscript. There is however no reference to variants, if any, noticed among the readings adopted by Prof. Upadhye or found in his manuscript.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

MIRABAI : Swami Bamadevananda, "Udbodhan" Office, Bagh bazar, Calcutta. Price annas eight.

Mirabai's devotional songs are immensely popular throughout India and are regarded as masterpieces of poetry. The present compiler has done a real service to us by bringing out this small anthology with lucid Bengali translation of the songs selected. The short introductory biography is well-written, neat, accurate and interesting.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MAHACHINER NABAJANMA : By Anadi Nath Paul. Purabi Publishers, 72, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-4 only.

This is a timely publication when China is passing through the momentous crisis in her long career of civilisation. To many China is ancient medieval and

the struggle of recent history, China since the fall of the Manchus in 1911 is revolutionary in more senses than one. Change is working through all phases of her

national life—social, industrial, political and educational and in one word, cultural and economic. It is no longer China of 1841 (Opium War) or of 1894 (Sino-Japanese War) but China rebuilt by the enormous sacrifices and sufferings of her patriotic sons and daughters in the foot-steps of the late Dr. Sun-Yat-sen. Today China stands united against the onslaughts of the Japanese aggressor and in spite of all the handicaps of a backward nation is carrying on her normal nation-building activities, industrial and educational, in far-off highlands and mountainous regions, sea-boards and river-valleys being in the hands of the enemy. "Hit and Run Factories" and "Shifting and Amalgamated Universities" are wonders of modern China.

China is a lesson for all fallen and backward nations particularly India, as to what is possible for a nation with a will and determination. China of world-lords has ceased to exist and in its place all classes in spite of social, economic, religious and ideological differences stand as one man for the mother country and are fighting against the common enemy. China has suffered most and has lost many things but not her heart which is as strong as ever and will remain so till she wins her goal of victory and attains national regeneration.

A book of this nature will be an instructive and inspiring study to our young men to whom the book is recommended. The language of the book is chaste and forceful.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

JEEVAN-TAT : By Vishvamohan Kumar Sinha. Pustaka-Bhandar, Laheriaserai, Bihar. Pp. 267. Price not mentioned.

Written nearly twenty years ago and highly commended by the late Premchandji,—that prince among present-day novelists,—but published only last year, the novel, under review, provides a fine, comparative, psychological study of love, frustrated because of the darkness and delusion of desire, and of love, fulfilled and deified through devotion. The pains and pangs of transition through which our society has been passing, specially in the sphere of matrimonial institution, injunctions and inhibitions, are fully and faithfully revealed in the "swing" and sweep of the story. There are several passages, particularly those which describe the background of natural beauty, which are "purple" in their poetical imagination and expression. After one lays the book down, one feels as refreshed as one does when it rains in a desert region.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SANKHESHWAR MAHATIRTHA, PARTS I AND 2. By Muniraj Shri Jayant Vijayji. Printed at the Virvijay Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1942. Cloth Bound. Illustrated. Pp. 302. Price Re. 1-4.

SHRI ARBUD PRACHIN JAIN LEKHA SANG-RAHA (ABU), PART II : By Muniraj Shri Jayant Vijayji. Printed at the Luhana Mitra Printing Press, Baroda. 1942. Cloth Bound. Pp. 640. Price Rs. 3.

Both these books show the fine historical research work done by Muniji. His labours have resulted

K. M. J.

HOW CALCUTTA PREPARED TO DEFEND ITSELF IN 1742

BY DR. A. G. PAWAR

THE incursions of the Maratha army into Bengal early in the year 1742 were both sudden and rapid. The Marathas had lately demonstrated the growing prowess of their arms. They had fought a battle with the Nabob of the Karnatak, killed the Nabob in the battle, overrun the province, levied heavy contributions, besieged and reduced the famous fortress of Trichinopoly, captured Chanda Sahib and held him to ransom. The armies which now raided Bengal belonged to the same Maratha General, Raghoji Bhonsle, who had won his laurels in the Karnatak. It was no wonder, therefore, that the very news of the approach of the Marathas struck terror into the hearts of the people. The fear of the Marathas was the greater because this was their first incursion into the province. Bengal had so far remained immune from their attacks.

The feeling of nervousness had not failed to affect even the Gentlemen at Fort William. As their President and Council confessed in their letter to Bombay (May 31, 1742), they were really "alarmed with an account that a large body of Morattoes had entered the country." Calcutta was not quite immune from an attack and no one knew how far the Marathas intended to proceed. The supreme need of the moment, therefore, was to put the place in a proper posture of defence. The need of doing it was the greater because many monied people had flocked to the city with their valuables trusting that they would receive there adequate protection.

The President and Council of Fort William were not slow to take necessary precautions and undertake such measures as would ensure safety of the place. William Holcombe, the Captain Commandant, and some others were ordered to go round the town, examine its defences and recommend such measures as were necessary to strengthen them. The Report was submitted by the Captain Commandant on April 22, 1742. It was as follows :

"To the Honoble Thomas Braddyll, Esq.
President and Governor and Council at Fort
William.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

Pursuant to your order we have been round the town and taken a survey of the avenues and passes into it which are so numerous that we apprehend it requires a much superior force properly to defend them than can be raised at present. However, we have remarked the following places of most importance and what may be most necessary to be done at this juncture, viz.:—

To make a battery at Seats Garden consisting of six guns, four of which to face the roads towards Pennings and two to flank the Avenue towards the Waterside.

A battery of four guns, a little on this side the Octagon.

A battery of three guns at Mr. Jackson's Gaunt.

A battery of three guns opposite to the gaol. All the passes into that road into the town to be stopt up with mud walls and ditches before them as also a ditch before each battery.

All the gates into the Black Town to be walled up.

A battery of three guns in the road that comes from Golgaut to be made at the lane that comes down by Captain Jackson's house.

A battery of four guns, three of which to face the road by Captain Lloyd's house and one to flank the Avenue down towards the waterside.

A battery of two guns opposite to Mr. Margas's house near the rice *golaks* (?); and all the by-alleys thereabouts to be stopped up with mud walls; and in case of an alarm we think it necessary that the bridges by Capt. Pearee's and Capt. Reade's houses be then broken down.

The above is the result of our sentiments which we offer to your Honour's etc., consideration and are with great respect.

Calcutta.

22 April 1742.

Honourable Sir & Sirs,
W. Holcombe, etc."

(*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

On the day this report was submitted, a Consultation was held and the President and the Council passed the following resolutions :

"Advices from all parts still confirming the news of the Morattoes' near approach to the Nabob's army; therefore, and that we may lose no time in making the place as defensible as possible,

Ordered that the several batteries be raised, the ditches made, the gates walled up, and other works done for the defence and security of the town as are mentioned to be immediately necessary in the report delivery in by Captain Commandant William Holcombe etc.

Ordered that all such gun carriages as may want it be immediately repaired and put in order and new ones made where the same may be required.

Ordered that the gunner do employ as many people as he can in making a sufficient store of gunpowder for service with all other kind of ammunition necessary.

As we find on the list of military stores but a very small number of small arms,

Ordered that the Master of Arms do look out for such good small arms as are to be purchased in the town, and that a sufficient number

be procured and brought up for the Company's use on this occasion on the best terms we can.

Ordered that Captain Commandant William Holcombe do recruit the two companies of soldiers in garrison here with as many Europeans and Portuguese as can possibly be got.

Ordered that such of the European inhabitants of this town as have formerly been discharged out of the military be on this occasion re-entered in the service pursuant to the Honourable Company's standing orders.

Ordered that all the Honourable Company's covenanted servants as also the European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants of the town be summoned to appear in the Factory on Saturday morning next (24th April 1742) at seven of the clock in order for a general muster of them.

Ordered that the Master Attendant do immediately get all the sloops in readiness for service, that he do see that all of them have their full compliment of men and that he do put a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition on board of each.

Ordered that the gunner do entertain an extraordinary number of one hundred Lascars in the gunroom for the present service.

Ordered that the Buxie do provide a sufficient number of proper workmen, cooleys etc., for the necessary repairs and service that are to be made, and that the extraordinary expenses arising on this occasion be kept by him under the head of Expenses of Fortifying the Town of Calcutta.

Ordered that no rice or other grain, or any sort of provision whatever be exported out of the place during these troubles, and that this order be affixed at each of the Factory gates in the several languages usual here for every one's observance and notice." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

In accordance with one of the resolutions, a meeting was held on Saturday, April 24, and further decisions were taken. The Consultation in which these are mentioned reads as follows :

"The Honorable Company's servants with the European, Armenian and Portuguese inhabitants attending according to order of Council the 22nd instant, the Board acquainted them in general of the troubles in the country and the necessity there is of forming a militia for the defence of the place in case of the Morattoes approach.

Ordered that they do attend again on Monday next at seven of the clock in the forenoon to receive the necessary instructions.

Resolved that all the Covenanted servants

under council with the European and Armenian inhabitants in town be formed into one militia and that they be properly armed and accoutred.

Ordered that John Foster Esquire do command this company of militia as their captain, that Humphry Bellamy Esq., and Mr. Alexander Wedderburne be Lieutenant, and that Mr. William Fytche Charles Gressey Esq., and Mr. Joseph Briggs be Ensigns thereof.

Ordered that proper commission be drawn out for the respective officers above named against Monday next.

Ordered that the Master Attendant do take with him two of the Honourable Company's sloops with such of the pilots, masters and others in the River Service as may be necessary, and with them proceed up the river as high as Chandernagore sounding all the way and making proper remarks of the channels, sands, shoals, etc., therein. That in case it should be found necessary hereafter to send any vessel up to oppose an enemy in crossing the river, he and they may be perfect masters of the channel.

There being one Captain Robert Lennard come from Madras who we hear was very serviceable raising the new fortifications there on the Morattoes approach,

Agreed that he be entertained for the present occasion and that he have a suitable reward for his trouble.

As we are informed that a great many people and much treasure hath been brought into the place since the report of these troubles,

Ordered that the Zamindar do make a strict enquiry into the same and do lay a report before the Board on Monday next who the people are that have come in and what quantity of money hath been so brought in from the best information he can get." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

The Zamindar, accordingly, laid the information and a further Consultation was held on Monday, April 26. As it contains some interesting references, it may be cited here.

"The Zamindar," reads the Consultation, "pursuant to order of Council the 24th instant reports that by the best information he can get the following is an account of the treasure brought into Calcutta lately to this day :

Belonging to	Rupees
Juggatseat	159
Doochund Pooranmul	15
Govindass	10
Baghat Pant	11
Chunder Sankar Pant	10
Sontoskill	4
Ramchund Metre	1
Dunneroy Ramnad	5
Undiramroy	2

A diary containing a particular account of the people that have come into the, or have sent their families and baggage in, since the 15th instant to this day was laid before the Board and read by which it appears there are two hundred seven boats come in.

Mr. William Barwell desires it may be minuted as his opinion that the admission of so many people into the place the greatest part

of whom the English are under no fye to protect or intermeddle with may be attended with ill consequences to the Company as a Fame is spread abroad of vast sums of money being imported by them." (*Bengal Public Consultations*, Vol. 15).

It may be added in conclusion that though Calcutta in this way strengthened its defences, it did not get the opportunity of trying them against the Marathas.

THE LATE SULEMAN NANA OF TRANSVAAL

BY SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL

AN urgent cablegram from Mr. A. I. Kajee, Secretary, South African Indian Congress, announcing the premature and tragic death of our mutual friend and co-worker Suleman Mohamed Nana knocked me down unconscious for a moment. The news came rather as a rude shock. The blow was unexpectedly heavy. A new misfortune has befallen us. His untimely death will no doubt be an unbearable affliction to the Indian settlers of South Africa. We heard of his serious illness recently, but we never thought that he would pass away so suddenly at the early period of his life. He was a faithful friend to me and I had come to regard him with the greatest love and admiration. But it is to his public service I would like to refer. Such a sturdy character it would be hard to equal even if we searched the length and breadth of South Africa. The Transvaal has lost one of her noblest sons and the Indian settlers, one of their brightest jewels. A born patriot, thinker, orator, and a man devoted to his duty, he rightly became the trusted leader of his community. His single-minded devotion to the cause of his people and his charitable disposition made him stand head and shoulders above the rest. In the face of the bitterest opposition, he always held what he believed to be right, and good for his community. With only a few exceptions, I have never seen his equal in the Congress organisations throughout South Africa.

As a personality Suleman Nana was powerful and at the same time exquisitely adorable; hundreds of Indians visited him for his advice on the different matters concerning the community and even the Union Ministers were accustomed to listen respectfully to his advocacy of the Indian case. He was pre-eminently our best leader in the Transvaal and his place cannot be filled in these days, especially when our community is struggling to maintain its existence from the crushing blows of the Union Government in the shape of legislations. In this short tribute of mine it is impossible to make a reference to all the noble deeds he has done during the short span of life vouchsafed for him.

The late Suleman Nana was born in 1906 at Johannesburg, the golden city of South Africa and received his education at the Indian School there. After his elementary training he entered into business as a partner of H. S. Mia, a wholesale merchant of Johannesburg. A man of enormous intellect and courage he easily outstripped former leaders and gained more popularity than any of them. He was elected the General Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress

and retained the office for eleven years up till his death. An outstanding leader, deep thinker and serene speaker, he appeared before a number of Parliamentary Select Committees and Judicial Commissions as the chosen spokesman of his people and ventilated the grievances thoroughly for their serious consideration. His familiarity with facts and figures relating to Indian questions was wonderful indeed and this empowered him to argue the Indian case with skill, self-confidence and authority. He possessed an intimate knowledge of the so-called Indian problems and therefore even at a very young age he rose to the topmost rung of the Indian political ladder there. He was a Commissioner of Oaths for the city of Johannesburg and was connected with several religious, social and educational institutions of the Transvaal.

Personally I am so grieved that I cannot gather the necessary power required to manifest my inner feelings at this calamity which has darkened the horizon of Indian lot in the Union. It assumes the magnitude of a national tragedy as he had completely identified himself with the public cause for the last decade. Both as an acknowledged leader of the community and as an energetic Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress he made his indelible mark in the history of Indian settlers and his name became a byword of wonder and admiration amongst his countrymen in South Africa.

I knew him well during my stay in South Africa and found him equally able as a speaker and as a writer. I feel his loss to be one which the Transvaal Indians cannot recoup. His noble nature shone brighter and brighter through the darkening clouds of despondency, bringing swift and sure solace to his countrymen, carrying confidence and fresh vigour in the field of public service; triumphant in the fight against racial discrimination he was the admiration of the whole community.

Nana is no more to serve his countrymen in the Transvaal but his noble works will live and bear glowing tribute and lasting testimony to the tradition of his nobler life he has left for us to follow. His many deeds stand as a colossal monument. To enumerate his numerous public activities is impossible in such a short space and I therefore close this tribute with offering my heartfelt sympathy to his own relatives in the irreparable loss they have sustained, a loss which is regarded as a veritable misfortune to the whole Indian community of South Africa.

THE ANDHRA MAHABHARATA AND ANCIENT METHODS OF WARFARE

By K. LAKSHMI RANJANAM, M.A.

THE subject of military science in ancient India Palnadu looked upon themselves as the prototype is perhaps the province of the specialist. Little types of the Kurus and Pandavas. The *casus* or no attention seems to have been paid to this *belli* in the case of the Palnadu battle was fascinating theme. How Indians in ancient times similar to the feud of the ancient clans. The fought amongst themselves or defended themselves from the aggression of enemies may at this distance of time appear to be only a matter so nobly enacted before their very eyes of antiquarian interest. But as Indians come increasingly into their own, and become responsible for the defence of their country, they are bound to call for a historical study of the development of military ideas in India over the centuries. During the course of my study of the Andhra Mahabharata, I came across a wealth of material on the methods of ancient warfare which I venture to place before scholars in the hope of inviting their expert attention to this subject.

The Andhra Mahabharata has very carefully preserved the tradition of military concepts as they were described in the original Mahabharata. The "Yudha Panchaka" (war cantos) of the Telugu Bharatam is the highest tribute that the Andhras paid to the memory of ancient heroes and their great military prowess. Some casual critics complained that the war cantos of Poet Tikkana might as well have been left uncomposed for they could see in it nothing but a tiresome description of the fighting of the warriors and the number of arrows which each one of them discharged at the other. But to the poet Tikkana the Mahabharata was as sacred a business as any other activity of the mighty clans. The great war after the Kurus and Pandavas and what would be a story with its head lopped off ? Moreover Tikkana had a partiality for the noble life of the soldier and his craft, bloody though it be. He himself was the scion of a family of soldiers and administrators. His father, Kommana, was a Commander under the Chodas of Nellore. His grandfather was the Governor of Guntur. Tikkana was the Minister of Manuma Siddhi, the ruler of Nellore. One of his cousins was a great general and earned the proud title of Tikkana of the sword, (Khadga Tikkana).

We reach the second stage when the battle raged between large masses of men ranged on great general and earned the proud title of either side. These are the so-called wars of the Tikkana of the sword, (Khadga Tikkana). Gods and Rakshasas, into which were cleverly

The age also was essentially heroic. Stories merged the feuds of Aryans with non-Aryans. of the great battle of Palnadu were still ringing in the ears of the Telugu people. This battle took place about 1180 A.D. The warriors of battle. Everything depended on hard fighting

Now as far as we can glean relevant information from the Mahabharatam and other Puranas we find that the ancient military tradition was one of regular growth. In the Rigveda we meet with two fighters the God Indra and Vritra, the leader of the forces of darkness. It was a duel fight and the weapons used were also very simple. Indra wielded his "pavi." Indra's weapon was no other than what the Aryans used for breaking mountains and stones. When Aryans perfected the use of the bow; in fact it became their weapon par excellence, so that the whole military science came to be named after the bow, the Dhanurveda. The science represented the climax of the fortunes of the Aryans and it was elevated to the rank of a secondary Veda. To the soldier who died on the field of battle they visualised a glorious hereafter, similar to that of the Yigin who let off his life by means of Yoga. The Hindus asserted that they both are destined for the higher regions of light, making their way through the orb of the sun.

We reach the second stage when the battle raged between large masses of men ranged on either side. These were pitched battles; there was no discipline, no strategy, no premeditated plan of battle. Everything depended on hard fighting

qualities and overpowering numbers. The Devas (Gods) appears to be in possession of the milk and honey of the world, living in heaven, whereas the Asuras, their rivals coveted their privileged position. Similar must have been the causes of Aryan and non-Aryan quarrels. The Asuras were barbarous fighters and had the advantage of numbers on their side. The Gods, though equally stubborn fighters had not the crusading zeal in them. Further they had not the advantage of numbers. Hence arose amongst the Gods the need for some special thinking as to how to match their inferior forces with the overwhelming numbers of their enemies. It must have occurred to them that they could make up for their numerical inferiority by careful planning of the methods of giving battle to the enemy. The preceptor of the Gods' Brihaspati, is reported to have laid down this dictum :

"According to Brihaspati's opinion, the numerically inferior army must be well knitted in order to fight; if the numbers are many they may be spread out at will."

So Brihaspati, the brain of the Gods, initiated the system of military tactics or Vyuhas. "Vyuha" literally means that which is deeply thought out.* The Amara Kosha defines Vyuha as

"the proper arrangement of the armies in battle array"

The need for economising the use of force, also gave rise amongst the Gods for various devices to avoid war or at least to make it the last resource in their dealings with their enemies. Thus the fourfold plan of *sama* (peaceful negotiations), *dana* (purchasing the enemy by concessions), *bheda* (creating dissensions in the camp of the enemy and dissipating his strength) and lastly, *danda* (the clash of arms) became the recognised and orthodox plan of Indian polity later on.

Thus diplomacy and statemanship had their beginnings among the Gods and Aryans. The Asuras and non-Aryans were ignorant of these. Occasionally a discontented chief from the camp of the Gods deserted to the camp of the Rakshasas, and like Sukra, the brother of Brihaspati, became their Guru. In their unequal fight with the Asuras, the Gods often employed the device of creating dissensions in the enemy camp and they would not hesitate to use beautiful damsels as instruments of their diplomacy. The Asura brothers Sunda and Upasunda were a very tough problem for the Gods. They had to be destroyed through mutual and fratricidal

war. The Gods threw an apple of discord between them in the form of a divine dancing damsel. The Asura brothers fought each other for her sake and died together. The system of using such women in diplomatic missions continued into the middle ages and a king often assumed the title, "the master of many royal dancing girls."

It is not to be assumed that the God Aryans were the less renowned fighters for they relied on their fourfold plan. They were indeed mighty fighters but there appears to be little unity among them. They were too clever to be united. Not often do we find that the cultured and prosperous communities speak with different voices whereas their opponents are united and act accordingly. The lesson of unity was brought home to the Gods by God Shiva, in one of the numerous wars of Gods and Demons. The Gods were once confronted with a predatory and daring sect of the Asuras who lived in three cities. Their strongholds were not accessible to the Gods. The Gods invoked the aid of Lord Shiva. Lord Shiva is the puranic representative of the Vedic deity Rudra whose anger and sharp arrows were a terror unto enemies. Shiva insisted that the Gods must part with a portion of their individuality in his favour, and follow him as the herd follows the herdsman. Hence his name "Pasupati." Having thus suppressed disunity and multiple leadership in his camp Lord Shiva proceeded to reduce the Asuras. He adopted a strategic plan. Strategy is the method of forcing the enemy to fight on terms not advantageous to him. He sent Lord Vishnu and Brahma to the fortress of the Asuras as a cow and its calf. They acted as our modern Fifth Columnists and drank away the water in the wells of the three invincible cities. The Asuras had no water to drink and were forced to fight thirsty. Lord Shiva destroyed their impregnable fortresses and burnt them down. He won the proud title, "the destroyer of the three cities."

Lord Shiva's son Kartikeya was even a greater warrior than his father. He led the Gods to success in many a battle and was known as "Senani," the perpetual commander of the Gods. One of his great exploits was the destruction of "Krauncha;" perhaps he successfully broke a Vyuha of that name and earned the title "Kraunchadarana."

As time rolled on the Gods-cum-Aryans developed their military science to a degree of perfection and left Asura-non-Aryans far behind in the race. Their confidence increased and they looked upon the mission of a soldier as a holy one. A warrior was the protector of the weak

* विशेषणोद्यते इति व्यूहः

and guardian of the cause of Righteousness. The Aryans began to advocate the ideal of clean and straight fighting. The Ramayana upheld this ideal consistently and Valmiki always refers to Shri Rama as "Satya-Sangaraha" (of righteous valour). The great battle in the Ramayana is a good illustration of the fact that superiority of weapons is the surest way to success. Those who fight with newest weapons have an advantage over those who cling to old methods of fighting. There is the element of surprise and also effective use of superior force. The case of the aerial bomber versus the old battleship is a modern instance. Now the Aryan heroes, Rama and Lakshmana, were great wielders of the bow. They had the benefit of special training under the sage-King Viswamitra. Whereas the Aryans fought with the long bow, the non-Aryan tribes were still primitive fighters. They used the axe, the javelin, the mace, and the fist which were useful only for close fighting. In the camp of Ravana, he and his son Meghnad alone appear to know something of the use of the bow but they were no match for the mighty Aryan brothers. Ravana also seems to be overconfident of the strength of his hordes. He did not even attempt to frustrate the plan of Rama in constructing a bridge to reach Lanka and allowed the enemy an easy landing. But even Rama does not seem to know the value of Vyuhas. His allies were as much a rabble as the followers of Ravana.

Between the Ramanayana and the Mahabharata wars a great and phenomenal change came over the methods of warfare. Military science progressed by great strides. The fighting tradition gripped the whole people. Individuals and classes vied with each other in cultivating the ideal of the soldier. There seems to be constant and hard fighting between Aryans and Aryans, Aryans and non-Aryans, and amongst the non-Aryans themselves. Amongst the non-Aryans the Nagas and Garudas were two famous valorous clans. There were mortal feuds between them. The Nagas were crafty and treacherous enemies. They were never reconciled to their Aryan neighbours. The Nagas were great adepts in the use of poison and often used this dangerous weapon against their enemies. Arjuna destroyed the Nagas in the Khandava forest. This they never forgave him and a Naga King later on poisoned Parikshit, the grandson of the Pandavas. The Garudas were better disposed towards the Aryans and the Aryans befriended them. Tarkshya the leader of the Garuda clan was honoured with the title of "Vishnu Ratha" in token of his friendship with the Aryans. He was a great destroyer of Nagas. The Nagas

and Garudas were skilled fighters and had much to teach the Aryans in methods of warfare. The peculiar weapon of the Nagas "Naga-astra" was borrowed by the Aryans and made use of in their armoury. The Garudas seem to know the use of Vyuhas and the method of their battle array was known as "Garuda Vyuga."

There is ample evidence in the Mahabharata to show that Hindu military tradition reached the acme of perfection in that age. All the familiar features of a regular military establishment were there, manouevres, standing armies, tactics, the various divisions of the army, weapons, etc. Standing armies were maintained by Indian monarchs even from the ancient times. Rulers like Jarasandha of Magadha, and Suyodhana of Hastinapur who aspired to be emperors had standing armies. It is described in the Mahabharata that Suyodhana marched to the battle-field at the head of an army of one Akshauhini, ten others being contributed by his allies. In historical times Chandragupta Maurya and the Andhras maintained regular armies. The army was usually divided into four classes, chariots, elephants, cavalry and infantry. Of these the charioteer was most in esteem and military ranking was based on the chariots. "Atiratha" was the highest military rank, "Maharatha," "Ardharatha" and "Sainaratha" were some of the designations. Great attention seems to have been paid to the proper training of the officer ranks of the army. These were naturally the Kshatriya Princes and members of the higher classes. In each prominent State there was a military camp presided over by a famous teacher. The military college of Hastinapur presided over by the Brahmin warriors Kripa and Drona in succession was perhaps the best of this type. Now, in the age of the Mahabharata it was not the Kshatriyas alone that distinguished themselves as warriors. The Brahmins also disputed the palm with them. The Brahmin Bhargava Rama was the terrible meteor of a fighter. He trained such disciples as Bhishma, Drona and Karna. Drona the mighty Brahmin was the veritable ocean of military science. His son Asvathama was a very sharp fighter. The military college of Hastinapur received and trained pupils from distant kingdoms like Panchala.

In order to stimulate the princely pupils military sports were held and tests were set to them to display their skill. In one of these displays originated the rivalry of the Kuru brothers and Pandavas. Drona trained pupils in archery. Many were the secrets of this science which he would trust only to those pupils whom

he considered to be of a noble disposition. Otherwise infinite would be the havoc caused by ill-balanced recipients of deadly weapons and their secrets. He would not trust even his son whom he considered to be of a rash temperament. Arjuna was his trusted disciple. Drona also knew and devised several invincible armours. The art of making these armours was handed on traditionally from one great man to another. In the great war an occasion arose when the Kaurava army was in a very sad plight and Suyodhana ran up to Drona for succour. Then the Acharya invested him with a secret armour and observed :

" Oh Suyodhana ! you can face Arjuna with this armour on and you will see that his arrows will go in vain against you. He will be discomfited. This famous armour was designed by Aja for the protection of the Gods and he gave it to Indra. Indra gave it to Angiras who in his turn taught it to Brihaspati. Brihaspati handed it on to Agni Vaisya and I received it from him."

The high water mark of military perfection is discernible in the knowledge of Vyuhas which the Mahabharata displays. Vyuhu is military tactics. According to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*:

"Tactics are the methods employed for the destruction of the enemy by force of all arms, that is, infantry, cavalry and artillery. Each of these possesses a power peculiar to itself, the full development of which depends to a greater or lesser degree upon the aid and co-operation of the other two. The only force that can ensure this co-operation is the will of the supreme commander."

That this principle of co-operation of the various divisions of the army in order to develop the maximum force was recognised by ancient military tradition may be seen in the very first Vyuhu of Bhishma. Having reached the battlefield Suyodhana requested Bhishma, the Commander-in-Chief, to think of an effective Vyuhu and arrange the army. Then Bhishma turned to the west. He and Drona stood at the head of the army with their colours flying. To the right wing he posted Kripa and Asvathama; to the left wing stood Kritavarma and Shalya. The rear of the Vyuhu was formed by Bahlika and others and the King occupied the centre, with other Princes Royal. He was shielded in the front by ten thousand Samsaptaka charioteers who vowed bitterly that they would either kill Arjuna or be killed by him. The rest of the warriors were so stationed that they were supported by elephants; the elephants were buttressed by chariots; the chariots by cavalry; and cavalry by the archers. The whole was called the "Manusha Vyuhu." The spectators were so much impressed by the compact nature of the battle array that they exclaimed that they never witnessed a similar arrangement.

During the eighteen days of the great war the commanders of both the camps arranged their armies in different Vyuhas. Some Vyuhas were meant for offence and some for defence. These army postures were adapted from the dispositions of animals and birds, perhaps in their fighting mood. The habits of animals and birds were closely observed and were made use of in tactics. The Vyuhas named after the Garuda bird, the Krauncha (heron), the Kurma (tortoise), the Makara (crocodile), the Shyena (eagle) are famous. Just as the strength of a bird or animal is concentrated in a particular limb of its body, the main strength of a Vyuhu was focussed in that part. The Garuda is everything in its beak; hence the most powerful warriors were stationed at the beak. Similarly the eagle is very keen in its eyes, the tortoise has a protective shell in the back which cannot be easily pierced, the crocodile is ferocious in its tusks and also has a rock-like back.

In the earlier days the Kauravas under the lead of Bhishma took the offensive and fought under the "Manusha," the "Garuda" and the crocodile Vyuhas but the Pandavas successfully withstood their onslaught and inflicted heavy losses on them. Suyodhana was very much alarmed. He used to run to Bhishma at odd moments and would complain bitterly of the plight of his army. He would also insinuate that Bhishma and Drona had kind leanings towards his opponents and therefore let off the Pandavas lightly. The veteran hero protested and changed his methods to defensive tactics in the last days of his command. Thus he arranged, the Mandala Vyuhu, tortoise Vyuhu and Sarvatobhadra Vyuhu, all designed to induce the enemy to waste his strength on them. But the initiative passed to the Pandavas and they profited by it. At last Bhishma the hero of a hundred battles, whose valour inspired even the Gods, fell in battle and the Kaurava camp was engulfed in intense gloom.

After Bhishma, Drona, the mighty Brahmin assumed command of the Kauravas. To him military science was the very breath at his nostrils. Like Bhishma he was distinguished by individual prowess but at the same time he was a real commander. He put great store by the arrangement of the battle array and took great care to see that his armies never broke loose or fell pell-mell. His Vyuhas also were much more complex and proved deadly for the enemies. The ferocity of the Mahabharata war reached its climax during the period he was the commander-in-chief. Many were the heroes that lay killed on the field in these five days. Drona completed

the rest and destroyed so many warriors that Tikkana said of him, "He killed them with the ease with which he would pluck lotus flowers from their stems."

On the first day Drona formed the 'Shakata' Vyuha (cart-posture). The peculiarity of this lies in that the projecting portion of the cart pierces the enemy lines. If this succeeds the whole weight of the cart follows and rolls on the fleeing enemy. The Pandavas arranged themselves in the Krauncha posture. Drona like a wise commander set a definite objective to his army for achievement. This was the taking of King Yudhisthira as a prisoner alive. But he knew his limitations and told Suyodhana that he would succeed in his aim only if Arjuna could be drawn away from the main army. The Samsaptakas who were the sworn enemies of Arjuna promised to draw Arjuna away by inviting him for a battle with them. Thus on the second day Arjuna was away from the main army and Drona formed the Garuda Vyuha and he stood himself in the beak; Suyodhana and brothers became the eyes and head of the bird; and others became the wings and the tail. As against this the Pandavas stood in the form of the "Mandalardha" (semi-circular posture). If the centre were able to withstand the main attack, the two tips of the semi-circle might close round the enemy. The Pandava army was reduced to a sorry plight. Meanwhile, Arjuna extricated himself from the swarms of Samsaptakas and ran to the rescue of his army.

The most original of Drona's Vyuhas was the "Padma Vyuha" (lotus posture) which he formed on the third day of his command. In the formation of this battle array, the Kings of different countries became the petals of the lotus; the Princes became Kesaras; the King Suyodhana accompanied by Karna and his brothers became the Karnikara. Drona himself stood at the entrance to the Vyuha. On this day also Arjuna was called for battle by the Samsaptakas and had to go. In his absence the Pandavas were at a loss to know how to proceed against this impregnable array. One alone amongst them, the youthful son of Arjuna knew how to enter the Vyuha but even he did not know how to get out of its clutches. King Yudhisthira commissioned this youth to break the Vyuha and promised that they would all follow him at his back. Abhimanyu forced a way through the mighty lines of heroes but his fathers failed to follow him being stoutly opposed by Jayadratha. Young Abhimanyu fought single-handed for hours together but no succour could reach him. At last the wonderful

youth was disarmed by treachery and fell fighting in the field. A pall of gloom spread over the Pandava camp. Arjuna wept bitterly for the death of his valiant son and vowed terribly that he would not rest the next day until he killed Jayadratha whom he held responsible for the death of his son. Failing this Arjuna vowed to kill himself. Terrible was the excitement in both the camps at this vow.

Drona decided to frustrate the vow of Arjuna and induced Jayadratha to remain in the army. That day Drona devised the most complex of his Vyuhas and if he failed in the object of saving Jayadratha it was no fault of his. First of all he formed the Shakata Vyuha to face the Pandavas. This extended over a wide area of 48 by 20 miles. To the rear of this he also arranged the lotus Vyuha. He advised Jayadratha to station himself at a distance of 24 miles from the main army and Drona detailed Kripa, Shalya, Asvathama and Karna, with a motley force of 14,000 elephants, 60,000 chariots, 1 lakh of cavalry, 10 lakhs of infantry, to mount guard on Jayadratha. Connecting these two parts of the army he formed a "Suchi Vyuha" (the needle array). This was a thin column for maintaining communications between the widely separated armies. Having arranged his forces in this impenetrable array Drona stood at the forefront with a fearful bow in hand, striking terror in the enemy. But the strategy of Shri Krishna and the mighty arm of Arjuna overcame all the hurdles placed in their way and Arjuna killed Jayadratha by the same evening. How the battle raged under this Vyuha of Drona would be a long and very interesting study. Drona also was often insulted by the panicky minded Suyodhana. At last on the fifth day of his command Drona's Brahmin heart smote him against the rivers of blood he shed in battle. The old warrior dropped his bow and arrows on the chariot and let off his life by yoga.

Such in outline is the inspiring account of the perfection of ancient Indian military science. Its greatness consisted in its combining valour with mercy and leashing the blood hounds of war by the reins of Dharma, righteousness. It served India as a faithful instrument for ages but there is no finality in human things. When the Indian military organisation came under the fire of the Greek conceptions of war it revealed some weak points. The moral is that what we might consider impregnable may not be after all so. A nation must constantly keep a watchful eye on its defences and also on the resources of its possible enemies.

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The Calcutta Review and Its First Editor

In "a foreword" to the Centenary number of *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee observes :

The gentleman who took the initiative and played the most prominent part in the establishment and conduct of the *Calcutta Review* was Captain (late Sir) John Kaye (1814-1876). He had been in the Bengal Artillery but ill-health compelled him to give up his promising career in the army and resort to "the sedentary pursuits of a literary life." He was associated in a very responsible capacity with the daily *Harkara* but he was not satisfied with what he could write in its columns.

Captain Kaye felt the want of a magazine which might serve as a more effective medium for the expression of his ideas and views.

Accordingly, he set about organising a band of writers who would help him in starting such a quarterly journal. One of the persons to whom he applied for assistance in this regard was J. C. Marshman, the son of the famous Serampore missionary. He was already engaged in diverse activities as a Professor of the Serampore College, as the Editor of the *Friend of India*, as translator to the Government and as a publisher of law and school books. But he not only promised support to Captain Kaye in his new venture but enlisted on its behalf the support of another person who proved to be a tower of strength to the *Calcutta Review* for over a decade. Marshman had already been in correspondence with Sir Henry Lawrence whose reputation as an administrator was as great as his courage as an army officer. He was at this moment in Nepal and was just feeling the want of a magazine which Kaye was contemplating to start. Naturally Sir Henry became an eager collaborator. The third and fourth members of the group which co-operated with Captain Kaye in the foundation of the *Review*, were found in the ranks of the Presbyterian missionaries in Calcutta. They were Dr. Alexander Duff and Dr. William Sinclair Mackay. They are too well-known as missionaries and teachers to need further introduction here. Another person who co-operated with Kaye in the establishment of the journal was Captain Marsh, a relative of George Grote, the historian of Greece and a contributor to the *Westminster Review*. He was in the Bengal Cavalry and might have been helpfully associated with the *Review* for years. But his style was unjustifiably regarded as too violent and his criticism too trenchant. Accordingly, he ceased to be a collaborator after the first number. But it should be recorded that he played a not too insignificant part in the foundation of the *Review*.

It should of course be emphasised that in spite of co-operation which Captain Kaye received from the persons mentioned above, he had to bear the chief responsibility in conducting in its initial stages the journal, of which he was the proprietor. In fact years

later, he wrote to the Editor of the *Times of India* that he had established the *Calcutta Review* "single-handed." Nor was this observation altogether unjustified.

Apart from bearing the editorial and managerial responsibility during the first year of the *Review*, he had himself to write four out of the six articles published in the first number.

For the second number also he contributed two papers. Kaye's ideals were high and his standard was that of the first class journals in Britain. He thought he had a mission to fulfil and this mission was to educate as much the people of this country as those of his own. In fact he deplored particularly the ignorance which prevailed among his countrymen about things Indian. Nor was this ignorance confined to those Englishmen who had never visited India. It was equally noticeable among those Britishers who had not only experience of Indian life but were responsible for conducting Indian administration.

In the advertisement of the first number of the *Review* which Kaye drafted himself, he referred to the utter lack of knowledge about things Indian on the part of the people of Britain.

"Little more was known than that Calcutta and Madras were somehow or other two of the principal components of India, that the climate was very hot and very unhealthy; and that the Great Mogul, the hero of the playing cards, was one of its most magnificent potentates. Whether Madras was in Calcutta, or Calcutta in Madras, or whether they were contiguous cities like London and Westminster; whether Tipu Sultan was the Great Mogul, or whether the Great Mogul was one of the Princesses of Oudh; all these were questions which only the very knowing were competent satisfactorily to solve." As to the condition in India he observed, "The bane of this country is ignorance : Ignorance not in the dark recesses of native life—there it is comparatively harmless, but in high places—among the ruling body, among the men to whom inscrutable Providence has submitted the destinies of India." To remove this ignorance became the chief objective of Captain Kaye in starting the *Calcutta Review*. "The object of this work," he wrote, "is simply to bring together such useful information, and propagate such sound opinions, relating to Indian affairs, as will, it is hoped, conduce, in some small measure, directly or indirectly, to the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first desire is to awaken interest; to induce a thirst after information; then to supply that information; and, finally, to teach the application of it to its most beneficial uses."

There were many who predicted an early demise of the *Review*. They regarded the conditions in India as too unpropitious for a long lease of life of a journal of this character. First, they thought that contributors would not be available to write, from quarter to quarter, long, well-informed articles which were then in fashion. Secondly, readers would not come forth in any large



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number to patronise a journal consisting of six articles, each about forty pages long. Their patience would soon be tired out and the journal would cease to have the support, without which its publication would not be possible. But these apprehensions did not come true.

There were no doubt some anxious moments in the history of the *Review*. But they did not appear at once.

In fact, in the first stages it proved to be popular beyond expectation. Five hundred copies of the first number were at first printed. They were sold out without supplying all the demand. Accordingly, a second edition had to be brought out, and it had to be followed by the publication of a third edition in London. This would show how the *Review* leapt into popularity soon after its birth. Nor could it be said that this popularity abated overmuch during the first few decades of its life. So long as the Suez Canal was not opened and Europe remained too far away, the literary demand in this country had to be met by local supply and the *Calcutta Review* continued on this account to enlist the support as much of contributors as of subscribers. But the opening of the Suez Canal brought Europe nearer and the easy importation of British journals, which now became possible, gradually undermined the popularity of the *Calcutta Review*. India being a British possession, people in those days looked up to everything imported from Britain. It is no wonder on this account that the readers in this country also showed preference to periodicals produced in Britain to those published in India.

The Man of Steel

In an article in *The Sign* William Henry Chamberlain describes Stalin as the man of steel. We give below the article as reproduced *in extenso* in *The New Review*:

Physically Stalin is rather below medium height, with black hair that is graying with advancing years, an olive complexion, and a stocky build. Like all dictators, he is a very hard worker. His power is greater than that of any Czar, because, under the Soviet system, the whole national economy is managed by the State. So Stalin must not only make the big political decisions, but also decide whether labour and material should be applied to constructing a new power plant, or a new railway or a new steel mill. It is rather remarkable that the Soviet dictator, in the best style of the legendary Caliph Harun-al-Rashid or other Oriental despots, finds time to investigate and rectify minor injustices that are called to his attention.

Stalin has been twice married. His first wife, a Georgian woman, died before the Revolution. His second wife was the daughter of a Russian worker and veteran Bolshevik. His son by the first marriage, Jacob, is a war prisoner, according to a German announcement. He has two children by the second marriage, a son, Vasily, who is in the Soviet air force, and a daughter, Svetlana. Stalin enjoys the wine of his native Caucasus and is not unfamiliar with Russian *vodka*, but seldom drinks to excess. He occasionally finds relaxation in a game of chess or in a visit to the opera or the ballet. He never attended a university, but he has done a fair amount of reading during his periods of exile and imprisonment and during the intervals of his work, and he prides himself on his appreciation of the Russian classics. Never a profound speculative thinker, he



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possesses an elementary knowledge of the basic ideas of Marxism.

Stalin is always the practical statesman and administrator, rather than the theoretician; and he would never sacrifice a concrete benefit for the sake of an abstract idea.

For some fifteen years Stalin has been the absolute ruler of Russia; and with this absolute power has gone great responsibility before the judgment of history. Opinions about Stalin's personality and record vary as widely as opinions about the Soviet regime. To Communists and Communist sympathizers, he is an infallible demigod who can do no wrong. To embittered hostile critics of the Soviet Union, he is little short of a demon in human form.

On the positive side of Stalin's balance sheet, one might set the building of many new factories, power plants, canals, other aids to industrial progress, the spread of technical knowledge and general education among the masses of the people, the creation of a military machine that has proved able to stand off and apparently to outlast the tremendous armed forces of Nazi Germany. On the negative side one must set holocausts of victims in such atrocities as the 'liquidation of the kulaks as a class' and the man-made famine of 1932-33, the frequent practice of arrest and even execution without public trial (a witty foreigner once remarked that *habeas cadaver, not habeas corpus*, was the rule in the Soviet Union), a cruel forced labour system, of which millions of people have been victims and which many of them have not survived.

These are the facts about the two sides of Stalin's record, only the hopelessly blind and prejudiced can deny them. On the other hand, there is wide room for varied judgments on Stalin as man and ruler, depending on the individual's mind and conscience and his sense of moral values.

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Stalin's aims in foreign policy are of special interest to Americans, these are important for the sake of the future as well as for the sake of the past. Winston Churchill, with his gift of the vivid phrase, once referred to Soviet foreign policy as 'a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma.'

Certainly Stalin has pursued differing policies at different times. But there is a clue that provides a plausible interpretation of all the twists and turns of Soviet foreign policy: this clue is Russia first.

In his dealings with foreign countries Stalin has followed the line of conduct that seemed best calculated to promote his interests as a dictator, and those of the country which he ruled. He has never been greatly troubled by considerations of doctrinaire consistency or by respect for treaties which he has concluded, when circumstances seemed to make it profitable and advisable to break these treaties. For instance, when the Soviet Government through its Foreign Commissar, at that time Maxim Litvinov, was professing devotion to the ideals of peace and collective security, treaties of non-aggression and neutrality pledging mutual respect for existing frontiers were concluded with Russia's western neighbours, Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland. But after Stalin made his spectacular pact with Hitler on August 21, 1939, every one of these treaties was broken and the three Baltic Republics, the eastern half of Poland, and parts of Finland were annexed to the Soviet Union. And the Soviet Government today maintains the thesis that these annexations are irrevocable and cannot be challenged or modified.

Stalin has never been willing to sacrifice what seemed to him a genuine Russian interest for the abstract Communist dogma of world

revolution, much less for the abstract ideals of the Atlantic Charter.

It is noteworthy and characteristic that in the recent Moscow Conference, the results of which were received with somewhat uncritical and exaggerated enthusiasm in many circles in America, Stalin was quite willing to commit himself to certain high-sounding theoretical propositions which are capable of varied interpretation. But he remained adamant on the practical question of maintaining the annexations of Eastern Poland and the Baltic States, although these annexations are in clear contravention of the 'no territorial aggrandizement' and 'self-determination' assurances of the Atlantic Charter, the principles of which Stalin has consented to accept.

It is sometimes stated that the main issue between Stalin and Trotsky was the building up of a socialist order in Russia versus the promotion of world revolution. This is an oversimplification of the position. It is true that Trotsky, the cosmopolitan revolutionary, the brilliant theoretician, was naturally more inclined to emphasize the importance of revolution in other countries than Stalin, the practical dictator, the man who had no firsthand knowledge of any country except Russia.

But Stalin had completely defeated Trotsky politically by 1928 and banished him from Russia in 1929. Why, then, did he wait for fourteen years before dissolving the Communist International? Because the International was a weapon, and Stalin is not the man to let go off a weapon easily. The International was organized on the same basis as the Communist Party in Russia, with rigid discipline and centralization, and with every party obligated to carry out the orders and directions sent out from the headquarters of the organization in Moscow.

Stalin was just as much a dictator in the International as he was in the internal government of Russia.

True, he could not kill or imprison parties (apart from a few suspicious assassinations and disappearances in which the hand of the Soviet political police might be suspected). But he could and did decree their expulsion from their parties. We have the testimony of an important figure in the councils of the International, D. Z. Manuilsky, that 'not a document of importance, possessing big international significance, was issued by the Communist International without the most active participation of Stalin in its formulation.'

It was the 'fifth-column' possibilities of these foreign Communist parties that attracted Stalin most strongly. While every form of organized internal opposition was crushed out in the Soviet Union, the Soviet dictator possessed in every country where there was an organized Communist Party a group of devoted followers whose loyalty was to him, not to their own government. To dissolve the Communist International was certainly an indispensable prerequisite for friendly relations with other powers and step in the right direction. But we must suspend judgment as to whether Stalin has genuinely and permanently discarded this 'fifth-column' weapon, whether Communist and near-Communist parties and groups, especially in the Balkans and in the countries adjacent to Russia, are not still operating under order from Moscow.

The re-establishment of the Patriarchate is a gesture of favour to the Orthodox Church. The new incumbent, the former Metropolitan Sergius, has always been very loyal to the Soviet Government, even to the point of maintaining what was certainly not true, that there has been no persecution of religion in Russia.

Stalin is certainly not a man of any religious faith himself. In restoring the Patriarchate he is pursuing several objectives: to conciliate those Russians who still remain loyal to the Orthodox faith, to make a favourable impression on religious circles in foreign countries, and to advance his political interests in parts of the world where the Orthodox Church exercises a good deal of influence, such as the Balkans and the Near East. It would be premature to interpret this act as a full restoration of religious freedom until we know whether former Soviet legislative and administrative restrictions on the issue of religious literature, the building of new houses of worship, the training of priests and ministers of religion, have been or will be abolished.

In our attitude towards Stalin and towards the Soviet regime, it is wise to avoid extremes.

We cannot conduct the international relations of the United States on the basis of a social club. We cannot rule out of consideration the ruler of a very powerful country merely because we do not approve of some of his acts and theories. In so far as Stalin's future policies promote a just peace and orderly world reconstruction, we can and should co-operate, in the hope that the more brutal aspects of Communist dictatorship will wear away and perhaps disappear with the passing of time.

But only harm can result from the tendency, visible in some quarters, to misrepresent Stalin, the crafty, Machiavellian power politician, the hundred-per-cent Russia First champion, as a compound of Sir Galahad and George Washington of the Cherry Tree. Along with willingness to co-operate with Russia for good, we should make unmistakably clear our unwillingness to collaborate with Russia, or with any other foreign power, for evil purposes, such as the conquest and oppression of weaker neighbours.

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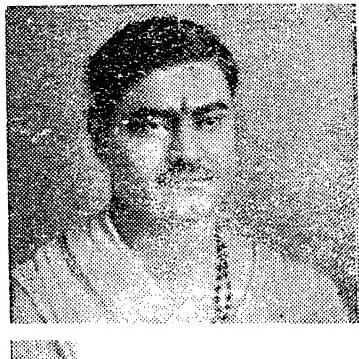
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The New Education Bill of England

Maurice Cranston observes in the *Worldover* Press (Feb. 23, 1944) :

LONDON.

With the British Government's new Education Bill now passing into law, England should not in future be the world's most backward democracy in her system of schools. Education will still be on a class basis; there will still be the expensive (\$800 a year upwards) "Public" Schools and the ancient (\$1,000 a year upwards) universities of Oxford and Cambridge. But apart from this thin uppercrust, the threadbare structure of education is thoroughly to be reformed.

The compulsory school-leaving age is to be raised from 14 to 16, which means effectively that there will be secondary education for all (it is now the preserve of the lower middle classes). Mr. R. A. Butler, President of the Board of Education, intends after the war—and, of course, all these reforms cannot be introduced before then—that the equivalent of more than 170 million dollars shall be spent on technical education alone. He proposes to build young people's colleges for the part-time education of adolescents after they have left school at 16; there they will learn non-academic subjects so that they will not be, in Sir Geoffrey Shakespeare's words, "well versed in Homer and Thucydides but totally ignorant of carpentry and mending a fuse."

English elementary schools ("English" in this sense embraces Wales but excludes Scotland, where there is a democratic but much more rigorous system of education), which are her only free schools, are run today by local authorities and by churches under various mixed and muddled arrangements. They are housed almost invariably in tumbledown buildings and staffed with under-paid, overworked teachers. Mr. Butler wants to centralize the control of the schools and to raise the status of the teachers.

This New Deal in English education is, inevitably, opposed and criticized. By most sections of the community, though, it is accepted as a very substantial and very necessary measure of social reform. Its great opponent is the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic Church, they say, is too poor to give its children as good an education as Mr. Butler demands without a heavier subsidy from the state than the promised 50 per cent. The Catholics find themselves in the unhappy dilemma of either finding the money to educate their children properly themselves or sending them to non-sectarian schools.

Criticism of the educational reforms—on the score that they are not big enough—comes from other quarters. Perhaps the most cogent comes from Sir Richard Livingstone, Master of an Oxford College. Sir Richard asks the question : "Education—for what?" His answer is, broadly speaking, for citizenship and an authentic culture. To this end he urges the introduction of the system of Folk Colleges which Grundtvig began in Denmark in the last century and which have played so great a part in making that tiny kingdom the most civilized country in the world. Education for adults is quite as important, Sir Richard believes, as education

for children. For has not even Mr. Churchill said of himself that he was not interested in learning until he was 23?

Delegate to ILO Conference Comments on India's Future

PHILADELPHIA (By Cable).

D. G. Mulherkar of the All-India Organisation of Industrial Employers and Adviser to the Indian Employers Delegation at the International Labour Conference, which is meeting here, said :

"In watching the progress of this great live organisation, it is clear that its success has been due to the fact that the fundamental basis of its scope and functions has been that labour shan't be exploited for the benefit of capital; labour shall have the right to demand decent conditions of life as human beings. An equally noble principle ought to be declared either through the Atlantic Charter or a Pacific Charter, that there shan't be exploitation of one nation by another.

"Not until we have a National Government of our own can the problem of full employment be satisfactorily dealt with. Should there be no change in the present position, I very much apprehend a bleak future so far as my own country is concerned.

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Besides these, many other respectable gentlemen and women of India and abroad have been charmed by his honest services.

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"Although the plan is but a mere skeleton and sketch picture, although a lot remains to be filled in, it must be admitted that it is a bold sketch at that.

"I am definite in my mind that when we come into our own and manage our affairs in the post-war period, there is every hope of everyone at present finding a job, and a more permanent and suitable one, in a number of heavy key industries which we envisage to establish in our country. . . . I haven't a doubt that if the plan succeeds it will be a contribution to the solution not only of India's domestic problems but also partially, at least, of unemployment problems elsewhere."

Mulherkar criticised the ILO for taking insufficient notice of Asia's rights to organisation or its economic needs, then said: "The principle of regionalism, application whereof to Southwest Asia the ILO is now advocating, will correct this wrong perspective and produce in the final analysis even more substantial results than the attempts to force the pace of industrial reform which so far have been holding the field."—*USOWI*.

Uzbekistan Oil

K. H. Abdulayev, Vice-Chairman, Council of People's Commissars, Uzbek S. S. R., informs us of new oil-fields in Uzbekistan:

Prior to the October Revolution, Turkestan, on whose territory are now situated our Central Asian Soviet Republics of Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia and Tajikistan, was a backward region, a poor agricultural colony of Tsarist Russia. Turkestan had almost no mining or manufacturing industries.

Before 1917, the mineral resources of Uzbekistan were poorly explored. On its territory in Ferghana only a few insignificant, primitive worked, oilfields were operated. Their output was declining year after year.

With the establishment of Soviet power in Uzbekistan, intensive exploring and prospecting work was initiated. Particularly important results were achieved by Soviet geologists in the course of ten years preceding

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the war when, many of them succeeded in discovering extensive and rich oil deposits. The oil industry was established.

After the outbreak of the war, Uzbekistan was set the task of increasing the output of oil to the maximum. Further exploring and prospecting work was launched in the republic. New oilfields were discovered and their exploitation commenced. The oil workers of Uzbekistan achieved an output of many hundreds of thousands tons of oil in 1942.

1943 became the year of strenuous labour, of persistent effort, in our oil industry. Tremendous assistance was rendered to Uzbekistan by the Government of the Soviet Union. Despite all the difficulties of wartime, Uzbekistan received the most up-to-date equipment and the necessary transport facilities. From the fraternal Azerbaijan republic, from Baku came eminent oil experts, among them Aga Neimattulla, Deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and master of high speed drilling. They are imparting their knowledge and their many years' experience to the Uzbeks, and are helping to train qualified oil workers.

But the most decisive factor in increasing the output of oil is the self-sacrificing and heroic labour of all the workers and engineers, and technicians employed in the Uzbekistan oilfields. A striking evidence of the self-sacrificing labour of the Uzbek oil workers and the growth of their qualification is that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Uzbek republic, recently rewarded about 150 workers and engineers in the oil industry.

During the past year thousands of Uzbek women have come to the oil-fields and have taken their place alongside their husbands, brothers and fathers. They are working at oilwells; they are studying in courses and school which are training masters of the oil industry, and thus are swelling the ranks of skilled oil-workers.

All these factors trebled the output of oil in Uzbekistan in 1943.

In view of the rise in its output of oil Uzbekistan is faced with the urgent problem of building a powerful oil pipe-line. The whole country will come out to assist in the building of this line. Workers and collective-farmers in the Ferghana, Andizhan, Namangan and Tashkent regions will come and do their bit in this building work of the whole people. They will accomplish it just as successfully as the building of the famous Ferghana and other canals was accomplished.—*The Tass News Agency, USSR*.

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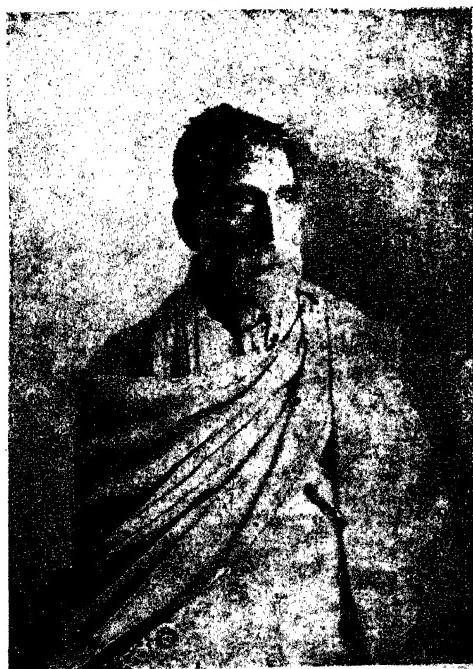
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Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray

Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray, the last of the intellectual giants of Bengal, has passed away in Calcutta at the ripe age of 83. A Scientist of the highest order, he was also an educationist, a patriot, a social reformer. His whole life was dedicated to the cause of suffering humanity. The heart of this celebrated scientist flowed with the milk of human kindness. He lived a single life and gave away in charities whatever money he had earned. The Calcutta University was the recipient of a princely gift of over two lakhs from him. On Acharya Ray having signified his intention of vacating the Chair of Palit Professor of Chemistry on the completion of his 60th year in 1922, the Senate requested him to continue for another five years in the interests of research. He accepted the offer but desired that his salary from the above date onwards might be utilised for the expansion of the Department of Chemistry, both General and Applied. He finally retired from the Chair in 1937 and his salary for these fifteen years was funded. Scores of educational institutions owed their continued existence to his munificence and hundreds of poor students had been able to build up a career through his silent charities.

He was a patriot from his student days. While a research student at the Edinburgh University, he published a small book, *India Before and After the Mutiny*, which created quite a stir in England. The Scotsman took notice of this book by an Indian student and

admired it. This book proved to be a landmark in the life of Acharya Ray.



Acharya Prafulla Chandra Ray

Acharya Ray has proved to the world, in his *History of Hindu Chemistry*, how advanced India had been in the field of chemical research before the dawn of Christian civilisation. What Sir William Jones realised Acharya Ray proved.

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He was a Sanskritist of high order. The *Rasarnavam* edited by him in 1908 was published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which has been cherished by students of Hindu Chemistry all the world over.

He had joined the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. There he had found the most suitable platform for throwing himself heart and soul in the social service activities. He rose to be President of the Samaj. He was a force in the Brahmo movement all through his life. He has bequeathed half of his remaining property to the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj in his last Will.

Acharya Ray's services to the cause of scientific research in India are well-known. His laboratory was a nursery for the foremost scientists of modern India. He prized the reputation of his pupils more than his own. It was his usual practice to publish research papers under the joint authorship of himself and his pupils. This proved to be a great encouragement to the young students and stimulated their spirit of research, and thus he may truly be called the Father of Scientific Research in India. At the invitation of Sir Asutosh, he had joined the University as the first University Professor of Chemistry. In 1916, after the foundation of the University College of Science, Acharya Ray was appointed Palit Professor of Chemistry. He loved the Science College, he lived in the Science College and he breathed his last at the premises of the Science College. The presence of this venerable Guru had sanctified the Temple of Science and had made it a place of pilgrimage.

Acharya Ray believed that science should be utilised as a ready handmaid to industry. To translate this idea into action, he founded the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, one of the foremost chemical manufacturing concerns of India today. He was also intimately connected with a whole host of other industrial works. Many of the industrial enterprises of Bengal had received his disinterested guidance and help in the early struggling periods of their existence. It was a purely patriotic motive that impelled him to apply his knowledge of chemistry to the cause of industry.

Acharya Ray had a dynamic personality and was a very active worker till only a few years back. During the North Bengal Flood of 1922, when he was sixty, a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* while giving a vivid account of his relief work in the North Bengal floods, stated that he had heard a European saying : "If Mr. Gandhi had only been able to create two more Sir P. C. Rays he would have

succeeded in getting Swaraj within this year." Acharya Ray has himself said :

"If anyone were to ask what period of my life has been most active I would unhesitatingly answer : From sixty onwards. During this space of time I have toured throughout the length and breadth of this vast peninsula at least 20,000 miles in opening exhibitions, national institutions and preaching the gospel of Swadeshi Throughout the last 21 years of my life it has been my custom to spend on an average a couple of hours in the maidan in all seasons of the year which practically does away with the necessity of recouping my energies by an exodus to the hill stations." In his life the truth of Goethe's great saying has been fully realised : "Time is infinitely long, if we use it fully, most things can be got within its compass."

The New Paper Control Orders

The Paper Control (Economy) Order and the Paper Control (Distribution) Order recently promulgated and immediately brought into force, affecting all forms of paper other than newsprint would mean sheer calamity to all periodicals, presses and the book trade in India. Full two weeks after their promulgation Government have sought to justify their actions by means of an explanatory Press Note. The Government's justification for penalising the whole country in the matter of its educational activities is this :

What is sought to be discouraged and prevented is consumption of paper for purposes which have no immediate national value. For instance, a zamindar in the Panjab may like to print a booklet of testimonials given to him and to his ancestors by the Viceroy or the Governor, or a politician may wish to issue a pamphlet of his statement or statements, of which summaries or the full text have already appeared in the Press.

Had the Government been sincere in their desire to stop publications of this kind, they should have done so in January 1943 by means of specific orders. Nothing of that sort was done. They permitted mushroom growths both in the publishers' line and in the field of journalism. Anybody with a pull could start a new journal and anybody in touch with an unscrupulous paper dealer or mills salesman could get tons of paper for his publications. Now when the climax has been reached, all are sought to be axed—we should rather say guillotined—regardless of standing and utility.

The Press Note states that the economy measures had been under the Government's consideration since February last. It states :

The economy measures proposed in the Order have been under Government's consideration since February

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and during the intervening months, officials of the Industries and Civil Supplies Department have studied the provisions of the more drastic Paper Control Order in Britain and have had informal consultation with one of the leaders of the Indian paper industry. The Order is thus the result of mature thought, and it is asserted that however irksome this be at present, any failure to implement the measures contained in it would result in four or five months in a very serious breakdown.

Not a single member of the interests and industries going to be affected by the Order had been consulted, beyond one chosen "leader of the paper industry." Mr. F. Borton, Manager of Messrs. G. Claridge & Co., one of the leading printing firms in India, observed in the course of a Press interview : "I think I am right in saying that it has also been drawn up without taking the opinion of one practical printer, publisher or businessman from the whole of India." Not to speak of any previous consultation, proprietors of periodicals and publishing and printing concerns have suddenly been confronted with a *fait accompli* which threatens their very existence. Not even adequate time for readjustment had been given.

The Orders are totally unworkable beyond all doubt. According to Mr. R. E. Hawkins of the Oxford University Press and Mr. A. W. Baker of the Longmans Green & Co., the present Orders are too rigorous. *The Times of India* observed in an editorial, "While no one will deny that there must be economy in the use of paper, the drastic terms of the economy Order, even if they can be operated in their present form, must cause serious repercussions." The *Commerce*, Bombay, writes, "How drastic the provisions are can be gauged by the fact that users of all paper other than newsprint are suddenly told that they must reduce their paper consumption by as much as 70 per cent." Mr. E. C. Murphy, Manager of Messrs. Thacker & Co., told a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* that not only publishing houses but manufacturing stationers and printing houses are affected. Illustrating the effect of the Orders on his own firm, Mr. Murphy stated that Thackers would have to work their press either for three months in the year or terminate the services of 75 per cent of their staff. Mr. Padamshey of the Padma Publications said that the Order will bring the publishing and printing trade in India to a standstill.

The Times of India and *Commerce* both consider some of the provisions of the Orders as unworkable. *The Times* declared that, "from the practical point of view, the rule that printers and publishers may use only one-twelfth of 30 per cent of their 1943 paper consumption each

month is unworkable." The *Commerce* points out : "Equally unworkable in practice is the clause relating to assignment of advertisement in the issues to be published hereafter. The authorities direct that all papers should reduce the space they assign for advertisements to 50 per cent or the average percentage of the basic period whichever is less. This may be done, but will the 30 per cent paper or any special quota allowed permit of at least this percentage of advertisement space being consumed ? Our calculations go to show that it will not." No consideration has been given to the effect of this order on long-term advertisement contracts. This Order strikes at the root of the sanctity of contract and might be construed as conflicting with the Indian Contract Act. The fact that advertisements have seasonal fluctuations and are not evenly spread over throughout the year, have also been completely ignored.

An examination of the statistical position of paper supplies leads one to the inevitable conclusion that a drastic cut as the Orders impose is not at all warranted. The Press Note gives the productive position as follows :

Production now stands as low as 30% of the normal. The Order accordingly lays down that the consumption shall be reduced to 30%.

Before the war, production in India was about 60,000 tons yearly. War-time pressure brought it to the peak figure of 109,000 tons, but owing to shortage of fuel, transport and raw material, it is now about 70,000 tons.

The first significant fact that strikes one is that while production has fallen by 30 per cent use of paper has been cut down to 30 per cent, i.e., a 70 per cent cut has been imposed to justify a 30 per cent drop in production. India used to import 1,22,350 tons, including 50,000 tons of newsprint, which came down to about 15,600 tons in 1943. While thus the available supplies declined, the Government's requirements mounted by leaps and bounds. A not inconsiderable amount was exported on Government account. The Government's consumption of paper has increased from a pre-war 20,000 tons to 70,000 tons now. The *Commerce* says, "The Government's requirements take away practically the entire available supplies today. Thus the civilian consumption has already been virtually reduced from its pre-war consumption of 80 per cent of the country's total supplies to 18 per cent. If the public is asked to do with 30 per cent of its consumption hitherto, it means that the public has to be content with 30 per cent not of 100 per cent supplies but of just 18 per cent. In other words, it has to be content with less than 6 per cent of its pre-war consumption.

Surely, this is asking too much of any public, even in times of a total war."

The Government, and not the people, must shoulder the responsibility for the falling off in production and the decline in import. Production fell off for bungling in coal and the moving of bamboo to the Mills. As regards imports, the scandal is more glaring. Not only that no serious attempts have been made to secure more shipping space, but the *Times of India* has made a startling disclosure that the tonnage of paper allocated for export to India from Britain *has not been fully taken up, not because of shortage of shipping space but due to insufficient import licenses having been issued.* There yet remain sources of supply to be tapped which have not yet been properly and fully done.

Equally startling is the revelation made by Mr. Murphy of Thaker & Co. He told the *Bombay Chronicle* that the Control Order on newsprint led to the accumulation of two years' stock. The present Order, if it were brought into force, would have the same effect. No attempt whatsoever has been made to increase the production of hand-made paper by affording Government help to this industry. Some help to this industry would certainly have increased production to a substantial extent. But instead of doing anything of the kind, the Orders would seek to deal a death blow to this industry as well.

The Orders will throw thousands of people out of employment. The cut imposed would put out of action almost all the periodicals. All, excepting the very few who are able to run their journals at a heavy loss would in any case have to throw out on the streets 60 per cent of their employees. Even their pay for the notice period would mean a considerable loss to the proprietors. In any case, tens of thousands of workers and operatives, with highly specialised training would be out of work and starving. No notice has been taken of the voluntary economies imposed upon themselves by most of the responsible journals, in response to appeals made by the Mills and the Government, and as a result of the high prices and scarcity of paper. Thus a journal that has already reduced its size to below 70 per cent of its pre-war normal, would have to make a further reduction of 70 per cent, whereby its size would be only 20 per cent of the normal. This would effectively kill the journal as it would not be able to keep faith with its readers—most of whom have paid their subscriptions in advance—nor would it be able to honour the contracts made with the advertisers. No consideration has been shown to the

proprietary interests, which is in sharp contrast with that shewn to the daily papers.

Opposition to Secondary Education Bill in Bengal

Towards the close of the five month session specially after the Secondary Education Bill was introduced there with the avowed object of getting the Bill passed this session, the Bengal Legislative Assembly had a stormy career. The opposition to the Bill was daily gaining in strength till the very existence of the present Ministry was threatened. With great difficulty, solely with the help of European votes, the Ministry had somehow staggered out of the first no-confidence motion, and had to face two others when all of a sudden the session was abruptly prorogued by the Governor.

Apart from the signal failure of the Ministry to provide essential food and fuel for the people within reach of their purchasing power, the Secondary Education Bill had provided the main point of contention against them. The opposition to the Bill has been systematically strong and quite in keeping with the parliamentary tactics adopted in any democratic legislature. Opposition to this Bill has been country-wide, every educationist having denounced it as being reactionary and retrograde.

Neither the present Ministry nor the present Legislature has any claim to act as representatives of the people. The foremost point to be borne in mind is that the present Legislature has been composed on a communal basis of separate electorates with the addition of weightage on favoured communities, and that it has been drafted six thousand miles away by and in the interest of a class of people whose sole object is to keep India under subjection and to stifle all progressive movements in Bengal. The recent agitation over the prorogation of the Assembly seems to use to be useless as the Constitution Act itself has been drafted to suit the purposes of the Government, and not for giving expression to public opinion in the country.

The allocation of seats have been glaringly unjust. Besides giving the Muslims undue advantage, the European seats have been allotted in the most arbitrary way. The European population in Bengal is something of the order of one in three thousand but they have been given 25 seats in a House of 250, or 10 per cent of the total. This allotment has been made with the object of enabling the European Group to hold the balance of power in the interest of the Empire. This they have faithfully done and

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have all along maintained those Ministries in power who allowed themselves to be utilised as their tools. For the first time in the history of Bengal Legislature, the Huq-Syamaprasad coalition grew independent of European votes. This naturally alarmed the Imperial interests. Their downfall was brought about by means which had every appearance of being questionable. The present Ministry was finally installed in office by Sir John Herbert against whom it was openly alleged that in this respect he had acted as the Chief Whip of the European Group.

This Ministry, which is itself unrepresentative, has no title to bring in a measure in the name of the people and to claim that people desired its introduction. The undue and indecent haste with which the Secondary Education Bill was sought to be rushed led the people to think that the European Group were not sure of the stability of this ministry and wanted to deal a death blow to the educational advancement of the most progressive province within the period that their present tools remained in office.

The debate on the no-confidence motion against Mr. B. P. Pain has revealed the European attitude. Mr. Hendry, the leader of the European Group, said :

If the no-confidence motion succeeded, it would bring about the fall of the Muslim League Coalition Ministry and the creation of circumstances in which either the Opposition would be called upon to form a new Ministry or Sec. 93 would be introduced again, and this time probably till the end of the war and until it was possible to hold a general election. To both of these they were strongly opposed.

Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee challenged this statement and said that Mr. Hendry had hinted that if this Ministry went out of office the Opposition would never come into power and that Sec. 93 would be applied and continued till the end of the war. The strong opposition of the European Group against the formation of a new Ministry can be well understood.

Mr. Hendry's declaration tantamounts to saying that the British vested interests, who control the Government in this country, will never recognise the inherent right of the Parliamentary Opposition to come into office by throwing out the Ministry in office specially when that opposition consists solely of the people of the country who refuse to be utilised as tools in British hands.

The motion of no-confidence against Mr. Pain was lost by a majority of 13 votes, the Opposition having the Indian majority with them. Mr. J. N. Basu, the hoary-headed liberal leader of India who has always acted on the

dictates of his own conscience and who has for long been ill, attended the Session in a stretcher at the risk of his life, to record his vote against the Ministry. The daily organ of the British interests in this province could only make a weak comment on the vote, pleading for compromise, while this same newspaper, in its editorial on March 30 last year, commenting on a division in the Legislature in which Mr. Huq won by a majority of ten votes *independent* of the European Group, wrote : "So narrow an escape is in practice a defeat." On September 30 it characterised opposition to the Nazimuddin Ministry as "low level politics."

The Europeans, by their own actions, are hacking at the root of their own commercial interests. The polities they are playing are understood by the mass people today. It is no wonder if they range themselves some day against the British interests for which they will have nobody but themselves to thank. The utterance of Mr. Hendry betrays a very poor equipment and reflects a school of thought which today is hated all the world over. In a public meeting convened to protest against the Governor's order of prorogation, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Leader of Opposition in the Bengal Assembly and Mr. K. S. Ray, leader of the Congress Party, explained the role of the European Group in the Legislature. Mr. Huq said :

The Bengal Cabinet now consists of Ministers who are no better than noddle poodles whose only object is to save their skin and continue to be in power. It is bureaucratic officials who hold the field. Here in Bengal we have got to tackle the bond who are masquerading in the name of Ministers but who are no better than shoe bearers and boot lickers of the European in India, official and non-official, and whose sole object is to keep themselves in power at the sacrifice of every other interest but their own.

Mr. Ray said :

The British Imperialism had adopted new tactics in their colonial policy. The British colonial policy laid down that the British Government should not directly handle the affairs of the country, but would remain behind the scene and pull the strings in such a way that British vested interests were never allowed to suffer. All the dirty things must have to be done by some other agencies. That tool was for the time being the Muslim League. It was therefore the duty of every patriotic Indian to expose this imperialist game. And for that reason it had become necessary for the Congress in Bengal to take part in parliamentary affairs.

Sir Nazimuddin on European Seats

Speaking in the Bengal Legislative Assembly, Sir Nazimuddin, the Chief Minister, made a startling statement on June 23. In reply to the charge that his Ministry was dependent on

European votes, he said, "If they were not here, we would have another 25 Muslims."

This gross mis-statement calls for a reply. Seats in the Bengal Legislature were allocated on an arbitrarily weighted communal basis, not in proportion to population. Muslims were given 120 seats in a House of 250 and Hindus only 80. If the distribution were made in proportion to population, the Hindus, even on a weighted 45 to 55 basis, would have got 99 against 120. The Europeans got 25 seats although in respect of population they were one in 3000. If the 25 European seats were filled up by the people of this province, even on the present arbitrary basis, the Muslims cannot claim more than 15, leaving at least 10 for the Hindus. For argument's sake, even granting the 25 seats to Muslims, Sir Nazimuddin cannot claim them all for his Party. Beginning from the general elections in 1937, the League Party could never pull more than 50 Muslim members within its fold out of 120. The position is still the same today. Almost half the Muslim members even today are in the opposition. Again, Sir Nazimuddin should not be so obdurate as to overlook the fact that in spite of their demand for a 55 per cent majority, and in spite of the British Government's desire to back them up in this demand in payment for services rendered through disruptive activities, they were granted 120 out of a total 250 seats, so that Muslims by themselves could never form an absolute majority.

Deterioration in Civil Services

Presiding over a Conference of tenants and people of Sunderbans, Mr. Bijay Bihari Mukherji, Advocate, Calcutta High Court and retired Director of Land Records and Surveys of Bengal, discussed the progressive deterioration in the quality and character of the services in the Civil Administration. The following is an extract from his Presidential Address :

The administrative machinery "ante-diluvion" in 1917 is still more out of time and tune to-day. If proof be needed the tragedy of the Bengal famine is its irrefutable proof. The machinery exists. It functions in vacuo. It neither inspires nor draws its inspiration from the environment. If a historian has to record a verdict on India and on Bengal he must record that the most outstanding change in the 20th century was the break up of the administrative machinery. It has been corrupted, weakened, sterilised and paralysed instead of being built up, invigorated and adjusted to meet the needs of a growing and modern State. An integrated, incorruptible, efficient public administration is the minimum need for a nation to help to plan out, to work out, to execute the diverse programmes in its march onwards. The *sine qua non* of a good administrator is his knowledge of the people, a thoroughly balanced knowledge of their mental, moral, material

and psychological equipment and above all a deep sympathy with their wishes, aspirations and best ideologies and an earnest determination to work for their welfare. On the one hand, such an administration must be national and, on the other hand, must be of the finest material available in the country free from communal, sectarian and narrow prejudices, neither exploiting nor the victim of political corruption.

Mere expansion of officers and staff and increase in expenditure of money is seldom a sure index of efficiency, more often the reverse. In a poor country like India it is more than a crime to waste tax-payers' money for the provision of job-hunters.

The Coal Position

In reply to a question by Mr. K. C. Neogy, in the Central Legislative Assembly, Dr. Ambedkar had stated in March 1943 that the drop in the production of coal had been so slight that no detailed enquiry had been held into its cause. In November of the same year, in reply to another question by the same gentleman, Dr. Ambedkar admitted that during the first five months of 1943, the drop was slight, but from June onwards it has become more considerable. This proves that Heads of Departments in New Delhi are unable to look even two months ahead of what is going on just now.

Dr. Ambedkar then said : "1940 was the peak year for coal production. Since then production has fallen slightly year by year. The fall assumed serious proportions from June 1943. Compared with the corresponding months of 1942, the output in June, July and August of this year fell by about 353000 tons each month, while September showed a decrease of 299000 tons." By the end of 1943, a serious coal crisis was experienced all over the country. It was admitted on more than one occasion by Government spokesmen that raisings had dropped mainly due to shortage of labour. Other difficulties like maldistribution of wagons and step-motherly treatment were alleged by Indian mine-owners. European mine-owners complained primarily about the Excess Profits Tax and compelled the Central Government to grant concessions in this respect by means which amounted to a virtual hold up of production.

The Coal Control Scheme recently enunciated envisages (1) more production, (2) fixation of prices and (3) the distribution of the entire output through governmental organisations. These steps, both wrong and half-heartedly done, may lead to a second crisis. Prices have been fixed at a haphazard fashion without adequate considerations of all the interests concerned. Production problem can-

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not be solved until a final solution of the labour problem. The small Indian owned mines, on the fringe of the coal area, had not suffered acute shortage of labour as they were nearer the villages from where miners could be brought. Their chief manufacture is domestic soft coke. It is the bungling in distribution which has seriously affected them. The first step the new Coal Commissioner, brought down here from England, did was to stop wagons to these small collieries. This unjust order has of late been modified to some extent, but it has raised an apprehension in the minds of second class mine-owners that after having increased the output of Government owned and other big European collieries to a limit of 35 million tons a year, the small mine-owners would be asked to close down on the ground that it would not be possible to transport so much coal. The distribution of coal through the existing channels should never be interfered with. More labour may surely be induced to the coal fields if higher wages are given and living conditions are made better. It has been stated that the mining labour runs away to the constructional work undertaken nearby by the Government or the Military. There is no reason why this should not be prevented by the payment of more attractive wages and terms of work. That the labourers are drawn away to other fields proves that they are willing to work but that at higher wages than what they get at the mines.

That Imperial interests were predominant in the coal affairs was proved when it was revealed that some months ago when the British coal strike was going on, the British Government granted shipping space for carrying coal to South and West India only in exchange of first class coal to be utilised for bunkering at the cost of Indian industries which consumed first class coal.

British Fertiliser Mission for India

A technical Mission from the United Kingdom headed by Mr. G. S. Gowing of the Imperial Chemical Industries, together with one other member of the same company and one of the Power-Gas Corporation, the latter representing the Association of British Chemical Plant manufacturers, will visit India to advise on the production of artificial fertilisers for increasing food supplies. The Mission, acting for the Government of India, will undertake the following :

1. Investigate and report to the Government of India on the technical problem involved in the manufacture of Sulphate of Ammonia in British India in quantities up to 350,000 tons per annum.

2. Recommend, in the light of the raw materials and power available in India, the most economic method of manufacture.

3. Indicate the approximate capital cost of the plant or plants to be installed, and calculate the approximate cost of operations and production of finished Sulphate of Ammonia.

4. Recommend the most suitable site or sites for the erection of the plants concerned, taking into account the raw materials available and the most economic distribution of the finished products.

5. Estimate the amount and approximate value of plant which it will be necessary to import from outside India making the fullest possible use of materials and labour available in India.

6. If for any reason, it should appear that nitrogenous fertilizer, in a form other than Sulphate of Ammonia, can be more satisfactorily manufactured under Indian conditions generally or locally, consider and recommend from a technical point of view, the most economic method of manufacture of such alternative fertilizer.

7. Estimate the capital and operating cost of manufacture of such alternative nitrogenous fertilizer.

The Imperial Chemical Industries holds the monopoly of supplying fertilisers in India and as such it has a vested interest against any scheme of production of the commodity in India. We do not know how far their recommendations will be based on the genuine needs of this country. The Mission, as usual, is all British and does not contain any Indian Chemist in it. From a speech of Mr. Lyttleton in the House of Commons, it appears that the despatch of this Mission has been dictated more from Imperial necessity. Mr. Lyttleton said :

If we could increase the fertility of Indian agriculture at a greater rate than the fertility of India's population, we should not only have conferred a benefit on India, but should have created a market which would absorb some industrial products which, at this stage of her economic life, India cannot make herself."

What Congress Governments Did for Fertiliser Industry in India

Dr. V. S. Dubey of the Benares Hindu University, in the course of an article published in the *Leader*, has stated in detail how energetically and systematically the Congress Governments had been trying to solve the fertiliser problem by the establishment of Fertiliser Plants in the country under expert guidance. He states :

The Congress Government as soon as it came in power realised the importance of synthetic fertiliser industry for India. The Bihar Government with Dr. Syed Mahmood as Minister for Industries was very enthusiastic about it. The U. P. Government was equally anxious. The writer was entrusted by the Bihar Government to work out details for starting this industry. A scheme was worked out with the help of Dr. Fauser of Italy, whose patents are being exploited for the manufacture of ammonia in majority of the countries of Europe and America, and who is a much higher authority than any present English expert. Details were settled and quotations obtained. Various

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aspects of the problem, such as determining the best places where the industry could be started in India, the nature of fertilisers and the actual plant details were also tackled. Data relating to Bihar were published in the Large-Scale Industries Committee Report published by the Bihar Government under Congress regime, and the writer was a member of the committee.

The industry was about to be started and Dr. Syed Mahmood was actually settling the terms with the capitalists when came the resignation of the Congress ministry. The whole affair was closed and nobody cared for it again. The scheme remained in the files. But for the inefficiency of the Government which came in power after the Congress government, the industry would have been started four years ago. The scheme in Bihar was to have 200-ton per day plant or 60,000-ton capacity per annum.

Possibilities of Fertiliser Industry Analysed

Prof. Dubey, in summing up, analyses the possibilities of the industry :

The surprising thing is that the matter is quite simple and ample data exist to select out the places for each and every province in about a week's time. During last October when the writer was again approached by some capitalists to work out the plant he found that the farms like 'Bamag' from England were ready to supply the plant. A good deal of data obtained beforehand was revised. Had the freedom been given for the Indian capitalists to order the plant in October last or had the Government been eager and anxious to tackle the problem, the question of importing the plants would have been settled months ago. But instead of that things went on very leisurely indeed, and now experts have come on the assumption that we require their guidance and do not know how to tackle the problem. I am perfectly sure that the conclusions reached by the provincial Government cannot be altered by the experts called by the Indian Government.

In U. S. A. it will not take more than eight months to erect a complete plant of 3-5 lakh tons capacity, while in India it takes 16 months to get the report, then another 16 months to get the plant and again one year for the plant to be set up. Such is the efficiency of the present Government that what the Congress Government attempted to do for this industry in one and a half years in normal times, the existing Indian Government has failed to do in this time of great stress.

And now, an all-British Mission is being imported to guide us.

Orissa Back to Autocracy

After tinkering for some months with the shadow of a false democracy, Orissa goes back to the old autocratic rule. The Governor failed to keep two out of a total of three Ministers together. The consequence of a Ministry, devoid of a definitely majority of following in the Legislature, cannot be otherwise.

Who are Absconders ?

Mr. P. D. Tandon, in a letter published by the *Leader*, says that while arresting Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, it was stated that she had

been 'absconding' since August 1942. He declares that the accusation that she was absconding was not correct. Her brother told Mr. Tandon that all these months she openly lived in Bombay, Calcutta and Patna and was regularly in touch with the Bombay Secretariat. She regularly used to write to her husband Acharya J. B. Kripalani in jail, and received letters from him. She interviewed Gandhiji during his fast in 1943 with the permission of the Bombay Government. All this must have been in the knowledge of the police and the C. I. D. as she is not an obscure person.

Very recently a similar case of 'absconding' has come to light in Calcutta. Mr. Sanat Kumar Ray Choudhury, an ex-Mayor of Calcutta, was prosecuted under the D. I. Rules in connection with a public meeting. The police obtained warrant against him on the allegation that he was absconding. Subsequently the police withdrew the charges against him and he was discharged. In discharging him, the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta observed :

On behalf of Mr. Roy Choudhury, my attention was drawn to the fact that although he (Mr. Roy Choudhury), is a well-known citizen and a permanent resident at 9, Williams Lane, on the charge sheet he was shown as absconding. Send copy of this order to the officer-in-charge of I Town (Muchipara P.S.) who should furnish me with a report by July 5, as to why this was done.

Gandhi-Wavell Correspondence and After

The Gandhi-Wavell correspondence has been before the public in this country for some time and it will shortly be made available to the British people as well. Gandhiji in his characteristic lucid style has made the Congress position perfectly clear. The *Quit India* resolution, which has been perverted by political hostility, has been fully explained. It merely means and meant to the people who had no motive to distort its meaning—"Leave us to ourselves to manage or mismanage our own affairs." The *Indian Social Reformer* has pointed out that such a demand involves no reflection on anybody. A plea for freedom needs no offset of grievances.

Since his release, even in frail health, Gandhiji sought to find a way out of the present deadlock. He desired an interview with the Viceroy. Lord Wavell has turned down his request that either he should be allowed to contact the members of the Congress Working Committee or be permitted to discuss the entire question with the Viceroy with a view to convincing him and the Government of the bona-fides of his (Gandhiji's) intentions.

NOTES

Asia Cannot Remain Half Free and Half Slave

Mr. Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the U. S. A., in a pamphlet entitled *Our Job in the Pacific*, says that the prosperity and freedom of the United States are linked with the prosperity and freedom of Asia. In his view, the whole complex situation in the Pacific must be re-examined in the light of many new factors, such as the rise of China, the new relationship of Russia and the United States, the twilight of Empire in the East, and the claim of Australia and New Zealand to a voice in Pacific affairs. He also cites two great economic changes : the drive in the East for industrialisation and the development in the West of substitutes for agricultural raw materials formerly imported from Asia. An extract from the USOWI summary of his book is given below :

"To-day the people of the East are on the march. We can date the beginning of the march from 1911, when the revolutionary movement among the Chinese, inspired by the teaching of Sun Yat-sen, overthrew the Manchu dynasty and established a republic. This was the first time in history that an Asiatic people set out courageously toward attainment of democracy—government of the people, by the people, for the people, through elective representatives of the people.

"The march is continuing throughout the confusion and destruction of the present war. The 'knowledge of good and evil' has spread to all peoples. They will no longer be denied the good things. There is no turning back without disaster and safety lies in spreading the benefits of modern industrialisation with a foundation of agricultural efficiency.

"The question of colonial emancipation isn't only a question of political freedom but also a question of economic adjustment, because of the vested interests whose economic advantages are entwined with the colonial status. Our coming victory may give us a unique opportunity to solve this kind of problem if we make it one of our guiding principles that economic measures applied to the recovery of colonial regions have as their primary aim not the restoration and rehabilitation of the old vested interests, but the creation of a sound economy beneficial to the people of the region."

The *United Press of America* reports that referring to India, Dutch East Indies, Burma, Malaya and Indo-China, Mr. Wallace asserts that Asia cannot permanently remain half free and half subject. He adds : "It is not to our advantage to perpetuate this division, but to see that an orderly process of transition takes place so that the area of free Asia will grow and that of subject Asia continually diminish.... Every step taken by China towards political democracy after the war will have a tremendous effect on the political trends in other Asiatic countries and if the time comes when democratic

China can co-operate with Free India the trend towards freedom in Asia will be assured." Writing on discrimination against racial minorities, he says: "Our own country does incalculable harm to the cause of freedom in Asia. *The force of example is greater than any number of righteous pronouncements.* Our interest there should be a ladder of evolution upward out of colonial subjection and coolie economics to self-government economy, opportunity and reward."

Pearl Buck on War Aims

Every great mistake has a half-way moment, a split second when it can be recalled and perhaps remedied, writes Pearl Buck. She says : "We are at that moment now in this war. It may be still possible to relate the past to the present with hope of changing the future, by asking how we have failed, so far, in our war aims ?" But she points out that war aims were never declared. Promises of military action, given on occasions since the Casablanca Conference, cannot properly be called war aims. She says :

It is a difficult question to answer when we consider that these war aims have never yet been stated with authority except in the very general terms of the Four Freedoms. I do not include the Atlantic Charter, for Prime Minister Churchill early limited its application to Europe, and this is a global war. I do not include the statements of Vice-President Wallace, since he does not hold primary power and since he has been so heartily contradicted both by action and lack of action. The only statement of global war aims, then, by any Western leader, has been President Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.

The Four Freedoms remain the sole statement yet given of our war aims. But I take it that it is the constant and peacetime aim of any democratic government to make secure for its own citizens freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want.

If we are fighting for these freedoms "everywhere in the world" that is for peoples who do not have them now, then we have to fight first for the basic freedom—the freedom to be free. *It was an Indian and the Indian was Gandhi, who pointed that out.* And the only country to declare itself officially for the freedom of all peoples, and equality among all has been China.

Pearl Buck emphatically asserts that without this basic equality and freedom the other four freedoms cannot be secure.

Pearl Buck on America's Role to Subject Asia

Pearl Buck continues :

We Americans have denied our own tradition of freedom in this global war. We had earlier made, it is true, an unequivocal declaration for freedom for the Philippines, and this served us well so far as it went.

But when Burma fell, because China was not accepted as an equal ally and when Cripps failed in his mission to India—both events occurred in the same month, April, 1942—we Americans failed by our very silence. We acquiesced, by our silence, in the limitation of the aims of this war to freedom for some peoples but not for others, to the four lesser freedoms, not freedom itself. Then and ever since we have evaded the true meaning of the war.

The people of China and India, and they are half the people in the world, are now forced to the conviction that we are not fighting for freedom as a principle of human life, but we are fighting to maintain ourselves with the British in a position of superiority over them.

To this conviction they have been compelled by three things: first, by our Anglo-American conduct of the war; second, by the open statements of Churchill's Government; third, by our own silence. I say not only the peoples of China and India, but all the peoples of Asia, and I do not doubt of Africa, share in this conviction, and will shape their future action upon it if the conviction cannot be changed.

She says that confidence of the Chinese in the Americans is being lost not because "they think we mean ill, but that we do not know better. They expected more of us in the way of foresight, wisdom and leadership."

Pearl Buck on Power of Gandhiji

Discussing the attitude of the peoples of Asia towards their leaders, Pearl Buck says: "They exalted our leaders beyond their worth." The Chinese, like other peoples of Asia, have always revered those whom they consider great men and have been willing to follow them: "It is one of the chief differences between East and West that we feel safest when we are guarded by cross-checked organisation, but they feel safest when they are following great men who are also good." This explains the power of Gandhiji over the Indian, she says, a power incomprehensible to so many Westerners, but perfectly sensible to the peoples of Asia. A great man who is good and wise is the natural leader for peoples.

The belief in the great and good made the peoples of Asia look to us with eagerness for leadership, not only military, but for a true leadership, toward the thing for which they thought we all were fighting, the principle of freedom for all peoples. When Churchill repudiated this principle, and when Cripps failed, then all eyes were fixed upon us. But we were silent. That silence has cost us very dear, and if it is not broken and broken soon, it will cost us far more dearly yet and will cost our children very dearly indeed. Our unwillingness to declare the true aim of this war has not made that aim less clear to the peoples of Asia. For them it is still a war for freedom and it will go on until it is now.

A determination for freedom in the world would, of course, cost us many of our prejudices. We could not assure freedom to the other peoples and keep our own Negroes in a position half slave.

It would cost us, too, the trouble of saying to England: "We really believe in the freedom of peoples but we fully realize your dependence economically upon Empire, and so we are prepared to share with you the costs of setting your subject peoples free. In order that we may have a free world of co-operative peoples. We will help you to distribute the financial loss and to set up new enterprises which will pay you equally well. That is, we will share with you the responsibility of a real democracy for the world."

It would mean that we would have to pledge our word—and keep it—to the conquered peoples of Europe including those in the Axis nations, that this time we will not withdraw and leave the mess to them while we demand our money back. It would mean that upon declaring our belief in the freedom of all peoples we would put our shoulder to the job of making freedom workable.

But the avowed determination for democracy for all peoples is the only way to win this war for democracy: At least in the East our prestige has already suffered so greatly that I do not believe any military victory will restore it. For us it was a priceless prestige, more potentially valuable to us even than England's Empire to her. Our prestige was founded on something better than Empire—it was founded on the friendship and confidence of peoples who believed in us as those who stood for the principle of freedom for mankind.

If we continue refusing to declare the true aim of this war, we shall have to reckon, when we carry the belated war into Asia, with peoples who have lost their eager enthusiastic belief in our greatness and goodness. The peoples of India and Burma, of Malaya and the South Seas, will not forget our silence on the primary freedom of peoples to be free.

To declare this war is for freedom is to call for a form of world co-operation which alone can maintain that freedom, a co-operation of all peoples who must first be free. Freedom for all peoples demands co-operation by all peoples. Freedom is compatible with and indeed dependent upon mutual co-operation in the world in the same way as it is in any local community. The Quit India resolution is nothing beyond a demand for the withdrawal of British power which denies freedom to India, and an open offer for voluntary co-operation with her on equal terms to be arranged by mutual agreement.

How Britain has Retarded India's Industrialisation

In the course of the debate on the Director's Report to the 26th International Labour Conference, Mr. Mulhelkar, Adviser to the Indian Employers' Delegate, made a telling exposure of how industrialisation in India was being retarded by Britain. The full text of his speech has been published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, an extract from which is given below:

It does not deal with the effect of the British Government's war economy in India's industrial deve-

lopment, with particular reference to the establishment of key and defence industries for the manufacture of automobiles, aeroplanes, heavy chemicals, power alcohol, and construction of ships. Since we are all anxious that every possible effort should be made from now on to ensure a high level of employment in the post-war period, you will be surprised to know that the British Government's war economy has discouraged every initiative from Indian industrialists to put up modern industrial plants to manufacture all types of industrial products. You will see from the Director's Report that it was made possible for my neighbouring country, Australia, to establish such plants enabling manufacture of two-engined bombers, ten-thousand ton merchant ships, and power alcohol, while India, in spite of all resources in men, money and material, was denied that opportunity of manufacturing these supplies, which, I am sure, would have further helped the United Nations' war effort. I think that the Report would not be complete without specific reference to the British Government's war economy on India's industrial development.

Mr. Mulhelkar pointed out that the situation was further aggravated by the introduction of financial controls by the British Government under the Dollar Requisition Order, under which the whole of India's dollar credits accruing to her as a result of her trade with the U. S. A. are put in the Empire Dollar Pool for the benefit of Empire countries. India has been a substantial contributor to this Pool, while the benefits she received in return are practically nil. The danger of such a financial policy was realised by the Americans themselves, and Mr. Mulhelkar has revealed that American manufacturers have protested against the non-utilisation of these credits for the furtherance of greater trade with India. While the continuous Indian protests for the last four years had been completely futile, the American thrust has had some effect. The British Government has now agreed to set aside from this year onward a part of the dollars accruing to India from her exports to the U. S. A.

Other obstacles have also been put against any possibility of industrial progress. Industrialists and traders from the biggest down to the lowest have been chained up with hundreds of restriction orders issued under the D. I. R. These are most rigidly applied in the case of Indian concerns, while the British firms can cut through them rather easily. Restrictions on transport, and limitation of the supplies of coal, basic chemicals and other essential raw materials have practically crippled all efforts at industrialisation. New entrants in the field have been practically shut out by means of sweeping orders. Mr. Mulhelkar would have done well to mention these drastic difficulties at the I. L. O. Conference.

Lord Hailey on Indianisation of Services

In order to impress an American audience that India is almost self-governning, Lord Hailey gave out certain figures of Indianisation of the Services in India. He said that in the Civil Service there were 632 Indians to 573 British, in the higher Judicial posts the proportion of Indian to British is 11 to 1, in the General Administration Services 8 to 1, in the Engineering Services 14 to 1, and in the higher Medical Services 30 to 1. Mr. K. M. Munshi, speaking from an inside knowledge of administration, has analysed these precious facts in the *Social Welfare*. About the I. C. S. he says :

No doubt in the Civil Service numerically there are 632 Indians and 573 British. But the Civil Service is a close governing corporation. At the head of each provincial service is a seasoned Chief Secretary. His word is law so far as the career of his subordinates is concerned. Either he is a strong Britisher or, if the post goes to an Indian, at all, he is guaranteed to be completely reliable—that is, in the language of the Secretariat, incapable of taking any independent view except one which is consistent with the highest traditions of the British bureaucracy. Juniors with an independent spirit are repressed. Indian Civilians as a rule have to be on constant guard lest their least degree of independence may bar them from higher pay, prospects and pension. In practice the British civilian can be relied upon to take a strong line—may be a little displeasing to his superiors—for his pro-British *bona fides* are above suspicion. An Indian civilian trembles at the prospect of being misunderstood by his British colleagues, and is therefore more royal than the King himself.

About the Judicial Service, he says :

Judiciary is supposed to be independent. But the pivotal position is held by the Chief Justice of the High Court. More often than not he is a Britisher; two eminent Indian judges were ruled out for the job in one year. But on the whole the Judicial Services have a measure of independent outlook; that is why war legislations are more or less intended to exclude the judiciary from scrutinising its deeds and misdeeds. Did not some of the Judges of the Federal Court remark that the High Courts are the distrusted of the land? Did not the Chief Justice of U. P. declare from the bench that the Executive Ordinances have rendered him impotent?

As regards General Administration, he says, taking the police for instance :

There the proportion of Indians to Europeans would be something like 500 : 1. But it is a semi-military organisation and at all key positions you will find Britishers. I am not aware as yet of an Indian Inspector General. An I.G.P. is an absolute master over the career of thousands who serve under him. When the Congress was in government we were told that we should not corrupt the police by our political bias, that they should remain neutral. When the political movements were on we knew what this 'neutrality' meant. This myth is only intended to

secure that the Dark man remains loyal to his White chief. Nothing more, nothing less.

Within my knowledge there is a case when a subordinate police officer who happened to know an Indian Home Minister for years called on the latter when he was lying ill. This action was almost high treason and was frowned upon by the superior officers even at the time when the Home Minister was the head of their department! Police neutrality was in danger!

In conclusion, Mr. Munshi says that the traditions of the service are laid down by the Britisher; that the pay, prospects and pension of each individual officer depend ultimately on the good graces of the Britisher; that every member of the services is trained to conform to two standards : to win the approbation of the Foreign Chief at the top, and to do nothing which will incur his displeasure. There can be no greater badge of slavery than the unconscious moulding of a man's outlook by the corruption which the prospects of a career offer or by the imponderable fear that the career will be thwarted, if he fails to rise up to the expectations of a Foreign Chief.

Exploitation of Indian Workers in Natal

The Durban correspondent of *Bombay Chronicle* reports :

In evidence before the Judicial Commission the Durban Branch of the South African Trades and Labour Council made allegations about "the serious exploitation" of Indian workers in Natal.

Evidence shows that the wages paid to workers on railways and Durban municipality are far below "any civilised living standard."

The minimum wage in the Durban municipality is four pounds 18 shillings four pence and the Railways, four pounds seven shillings six pence, reached only after five years' service.

Mr. J. C. Bolton, Chairman of the Trades and Labour Council, maintains that ten pounds per month should be the minimum living wage.

"DEATH HOUSE"

Strong criticism was levelled against Indian Immigration Depot and the hospital was dubbed by Indians as "Death House". The "treatment meted out to Indians there is not fit for the poorest type of animal, let alone human beings" said Mr. Bolton.

Mr. Father said, in the past 25 years, Indians preferred their own doctors as proper hospital attention was not received. Allegations that the conditions in King Edward Hospital were "deplorable" were made by Mr. H. S. Singh who maintained that patients received very little treatment. If Indian nurses were employed the position would be better. Indian nurses would be attracted if salary was revised. The fact that Indian Women worked in the Red Cross organisation indicate that they were keen on work. The Indian community was the only group which had to build their own schools and then apply for grants.

Questioned by Mr. Kajee witness agrees that White supremacy must be maintained. He would be prepared to accept qualified franchise as a stepping stone but would continue work for full franchise.

Mr. Narbeth, an ex-Director of the Natal Technical College and Chairman Indian Technical Education Committee, expressed the view that Indians had made an honest attempt to reach the western standard. But they have been persistently obstructed in all their efforts to raise their standard of living. Whatever backwardness there is among the Indians there, is not their fault, but somebody else's creation over which the Indians had no hand.

British Legal System in India : Nundakumar to Barada Pain

The Indian Social Reformer writes :

Mr. Pendrel Moon quitted the Indian Civil Service for remonstrating with his official superior against the treatment accorded to a political prisoner. He went to England and wrote a book and was able to get it published. We have not seen the book but a review of it by that "friend of India" Edward Thompson in the *Observer* of London has been summarised for the Indian Press by *Reuter*. Mr. Thompson quotes with approval Mr. Moon's opinion that the introduction of the British legal system in India has been harmful. It has, he says, created vested interests of lawyers and the universal belief that lying is right according to the rules of the game. Are there no vested interests besides the lawyer to account for this, assuming it is true? The legal profession in India has been long an eyesore to the bureaucracy. The National Congress and other political movements have had eminent lawyers as leaders and supporters. In the districts the lawyers, not every one of them, have been the sole obstacles to the autocracy of the district officials. In the last thirty years, several laws have been passed excluding the jurisdiction of the Courts in matters within the purview of the Executive and, in several other matters, the presumption that a person is innocent until he is proved to be guilty has been either expressly or tacitly reversed. The combination of the executive and judicial functions in the magistracy, against which Indians have protested for many years, makes the Magistracy subservient to the Police and Revenue officials. This is the case in normal times. In these war days, of course, these evils have taken an aggravated form. Ordinances are daily being issued creating new offences as a rule triable summarily.

The conflict of the executive and the judiciary is daily increasing. In the days of Warren Hastings, Executive and Judiciary were twins. Nunda Kumar was hanged because the Executive required whitewashing. Matters have improved to some extent since then, but the Executive has never let slip judicial control altogether from its hands. Separation of these two organs still remains a demand. The Judiciary has, however, within narrow limitations, tried its best to maintain its independence. In recent times, the Indian High Courts have seldom hesitated to pronounce verdicts against the Executive whenever the judges believed that the exercise of executive power had been exceeded.

Although some of the important judicial pronouncements have been nullified by executive decrees, the move has definitely been towards the maintenance of a judicial independence. The injunction granted by Justice Edgley in the Barada Pain case against the Bengal Government's supersession of the Howrah Municipality marks an important turning point in the history of judicial independence in this country.

Parody of 'Travel Less' Campaign

The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, in the course of a communication to the Government of India's War Transport Department, has revealed the parody of the 'Travel Less' campaign and has pointed out that while genuine passengers suffer hardships, servicemen holiday on hills. They say :

The Committee of this Chamber had occasion to comment on the reduction in passenger services and the consequent over crowding in Passenger Trains and the extreme hardship and inconvenience suffered by the travelling public as a result thereof. The Government of India did not consider the suggestions of my Committee favourably and the situation has worsened considerably during last year. It is no exaggeration to say that hardly a week passes by in Bombay without one, two or more passengers being killed on account of the overcrowding of trains. From the press reports of different places it appears that the grievance is not confined to Bombay alone, but that the grievance has spread to other provinces also. Instead of remedying the situation by providing more passenger trains or passenger vehicles, Government appear to have tried to find out a short cut by initiating a so-called "Travel Less" campaign.

While this new slogan of "Travel Less" is being pushed forward for ordinary Indian civilians, it does not seem to apply to members of the services. My Committee realise and appreciate that movements of troops have to go on. But the movements of different members of the services are not evidently all due to the war operations. There was a discussion at a meeting of the Local Advisory Committee of the G. I. P. Railway when Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas said that he had questioned Marines he had seen up at Simla and found that they were there on holiday and he thought that Government themselves could take a lot of action to reduce this unnecessary travel. Sir B. Rama Rau, a member of the Committee, suggested that military travel to such places as Kashmir from the South and Ootacamund from the North might also be responsible for a great deal of the additional travel.

It will be recognised that the launching of a "Travel Less" campaign and the exhibition of the dangers of travel which do not exist and the education of general public there is not only not the right and correct solution of the problem that exists and will only add and add considerably to the irritation and bitterness which exists amongst the travelling public. The proper approach should be to provide the amenities, facilities and services which are essential for the carriage of passengers even in these days of war.

In this connection, I am asked to enclose herewith an advertisement in the "Eastern Rotary Wheel" inserted by a responsible Travel Agency. The advertisement says, "Travel Made Easy," "Start Booking now for next

Season's Holidays in the Hills." Does this mean that while travelling is going to be made more difficult for the poorer sections of the Indian travelling public, it is going to be made easy for non-Indian sections of the public as well as perhaps for the richer sections of the Indian travelling public? It is extremely incongruous that on the one hand the railways should start a "Travel Less" campaign and on the other advertisements of the Travelling Agencies should appear inviting the public to go to the Hill Stations. Moreover, Government servants travel even now reserving the whole compartment to themselves. Can it be contended that their conduct is in keeping with the object which the Government have in view?

Of all the slogans introduced or inaugurated by the Government since the war began, this particular one of *Travel Less* has become the most obnoxious to the general public. In this country, third class travel by itself had always been a discouragement for travel. Costly "travel more" campaigns and inducements by means of concessions did not attract many people for travelling by the third class. In these days of economic hardship and difficult travelling conditions the very idea of submitting oneself to a third class travel takes one's breath away but when an occasion arises it has to be undertaken by sheer necessity. To brand it as luxury travel and to declare that it could be reduced is the greatest insult hurled at the people of India. The Merchants' Chamber has shown that luxury travel still exists, but in the upper classes. If the authorities had the proper utilisation of railways in mind, the first and second classes might have been converted into Inter class conditions, and made accessible to everybody.

Inflation in India and Abroad

The increase in note circulation in various countries between the period of the declaration of the war and December 1943 is :

U. K.	..	..	105
U. S. A.	..	..	188
Canada	..	..	221
Australia	..	..	281
South Africa	..	..	83
New Zealand	..	..	120
India	..	..	400

Note circulation in India has not stopped even at that. It is still growing steadily.

British Cabinet System

The Leader writes :

Though a newspaper of the services, *Seac* is not content with merely recording *fauj khabren*. It comments on men, including the British Prime Minister, and affairs, including the working of Parliament. How to get on in the House of Commons? *Seac* discussed this question lately. Our contemporary writes, 'Another way to make progress is to make so much trouble that Government say "Better make that fellow one of

"us". It is 'the way Winston did.' But if the *Fauji Akhbar's* advice is acted upon in India, our autocratic Government will react in a different way. The man who makes himself troublesome to Government may find himself in a very uncomfortable place.

The principle of making "that fellow one of us" applies to different people with different force. Churchill succeeded, but in the case of troublesome Sir Stafford Cripps, he was made one of them only to be crushed and digested. The system has been nicely described by Gandhiji in a witty conversation with Miss Eve Caril :

"Sir Stafford Cripps is a very good man. But he has entered a bad system, the machinery of British Imperialism. He thinks he is going to improve the machinery. In the end it will be the machinery that will get the best of him."

Then, with one of his witty, irresistible smiles :

"Sir Stafford has good intentions. But Satan uses honest people for his own ends. There is hypocrisy and danger in any association with Satan. Surely, one cannot expect to improve Satan."

Permission for Two Automobile Factories in India

The Government of India have sanctioned the issue of capital for the establishment of two Automobile factories, one by the Birlas and the other by Seth Walchand Hirachand. At the beginning of the war, Seth Walchand and Sir M. Visveswaraya had tried their level best to secure permission and co-operation of the Government of India to start a motor car factory in this country. The project was turned down. Next, an attempt was made for the establishment of the factory at Mysore, but this time also in vain. Sir M. Visveswaraya had spent several years and a fortune in travelling to Europe and America gathering materials for starting a motor car factory in India. Sir Mokshagundam and Seth Walchand had collected the necessary capital and negotiated with an American firm to help in the earlier stages of the industry. They wanted from the Government of India two assurances : (1) the continuation of the present import duty on foreign cars and (2) the purchase of Government's requirements from the Indian concern. Government refused both. Government of India declined to admit that the establishment of this factory would help war effort. The reasons advanced by Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar, then Commerce Member in the Linlithgow Administration, for turning down the scheme, convinced nobody.

The desired permission has at last been granted no doubt, but in doing so the Government have made it plain that they accept no

responsibility for the project. The future of this new industry is exceedingly doubtful unless Governmental patronage is forthcoming and the two conditions pointed out by Sir M. Visveswaraya are fulfilled. After the war, there is every likelihood of a tremendous slump in the motor car market when lakhs of army vehicles in and out of India are released for sale.

Grow Less Cotton

In a Press Note, the C. P. Government wishes to emphasise that the reasons given in 1942 for growing less short staple cotton have even greater force today since the demand for food crops has become greater than ever while short staple cotton is wanted less and less. Meanwhile the Government of India, while calling attention to the lack of demand and the fall in price of short staple cotton, are anxious that at least 30 p.c. of last year's area under short staple cotton should be diverted to food crops in the coming season. They have given an undertaking that in case of a fall in prices—a most unlikely contingency—they would be prepared to purchase all juar and bajri which may be offered for sale at a floor price of Rs. 5-8-0 and Rs. 6 per maund respectively. In view of this promise, cultivators should have no fear in diverting their areas under short staple cotton to food-crops. At the same time the Government of India give a clear warning that they have no intention of buying short staple cotton to support the market or of providing transport if the crop is not required.

But in Bengal, growing of jute beyond the normal requirements of the market has been and is being encouraged against the wish of the growers' representatives and at a time when an increase in the production of rice is required to prevent starvation by millions and death by thousands. The cause of this distinction between the cultivations of cotton and jute is not far to seek. London has no interest in the former while cheap jute is required both by London and Washington, and cheapening processes cannot be discontinued.

Civil Liberties Non-existent at Junctions of Four Districts

The Leader writes :

During the debate in the Bengal Assembly on the Bengal Government's decision banning the Hindu Conference which was proposed to be held at Barisal, Sir Nazimuddin adduced some ingenious arguments. We should like to draw attention to one of these in particular. The Home Minister was asked why he banned a Hindu conference when the Chief Minister

himself presided over and spoke at a Muslim conference at Dinajpur. Sir Nazimuddin replied, "The hon'ble member does not realize that the Hindu Conference was to be held at a spot which is the junction of four districts." One result of the statement will be that the sale of text-books on geography will at once increase. All Hindus living in Muslim provinces would like to know the names of places situated at the junction of four districts. Another result will be that the provisions of President Roosevelt's four freedom scheme will have to be recast. In President Roosevelt's opinion one of the basic things expected by our people of their political and economic systems is 'the preservation of civil liberties for all.' Having regard to what Sir Nazimuddin said it will have to be made clear that the provisions relating to civil liberties will not apply to those living at the junction of four districts. The attention of the Government was drawn to the assurances the Ministers gave when they entered upon office. One of these was that the Ministry would protect and promote civil liberties. The Chief Minister reported that the Congress ministries had made use of Section 144. We have carefully gone through the old files of the *Leader*. We find that no Congress minister in any of the provinces made a distinction against places situated at the junction of four districts.

This satirical note indicates in what esteem the present Ministers of Bengal are held outside the province.

U. S. Congress Bill for Indians

Dr. M. T. Titus, a delegate from India to the General Conference of the Methodist Church which met in Kansas City in the U. S. A. has sent the following message to India :

Bills important to the people of India have recently been introduced in the United States' Congress. These Bills would do for India what the repeal of the Chinese seclusion laws last December has done for China, that they would provide for immigration from India to America on the quota applied to most other nationals, and would open the way for naturalization of certain groups of Indians already resident in America. That there is growing sentiment in America in favour of this legislation was evidenced recently in the quadrennial meeting of the general conference of the Methodist Church, whose 700 delegates passed unanimously a resolution pledging their support of these bills now before Congress.

This is significant in view of the fact that these delegates represent eight million Methodists in the United States.

"National Call" on Nagpur Cases

Commenting editorially on the Nagpur cases—the *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times* cases—the *National Call* of Delhi writes :

The entire Indian press is bound to feel alarmed at the finding of the local court in Nagpur in the case of *Hitavada* and the *Nagpur Times*, in which members of the editorial staff and a correspondent have been convicted for divulging the contents of charge sheets presented by the Government to various prisoners in the C. P. and their replies to the same. A recent ordinance has now been issued prohibiting

the dissemination of these charges or the replies of political prisoners. But so long as this ordinance was not in force, we do not see how the court could hold either that the charge sheets or the replies of prisoners were a secret document under the Official Secrets Act. The presentation of the charge sheet and the calling of a reply in the circumstances were only intended as a substitute for a regular open judicial trial. We do not think the charge sheets were presented to prisoners after taking from them an oath of secrecy. If that was not the case, then it was perfectly open to them to discuss the charges and the replies with other prisoners some of whom on their release could have with impunity, and quite legitimately, passed on the information to the press. *So long as the information was not incorrect, and that was never claimed by the prosecution, the papers were perfectly within their rights, and in our opinion were certainly acting within the law as it existed then in publishing such bonafide reports provided these reports did not infringe the Bombay Agreement.*

Liability of Members of the Editorial Staff

In the same article, commenting on the liability of individual members of the editorial staff, the *National Call* writes :

Even more alarming to the press is the attitude taken up by the court against individual members of the editorial staff, who were involved in handling the news in question. So far as we are aware even though the two editors were absent they were prepared to take full responsibility for the offence, if any, on their own shoulders. In every newspaper office a news story is handled by several persons. But morally, as well as under law the responsibility for publication remains of the editor or of the persons acting in his place. It would be a dangerous precedent if one or more members of the editorial staff were to be prosecuted and convicted for handling a particular story and for its publication in the paper. Some magistrate may take it into his head to punish even foremen and compositors on the same principle as Assistant and Sub-Editors have been convicted in the present case. In several respects the case is certainly one of those which deserves to be taken to the highest court of law in the country for final adjudication. It strikes a serious blow at the elementary rights of the press in India.

We agree with the *National Call* that the matter should be taken to the High Courts of Law for final adjudication.

Lakhs of Jinnahs Not to Effect Change in Kashmir Politics

Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, President of the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference in a crowded public meeting, gave a rejoinder to Mr. Jinnah's criticism of the policy of the Kashmir National Conference made by him at the Session of the Kashmir Muslim Conference. Sheikh Abdullah declared : "Even if lakhs of Jinnahs come to Kashmir, they cannot effect any change in local politics." He further said :

"I wanted Kashmir politics to be free from outside interference but unfortunately Mr. Jinnah willed it or

otherwise brought evil germs of British Indian politics here.'

Referring to the efforts at bringing about a rapprochement between the National Conference and the Muslim Conference Abdullah said: 'I asked the Muslim Conference leader to abide by a majority decision of the Millat or by a referendum to the Muslim masses but they did not agree.'—U.P.

It is difficult for the Leaguers to agree to any demand for a referendum, particularly in progressive Muslim areas. The country has already been sick of the barren, selfish and dangerously disruptive Jinnah policy. Mr. Jinnah failed to win over the Panjab. Next he has set his foot in Kashmir only to receive a hot reception there as well.

Ahrars Fed Up with Vision of Pakistan

The anti-Pakistani Muslims of the Panjab are rallying rapidly. The following resolution explains the resentment of the Ahrars against the League :

SIALKOT, JUNE 20.

The Ahrars' attitude towards the Muslim League was clearly brought out in a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Majlis-i-Ahrar held here to-day. The resolution which was moved by Maulana Mazhar Ali Azhar, M.L.A., expressed its inability to comply with Mr. Jinnah's appeal to the Majlis-i-Ahrar to merge with the Muslim League.

The resolution stated, "The attitude of Mr. Jinnah in regard to his demand for Pakistan will not lead him towards that ideal. The non-Muslims and most of the Muslims are fed up with the vision of Pakistan presented by him."

'Mr. Jinnah,' the resolution pointed out, 'has never asked the Majlis-i-Ahrar for co-operation in any matter but on the contrary he is desirous of its obliteration by asking it to merge itself in the Muslim League. The Majlis-i-Ahrar would have been prepared even to lose its identity had the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah given any evidence of self-sacrifice and suffering. Mr. Jinnah had stated in unmistakable terms at Lucknow that civil disobedience could never be of any avail. But the Majlis-i-Ahrar can never fall in with such a policy because its very superstructure stands on self-sacrifice and suffering.'

The resolution added, 'Mr. Jinnah is in favour of a constitutional struggle which can never set a slave nation free. On the contrary it strengthens the shackles of slavery because by following it no effective step can be taken against the Government.'

Maulana Attaullah Shah Bokhari who presided over the meeting condemned the cold-blooded murder of Maulana Sher Gul, a prominent Ahrar leader.—A.P.I.

The fantasy of Pakistan is rapidly being realised by the educated and patriotic Muslims. It is also becoming increasingly clear that if there be any Pakistan at all, it must come through the grace of the British Government, and must be kept in existence by the British ruling class.

To Our Readers

Due to the extreme scarcity of photographic plates we could not illustrate this issue as fully as is usual.

Why this Preference to Urdu Newspapers?

In answer to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Hossain Imam in the Council of State on the 29th February 1944, the Hon'ble Sir Muhammad Usman stated that the amounts of money paid to English, Hindi and Urdu newspapers by way of advertisements by the Department of Information and Broadcasting and other departments of the Government of India during the first nine months of 1943-44 were as follows :

English papers	Rs. 3,91,254
Hindi papers	Rs. 54,610
Urdu papers	Rs. 88,410

The amount spent on Urdu papers is more than 154 per cent of that on Hindi papers, although the number of literates in Hindi far exceeds that in Urdu. According to the census of 1931, the number of literates in Hindi and Urdu in the different provinces and states were as follows :

	Persons Literate in Hindi	Persons Literate in Urdu
Baluchistan	7,111	18,422
C. P. & Berar	380,950	44,247
Delhi	26,008	47,358
Punjab	216,296	908,521
E. I. Agency	255,981	29,453
Hyderabad	..	192,039
Jammu & Kashmir	776	3,178
	887,122	12,43,218

If to the above we add the number of Hindu and Muhammadan literates in the U. P. and Bihar, and assume that all those who are Hindus speak Hindi, and all those who are Muhammadans speak Urdu, we may get a picture as to the proportion of Hindi and Urdu speakers in India. The respective numbers of Hindu and Muhammadan literates in these two provinces are :

	Hindus	Muhammadans
U. P.	18,23,849	3,57,674
Bihar	14,52,130	2,39,902
	32,75,979	5,97,576

The proportion of Hindi and Urdu literates is roughly then 41,63,000; 18,41,000.

Why then this preference to Urdu papers? Is it because they support Pakistan? Or is it because they are more anti-National and anti-Gandhi?

J. M. DATTA

CHINA'S POST-WAR ECONOMIC PLANS

By HO KWAN-HENG, PH.D.

It is indeed strange that many as are the peace plans for the post-war world, none of them makes China the keystone of the post-war peace arch. That China is such a keystone is evident from any cursory review of the history of World War II. Although the present War appeared to break out in September, 1939, with Germany's attack on Poland, yet the real outbreak of hostilities had occurred eight years earlier with Japan's rape on Manchuria.

September 18, 1931, was the real first date of World War II. It was the Japanese aggressors in Manchuria and England's unwillingness to curb aggression that started the present world conflagration. Japan's Manchurian *coup* deepened the then world depression and threw more rowdies into the bandwagons of Hitler and Mussolini. Seeing that England was unwilling to act in the case of Manchuria, Mussolini knew that she was sure to wink an eye in the case of Abyssinia. Hitler was emboldened to rearm in defiance of Versailles, to march into the Rhine-land in defiance of Locarno, to walk into Sudetenland in defiance of the Franco-Czecho-Soviet alliance, to gobble up Czechoslovakia in defiance of his own word given in Munich, and to blitz on Poland in defiance of both England and France.

A long road of violated women, blinded babies, and vulture-devoured corpses linked up Manchuria with Poland, and hence with Paris, London, and Pearl Harbour. World War II was started by Japan, not by Germany. It was Japan who set the evil style.

Without holding brief for aggression, what lured Japan on was the weakness of China. Sheep China was a constant temptation to Tiger Japan. Ever since the West taught Japan to use modern armaments, that little island country has been the troublesome little brother for elder brother China. More bulky and less alert, China has been slower to learn Western ways. Many have been the humiliations heaped upon the Big Brother who at first took them with good-natured tolerance, then with visible annoyance, and finally with alarm. For the wicked little brother has an eye not only on the worldly possessions but also on the very life of the Big Brother.

If it is "western ways" that have made Japan strong, it is tardy reception of westernization that has kept China weak. And a weak China is always cause for world trouble. This has been so before the War; it will be so ever after. It follows that no peace plan can work if it leaves the loophole of weak China unpatched up.

After this War, perhaps China will be the only important loophole in the world scheme. For, no trouble however big, breaking out in the Americas is likely to grow world-wide, because of the Monroe doctrine. There have been many wars on the American Continents, but none of them has spread out, because the power of the United States has been enough to effectively stop the spreading. So far as the next world war is concerned, we may rest assured that the first explosion will not take place in the Americas.

The first explosion of World War I took place in Europe—in the Balkans. The first explosion of World War II took place, as we have said, in Asia—in Manchuria. Where, then, will the first explosion of World War III (if there will be one) be likely to take place? Assuming the total destruction of Germany, which a total Allied victory must mean, the task of stabilizing Europe will be left to the Anglo-Soviet Alliance of May, 1942. The duration of the Alliance has been fixed at 20 years, but the exact form of co-operation—whether it is to be another 'Holy Alliance,' or another 'League of Nations,' or what you will—has not yet been settled. Mr. Churchill has spoken of a "Council of Europe," presumably an organisation along the line of the old League of Nations with more teeth in it to be supplied by Britain and Russia jointly. Unless Britain and Russia fall out, which according to the Alliance will not be likely for at least the next 20 years, i.e., if the Alliance holds good, any local flare-up on the European Continent will not spread and become world-wide, because, as in the case of the Americas, the joint power of Britain and Russia must be enough to smoke it out before it gets big.

Not so in Asia. There, after the total smashing of Japan which a total Allied victory must mean, there will be no indigenous power to

keep the peace. For, the United States is primarily an American power and goes afield only reluctantly and only when attacked. Britain is primarily a European power and to keep the peace in Asia she needs a bigger land-power than she has and can afford. After she has gone deep into Europe, Russia will have her hands full with European problems, which will leave her little time for the East.

In other words, while there will be a stabilizing power in the Americas (*i.e.*, the United States) and in Europe (*i.e.*, the Anglo-Soviet Alliance), in Asia there will be none after the War. A vacuum will be created which will be uncomfortable and likely to provide place for the first explosion of the next World War,—if there will be one,—unless China is strengthened and made into a stabilizer in East Asia.

The basic structure of China is agrarian economy. Agrarianism is never a good basis for power. Eighty per cent of the Chinese people are peasants living on a narrow margin of substance wrung from a niggardly soil interstitial among rugged mountains and troublesome waterways. Her revenues have come largely from land, which is necessarily small. Her annual budget is but an infinitesimal part of that of the United States. Her total yearly foreign trade is in value roughly that of the barber business in America. Is it strange that when she wants to build waterworks to supply much needed clean water to her people, she finds that she has no money; when she wants to build powerhouses to provide electric light for the country, she finds that she lacks cash; and when she wants to dredge her troublesome rivers in order to give her peasantry a breathing space, she finds that she needs capital. She simply has not the money for all those modern implements and modern technique which in any advanced industrial country are usually taken for granted.

How is it, then, that she has stood against Japan for seven long years? The answer is: Not with her mechanized power, but with her illimitable space. With space she has purchased valuable time, not only for herself, but for the United Nations, and particularly for the United States.

Space is China's chief asset; not her wealth. It goes without saying that she has not the money for panzer divisions, for 105-mm howitzers, for Sherman tanks, for Flaks and Stukas, for Garand rifles, for 54,000-ton battleships, for Flying Fortresses, for Liberty boats, for a sky-darkening air fleet, etc. And without these things, she will not have the power to keep the peace in Asia.

II

China must be industrialized if she is to have the wealth and consequently the power with which to help stabilize conditions in Asia. In helping China to industrialize, the advanced industrial nations are only helping quieten a possible tinderbox whose explosion may blow up the world again.

As long ago as during the last World War, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of the Chinese Republic, drew up a plan for an "international industrial development of China" for which he wrote a book. This Plan is to become the Master Blueprint for the economic reconstruction of China after the War. In his book *The Destiny of China*, the Generalissimo has the following to say :

"As to economic reconstruction, we must make the Plan for the Industrial Development of China the cardinal plan...The successful carrying out of the Plan will take 30 to 50 years...Our Plan for economic reconstruction, aiming at the promotion of the people's welfare, must live up to the standard set by our Father of the Republic (in Article II of his National Government's Outlines of Political Reconstruction); to wit: 'The first object in reconstruction is people's livelihood. Concerning the people's needs for food, clothing, housing, and movement, the Government will do its utmost in co-operating with the people, and in developing agriculture in order to increase food supply; in developing the textile industry in order to increase the supply of cloths; in building various types of houses in order to make people feel at home; and in making roads and canals in order to facilitate people's movement.' This is the only object of our reconstruction and also the first step in carrying out the principle of people's livelihood."

In his Letter to Li Hung Chang, the Chinese Premier at the end of the last century, Dr. Sun Yat-sen proposed four things—one of which was that goods should have free and unimpeded movement. His later Plan for Industrial Development of China was drawn up with this one idea in mind. Utilizing China's magnificent ocean frontage of 3000 miles, the Plan proposes, first of all, the opening of three great sea ports on China's Pacific seaboard. The first is to be called the Great Northern Port, to be built somewhere between Taku and Chinhuangtao, between where the Ching River and the Luang River empty into the Gulf of Pechili. This spot is chosen because it is where the salt-water channel is deepest and where it is easy to keep away from the easily-frozen, silt-laden fresh waters of the two rivers. This port can be linked up with the Grand Canal and commands the hinterland of North China with a population of 100,000,000. Dr. Sun expected it to be the New York of the Far East. Paul Reinsch, American Minister to China at the time

when Dr. Sun made his proposal, had this site surveyed and found it to be fit for a great sea port as Dr. Sun claimed.

In order to tap the riches of North China, Dr. Sun would build a railway system of 10,000 kilometers radiating from this Great Northern Port and reaching as far north as Outer Mongolia where it meets Soviet Siberia and as far west as Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) where it meets Russian Turkestan. This railway system is to serve the double purpose of exploiting the mineral resources of North China and of helping move the surplus populations from congested coastal regions to the roomy Northwest.

For Central China or the Yangtse River Valley, Dr. Sun proposed the Great Eastern Port to be built at Chapoo on the Bay of Hangchow, thus bidding fair to take the place of Shanghai. It is claimed that this port will be superior to Shanghai as a trading port, because while the former directly fringes on deep-sea waters, the latter is situated within the estuary of the great Yangtse which debouches 100,000,000 tons of silt a year, enough to make a piece of new land of 40 square miles in area and ten feet in thickness. Shanghai, however, must be salvaged by dredging the Yangtse and by filling up the Whampoo, and retained as a great trading port.

The work to be done on the Yangtse, the Grand Canal, the Hwai, the Han, and the Lakes forms an important part of the second section of the Plan. The system of waterways, with the navigable Yangtse as the trunk line, serves this region of Central China as a railway system serves North China. As steel is to a railway system, so is cement to a waterway system for the building of dock breakwaters, dams, runways, etc. Therefore, Dr. Sun proposed the erection of a large number of cement works in this area.

For South China Dr. Sun proposed to make Canton the Great Southern Port to disgorge the products and wealth of South China. Canton had always been a great port, during the Tang Dynasty and after, for China's foreign commerce. Arabs and Jews flocked thither in such a great number that an Arab historian, when writing of the sack of Canton by the Bandit Huang Tsao, could say that 300,000 Arabs and Jews were massacred! However, Canton's place as a great maritime trading port was wrecked by the rise of Hongkong, and throughout the last century the efforts of the Chinese Government to revive Canton as a maritime trading

port fizzled out because of Hongkong's competition.

Canton is situated at the confluence of three inland-rivers. The land formed by the silt comprises an area of roughly 3000 square miles. More than half of Kwangtung's 30,000,000 people live on this delta. It is so much criss-crossed by tiny streams that the place looks like a great mosaic of banks, shoals, and islets. The volume of waters is diversified, the velocity of the current is reduced, and sediments form on the river-beds which make direct access to Canton from the salt-water sea difficult. Therefore, it is proposed to deepen the channel to as much as 40 feet by building miles of dykes, above as well as under water, canalizing the great volume of waters rolling down from the three rivers. Canton will become one of China's foremost ocean traffic ports the moment it is made accessible from the sea for large ocean steamers.

Like the Great Eastern Port, Canton is endowed by nature with a waterway system; but unlike it, Canton's waterway system has a short reach (its longest reach being Nanning, 500 miles from Canton by small river steam-boats) and cannot serve to tap the wealth and resources of South China. So Dr. Sun proposed to build a South China railway system of about 7000 miles to link up South China and the Southwest—Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Sikang—with the Great Southern Port. Different from the North China Railway system, the South China Railway system goes over mountainous terrain and is difficult to construct. This will cost twice as much per mile as the North China system. But the mineral resources it exploits will more than pay for the extra cost.

As satellites clustering around planets, four second-class ports—Yingkow, Haichow, Foochow and Chinchow, and nine third-class ports—Hulutao, Huankhokang, Chefoo, Ningpo, Wenchow, Amoy, Swatow, Tienpai, Haikow—will be built to stud China's Pacific coast like beads on a necklace.

All these ports, including the Three Great Ports, are to be linked up with the hinterland by railways. Besides the North China system and the South China system, other systems will be built to be known as Central System (16,600 miles), Southeast System (9000 miles), Northeast System (9000 miles), Northwest System (16,000 miles), and Plateau System (11,000 miles in Tibet and Chinghai), totalling more than 60,000 miles.

Dr. Sun's Plan is divided into six main Sections of which the above, in very brief outline, make up four. The rest has to do with the development of China's key industries, and the planner hits the keynote by saying that the machine of the West must be harnessed to aid 'muscle production' in China. One of the famous remarks of Dr. Sun is that China pays a yearly tribute of \$1200 million to foreign Imperialists, meaning that on account of the economic hold of foreign Powers on China, she has had to suffer a yearly loss of that magnitude in work, in food, in death and sickness, in all that comes from the loss of opportunity to work and to make things.

With a keen eye on the people's livelihood, Dr. Sun devotes the 5th Section of his Plan entirely to the five industries basic for people's livelihood; namely, the food industry, the clothing industry, the housing industry, the transportation system, and the press. Each of these five industries calls forth auxiliary industries as feeders and providers of raw materials.

The sixth Section of the Plan is entirely devoted to the mining industry of China. Dr. Sun's was a thoroughly modern mind. He realized that the strength of the West lies in its use of minerals as distinguished from the "vegetables" used by the East, the 'bones' of Terra as distinguished from her "hair." In the use of minerals, the Occident is far ahead of the Orient. To catch up, China must borrow heavily from the West. Dr. Sun had a bright vision of China's using Western capital and technology to develop her iron, coal, petroleum, copper, and other multifarious metal alloys hidden in the bowels of her earth.

All this means that China must and will be industrialized after the war.

III

Will China have the necessary raw materials?

One eminent Chinese Economist¹ has listed the following 44 articles as basis for discussion :

1. Agricultural Products : rice, wheat, cotton, flax, silk, soybean, vegetable oil seed, sugar.
2. Animal Products : cattle, sheep, hog, horse, mule, wool, hide.
3. Forest Products : lumber, rubber.
4. Minerals : coal, petroleum, iron, manganese, wolfram, nickel, chromium, molybdenum, vanadium, magnesium, copper, lead, zinc, aluminium, tin, antimony, mercury, salt, sulphur, nitrate, potash, phosphorus, mica, fire-clay, florite, limestone, gypsum.

Of these 44 articles, there are eight in which China has a surplus, twenty-eight in

which China is self-sufficient, and eight in which China has to depend on the outside world for supply.

The eight of the first category are : silk, soybean, vegetable oil seed, coal, wolfram, tin, antimony, and salt. China takes first place in world's production of soybean, vegetable oil seed, wolfram and antimony, second place in silk, and third place in tin and salt. In silk China is surpassed only by Japan, in tin by Malaya and Dutch East Indies, and in salt by Soviet Union and the United States. China's known coal deposits would place her in the fourth place of the world's coal-producing powers, bested only by the United States, Canada, and Soviet Union. In all these things, China can have a surplus to export.

The twenty-eight of the second category are : rice, wheat, cotton, flax, sugar, cattle, sheep, hog, horse, mule, wool, hide, lumber, petroleum, manganese, molybdenum, magnesium, aluminium, mercury, sulphur, nitrate, potash, phosphorous, mica, fire-clay, limestone, and gypsum. In these China is self-sufficient, not by the American standard but by her own standard of initial industrialization, not because these deposits are inexhaustible but because there is a possibility of increased production of them to meet increased demand.

The eight of the third category, in which China is not self-sufficient and has to depend on the outside world for supply, are : rubber, iron, nickel, chromium, vanadium, copper, lead and zinc. The most serious shortage is in iron of which China has only 1 per cent of the World's total deposits though she has 25% of the world's total population. And then, three quarters of her iron deposits lie in Manchuria, at present in Japanese hands.

Fortunately for China, what she lacks can be had from either neighbouring territories or friendly states. Rubber and chromium can be had from neighbours like Malaya and India, nickel from friendly powers like Canada, vanadium from Peru, and iron, copper, lead and zinc from China's greatest friend, the U. S. A.

IV

Will China have enough savings to embark upon the ambitious programme of Dr. Sun's?

Chinese statistical data are woefully incomplete and any statement as regards China's savings can at best be an inference. Since there has been an inflation after the outbreak of the War, computations are made on the basis of pre-war figures. Between 1934 and 1937, the average revenue that China's Central, Provin-

¹ Dr. Wu Ching-chao.

cial and Local (hsien) Governments got was around \$1,364 million. That part of her imports which could really represent the Chinese people's savings was about \$328 million. Savings accounts in Chinese banks totalled to about \$555 million. Put together : \$2,247 million.

Of this sum, only something like \$108 million was expended for reconstruction by the Governments. Of the imports, those that had direct bearing on economic activities such as, iron, asphalt, coal, machinery and machine tools, totalled to about \$261 million in value. Of the savings, about \$100 million were used to finance reconstruction, the rest being used for speculation, etc. Total for economic enterprises : \$470 million (pre-War value). This sum is manifestly insufficient for economic reconstruction if we compare it with Russia's 38,000 million rubles a year.

The truth is that China's national income is too meagre. According to Tawney and Clark (colin), it is about £4315 million, equivalent to pre-War \$69,040 million. According to Chinese economists: \$53,750. Taking the average, it cannot be much over \$61,400 million, or \$136 for each individual Chinese. Compare that with the Englishman's £59 (even in wartime 1918, equivalent to \$940) or the German's Mk. 583 (even in the year of the 4-year Plan, 1937, equivalent to \$466), and we shall see why the Chinese people have not much to spare for economic reconstruction.

This situation could be remedied somewhat by the following measures :

1. If the taxation system could be improved to net the Governments a yearly \$2,000 million, 20% of it for reconstruction would be \$400 million.

2. If production of necessities could be stepped up so as to pull down the need for importing same, and if imports could be so controlled that 70% of the \$1,000 million purchasing power would be used in purchasing needed machineries, etc., there would then be \$700 million for reconstruction.

3. If the Chinese Government could devise measures to canalize all the people's savings into banks and if these savings could be stepped up from \$555 million to \$1,000 million 70% of which to be used for economic enterprises, there would be again \$700 million for China's industries.

The total—\$1,800 million—would be four times the amount at present available. Even this (equivalent : U. S. \$550 million) is too little when we compare it with the United States expenditure.

It follows that China must make use of foreign capital. Accordingly, the Chinese Government this year promulgated a set of regulations for the use of foreign capital, giving it very favourable treatment.

V

China's industries had been concentrated on the coastal regions, with Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton as their focal points. This has not been without reason: the coastal regions produce the raw materials, have access to the necessary machineries from abroad, and the easiest labour supply.

After the outbreak of the war with Japan, what was left over after Japanese plunder and destruction has been moved into the interior, there to eke out a precarious existence amidst a thousand and one hardships. After this dearly-bought experience, it is generally realized in China that wisdom consists in not putting all the eggs in one basket and that from now on Chinese industries have to be diffused and spread over at least seven industrial zones :

1. The Northeast Zone (Liaoning, Kirin, Heilung-kiang, Jehol)

a. Area : 1,247,256 sq. km.

b. Population : 28,543,985.

c. Staple products : wheat, sorghum, soybean, hide, lumber, coal, iron, manganese, aluminium, gold, shale oil, salt.

2. The North China Zone (Charhar, Suiyuan, Hopei, Shantung, Shansi, Honan)

a. Area : 1,231,628 sq. km.

b. Population : 116,754,702

c. Staple products : wheat, sorghum, millet, corn soybean, sweet potato, peanut, cotton, sesame, match, tobacco, hide, coal, iron, aluminium, gold, salt.

3. The Northwest Zone (Ninghsia, Shensi, Kansu, Chinghai, Sinkiang)

a. Area : 3,379,437 sq. km.

b. Population : 23,030,794

c. Staple products : wheat, oat, sorghum, millet, corn, wool, hide, milk and cheese, coal, petrol, salt.

4. The East China Zone (Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei)

a. Area : 353,650 sq. km.

b. Population : 81,064,288

c. Staple products : rice, wheat, soybean, peanut, rape, cotton, silk, tea, tobacco, tung-oil, coal, iron.

5. The Central China Zone (Hupei, Hunan, Kiangsi)

a. Area : 565,044 sq. km.

b. Population : 69,614,213

c. Staple products : rice, wheat, barley; sorghum, rape, sugar-cane, cotton, jute, tea, tung-oil, tobacco, coal, iron, manganese, wolfram, molybdenum, antimony, tin, lead, zinc, gold, mercury.

6. The South China Zone (Kwangtung, Fukien, Kwangsi)

- a. Area : 558,969 sq. km.
- b. Population : 57,593,651
- c. Staple products : Rice, sweet potato, sugar-cane, silk, tea, hide, coal, iron, manganese, wolfram, molybdenum, salt.
- 7. The Southwest Zone (Szechuan, Sikang, Kwei-chow, Yunnan)
 - a. Area : 1386,067 sq. km.
 - b. Population : 75,635,548
- c. Staple products : rice, wheat, barley, oat, sorghum, corn, rape, sugar-cane, silk, tobacco, tung-oil, wool, hide, bristle, lumber, coal, iron, nickel, copper, lead, zinc, aluminium, tin, mercury, gold, petrol, salt, phosphorus.

It is a common characteristic of all the seven zones that man-power is rich everywhere. Even the Northwest Zone with the low population is exceeded by only the U. S. A. and Brazil in the Americas and by none in Africa. The North China Zone is exceeded by only India, Soviet Union, and the U. S. A. The East China Zone is roughly equal to Germany in man-power.

In order to instill more system into China's program of industrialization, it is agreed on all sides that each zone shall have *all* of the following ten industries, so interlocked as to make each a help to the development of others, but not necessarily producing the same kind of products : namely, steel industry, machine industry, power industry, chemical industry, munition industry, food industry, clothing industry, housing industry, communications industry, and printing industry.

VI

In his recent book on the post-war peace problem, Bridge Expert Culbertson flatters China by saying that, given thirty years of industrialization, China will become the most powerful nation on earth because of her immense man-power. But he fears that unless China's land problem is solved, her industrialisation will compel her to be imperialistic like Japan.

Because Japan's land problem has not been solved to the enrichment of the peasantry who constitute 60% of her total population and therefore the greatest single factor in her domestic market, Japan's mass-produced industrial products have had to seek overseas markets in order to keep the home industries going and the home fire burning. It is imperialism that forces the Japanese Empire to collide with other world empires. There is an industrial logic in Japan's expansion : it is a case of either external expansion or internal crack-up.

In contrast to Japan, the United States' home market has been made so spongy and absorbent by a series of anti-monopoly, (*e.g.*, Sherman Anti-Trust Act) and anti-big estate

(*e.g.*, Homestead Act) laws that America can afford to retreat from her imperialism in Cuba and the Philippines. Less than 5% of American motorcars are sold abroad; more than 95% of Japanese silk have to be sold in America.

In China, 75 to 80 per cent of the population are peasants who pay to their landlords in rental 60 per cent of their produces, leaving only 40% of what they can wring from one-third of an acre of land (the average size of a Chinese farm) to meet multiple expenses in daily food, housing, fuel, marriage, childbirth, funeral, etc. It is obvious that such a peasantry makes a very poor market. The non-absorbentness of the home market will, it is certain, impede if not destroy China's program of industrialization.

Therefore, the proper approach to China's economic problem is through land. The solution of the agrarian problem must come before that of the industrial problem. With this in mind, Dr. Sun laid down two tenets in his third principle of people's livelihood: equalization of land rights, and limitation of private capital, and the first comes first. Without equalization of land rights, Chinese peasantry will stay as impoverished as they have been, the purchasing power of the Chinese nation will for ever be low, and the home market will not be able to support an ambitious industrial system.

The way to equalize land rights as prescribed by Dr. Sun is simple : The Government would require all landlords to report on the values of their lands; if the declared value is above the legitimate market value, the Government would tax the land on the basis of the former; if the declared value is below the market value, the Government would exercise the right of eminent domain to buy it out. Ever after that, any increment in the value of the land would be taken by the Government on the ground that such increment is the result of society's growth, care being taken to reimburse the landlord for whatever he has expended on it. With that, the Government would embark upon a program somewhat like what has been experimented upon in Denmark ; lending money to the farmer to buy his own land. The goal to be attained is that the tiller of the soil should own the land he tills.

Such is, in very brief outline, China's economic plan after the war. Dr. Sun's Plan is still the last official word. Whether the Plan, drawn up in an age that knew nothing of air transportation and when man was still ocean-minded, would be revised or not to meet new situations arising out of the use of the aeroplane for transport remains to be seen.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN-II

By H. C MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

THOSE who have studied the reports of the three Round Table Conferences which preceded the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, are aware that the spokesmen of the Indian communities based their demands for representation in the legislatures and the services on different grounds.

For instance, the representatives of the Hindu Mahasabha expressing the views of the communal-minded sections of their community demanded that the representation accorded should be proportional to the numerical strength of each group. The Muslim spokesmen referring to the historical importance of their community, the number of soldiers it contributed to the Indian Army demanded weightage in their favour. Similarly, the Sikhs spoke of their martial traditions and demanded larger representation than what they were entitled to on the basis of numbers only. The Anglo-Indian representative referred to the loyalty of his community to the Crown and its past services in the railways, telegraphs, customs, etc., and pointed out how its members had always rallied to the support of the British Government whenever it had been faced by a crisis as during the Mutiny and in the last world war.

The representatives of the European community were not in any way behindhand in drawing attention to the importance of its non-official section in the spheres of commerce, industry, etc. And it is noteworthy that here they were merely repeating the views expressed in official publications according to which its importance depends on the social services rendered by it, the prosperity of India due to European commerce and the part it has played in developing our industries. In addition, the desirability of affording protection to property including capital invested in India as a condition of good government was also pointed out.

In what follows, it is proposed to examine the second of these claims with a view to ascertaining whether the representation in Indian legislatures and the economic safeguards accorded to the non-official European community can be fully justified by reason of the benefits conferred on Indians by the development of our commerce under its leadership.

II

In Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chesterfield Report of 1918 it is stated that

"When complaints are rife that European commercial interests are selfish and drain the country (India) of wealth which it ought to retain, it is well to remind ourselves how much of India's prosperity is due to European commerce."

Sir Reginald Craddock writing in 1929 has also referred to

"the benefits which India has received from British capital and British commercial enterprise."

The above two extracts are typical of the views held by Europeans in general.

The opinion of Dr. Vera Anstey (*The Economic Development of India*, p. 103) that

"In no country is it possible to distinguish sharply between industrial, commercial, and financial organisation"

is so obviously true that it is needless to prove its correctness the more so because very often in India the same set of European businessmen act as traders, promoters of industries and as bankers.

For purposes of clear exposition, we shall confine our discussion to the consideration of the interchange of commodities between India and the West and find out, if possible, where the balance of advantage flowing from this overseas trade lies.

III

One of the best descriptions of our old economic system is found on page 8 of the Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture where we are told that

"With no large towns, no industrial population on the modern scale and little or no means of export overseas, the production of food-grains and other agricultural produce was perfectly confined to the demand for local consumption. When favourable seasons yielded a surplus, this was stored. Such stores were common, for the surplus could not be sold and storage was the obvious means of disposing it."

So far as the procurement of goods other than agricultural produce was concerned, the Indian Industrial Commission on pages 2 to 3 of its report pointed out that

"In earlier times, every village not only grew most of its food, but either provided from its own resources or obtained from close at hand its few simple wants. Its cloth, and often the raw material for it, its sugar, its dyes, its oil for food or lighting, its household vessels, and agricultural implements were manufactured or produced either by the cultivator himself or by the village craftsmen, who were members of the village community and were remunerated by a share of its produce."

That the economic self-sufficiency of villages resulting from unsatisfactory transport is not peculiar to India is proved by what W. L.

Anderson has said in his *Country Town* where, while explaining the economic independence of both rural areas and country towns in America about a century and a half ago he says that

"Merchandise and produce that could not stand a freight charge of \$15 per ton could not be carried overland to a consumer 150 miles from the point of production; as roads were, a distance of 50 miles from market often made industrial independence expedient. Where the produce of the farm could not be sold, where wood and lumber were not marketable, the people had no resource but to raise their own flax and wool and spin and weave and make their own clothing. Other crafts felt these influences, although the working of wood, metals, and leather fell to skilled artisans in the village rather than to the household."

All this is sufficient to prove that conditions such as those which prevailed in our rural areas and which have not disappeared altogether *viz.*, the prominence of agriculture and the isolation and self-sufficiency of villages are to be seen in every part of the world being imposed on them by transport difficulties.

IV

The Industrial Revolution in England which had been completed by the middle of the nineteenth century led to the utilisation of steam power and the perfection of all types of machinery thus making the processes of manufacture cheaper and more efficient. This went hand in hand with the improvement and expansion of transport facilities which rendered the carrying of bulky raw produce such as food-grains, fibres such as cotton and jute, and oil seeds from India to Britain and the movement from Britain to India of the increased output of her factories, mills, etc., quick and inexpensive.

British administrators very clearly realised the advantages which would accrue to commercial interests in Britain by opening up the interior parts of India. That at that time all the emphasis was laid on this factor becomes quite clear from what Lord Dalhousie wrote in his famous Minute of 1853 where, among other reasons for the building of railways, he pointed out that

"England is calling aloud for the cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce sufficient in quality and plentiful in quantity if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from the distant plains to the several ports adapted for its shipment. Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended...with an increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India."

From the above, it is evident that Lord Dalhousie foresaw that the revolution in the transport system of India which he proposed to bring about by the introduction of railways,

roads and telegraphs was bound, sooner or later, to stimulate the export of Indian raw products grown in the interior and the import of British manufactures which would be carried to the remotest corners of India. These tendencies were greatly strengthened by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 which saved not only time but also reduced the cost of carriage by a material diminution of the distance to be covered.

While it is freely admitted that one of the reasons for the extension of railways in India was protection against famine, the present writer is not prepared to acknowledge that it was the only or the principal one. Other and less altruistic motives also had their influence in shaping the railway policy. And he is fortified in his opinion by the views expressed in the Report of the (all-British) Committee on Railways in India appointed four years after the Famine Commission of 1880 which had found that famine mortality was lowest in areas where transport facilities were at their best. Suggesting the rapid extension of railway construction in India, this Committee gave its reasons for pushing it forward vigorously. In order of importance these were (1) the prevention of famine, (2) development of trade, external and internal, (3) production of more profitable crops in areas reached by railways where, under the conditions there prevailing, the Railway Committee had obviously in mind the export trade in our raw products, (4) exploitation of coal fields primarily to feed the railways, the steamships and the industries then being organised in India under European leadership and (5) improvement of the economic condition of the people which again in those days of *laissez-faire*, could not imply the development of indigenous industries.

Two facts have to be kept in mind when we think of the construction of railways in India—their alignment and their rate-fixing policy. So far as the former is concerned, we find that Lord Dalhousie, the first to conceive the idea, showed the way by trying to link the interior of each province to some convenient port on the coast. It was therefore that when construction of railways began, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were selected as the starting points of the Indian railway system, the idea being that food-grains and other bulky raw materials obtained from the interior parts would be carried cheaply and quickly to the ports and thence shipped to England.

For instance, the first extensions from Calcutta were to the coal-fields in the Raniganj

area and the fertile but congested North-West Province, thence to large cities like Cawnpore and Delhi through Mirzapore and Allahabad. Similarly, Bombay was connected with Ahmedabad then a commercial centre and the Gujarat cotton tract, with Nagpur, Khandesh and the Berar cotton tract and Sholapur with the adjacent Karnatic cotton tract. The systematic adherence to this deliberate policy by the British administration has led the well-known Indian economist, D. R. Gadgil, Director, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, to say on page 133 of his *Industrial Evolution of India* that

"The routes taken from the ports were generally sketched with the intention of traversing the important agricultural tracts of the interior, so as to facilitate the export of agricultural produce."

It is hardly necessary to add that the railway system linking the big ports with our large internal centres of trade was also an equally efficient instrument for facilitating the import of British manufactures.

It was only natural that, under circumstances such as these, the rate-fixing policy should be largely determined by the bias towards the development of the foreign import and export trade of India rather than by the demands of the internal trade. This policy which remained unchanged till 1914, hampered the industrial development of India, a fact admitted in Chapter XIX of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission which expressed the view that "generally speaking, favourable rates for raw produce moving to the ports have resulted."

We also find Mr. T. Robertson, Special Commissioner, stating in his *Report on the Administration and Working of the Indian Railways* (1903) that

"The rates had been particularly hard on the industrial centres in the interior of the country, and had resulted in a concentration of industries at the ports."

This gentleman, however, failed to point out that another obvious result of this policy was that the differential rates conferred certain advantages on foreign industries in their competition with Indian industries established in the interior areas.

Official committees and commissions like the Holland Industries Commission, the Indian Fiscal Commission and the Ackworth Railway Commission, all appointed at much later dates, have admitted that the rates were manipulated in such a manner as to deny the same facilities for the movement of goods from one part of India to another within the country itself as those

enjoyed by the foreign trade thus indirectly discouraging our nascent industries.

The fact that our railway and, along with it, our economic policy was shaped in such a way as to subserve the interests of industrial Britain whether by providing it with raw materials on the one hand or with a market for its products on the other was realised long ago by that eminent son of India, M. G. Ranade, who pointed out on page 106 of his *Essays on Indian Economics* that

"The great Indian dependency of England has during this (nineteenth) century come to supply the place of the old colonies. This dependency has come to be regarded as a plantation, growing raw produce to be shipped by the British agents in British ships, to be worked into manufactured articles by British skill and capital, and to be re-exported to this dependency by British merchants to their corresponding British firms in India and elsewhere."

VI

Britons engaged in commerce in India, like the shrewd men they were, realised at once the economic advantages they could derive from the peculiar situation in which India was placed by the exchange of her raw products for the cheap factory made goods of England and they were not slow in devoting themselves to the development of our import and export trade which they succeeded in monopolising till their supremacy in this sphere was challenged first by Germany and then by Japan. How British interests were saved through Imperial Preference and discriminating protection is a story which the present writer has no desire to tell now.

It may, however, be said here that the large investment of British capital under guarantee of favourable terms in Indian railways, their management by British companies, the British control of shipping and specially of credit organisations such as Exchange and Joint-Stock banks (another interesting and revealing story), the establishment of powerful trade organisations such as the British export houses either affiliated to or branches of very influential English concerns and of the European (*i.e.*, British) Chambers of Commerce and, lastly, the power of shaping the fiscal policy of India were some of the means adopted to keep the commerce of India in the hands of British commercial interests.

To refer to only one of these factors, the advantages derived from the control of credit organisations, we find Dr. Vera Anstey, Lecturer in Commerce, London School of Economics, admitting in her contribution entitled "The

"Trader" in *India Analysed* (Vol. II, p. 133) that

"Foreigners, especially British traders and bankers, still undertake a large part of the actual overseas trade, and the financing of such trade to and from the great ports is almost entirely in the hands of the exchange banks, the Imperial Bank and of European-managed joint-stock banks."

Continuing, the same author proves the practical monopoly by Europeans of this type of business by observing that

"No less than 17 exchange banks (whose headquarters are abroad) are at present (in 1934) at work in India," etc.

That Indians should feel discontent with this state of things is natural. Of late, this has been turned into resentment on account of certain reasons to which reference was made by the Chairman of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce in his speech delivered at its meeting held on the 4th March, 1944, at Delhi. Here he stated that the export trade of India was now a virtual monopoly of a few big importing and exporting houses, mainly foreign, and that the very few Indians who had somehow managed to squeeze themselves in were being gradually and systematically weeded out altogether from India's foreign trade.

Granting for the sake of argument that there is a certain amount of exaggeration in the above statement, there is little doubt that, on the whole, it presents a fairly correct picture of the actual situation.

VII

As regards the benefits derived by rural India from the export of our raw products which has, on the whole, been the monopoly of European businessmen through their different commercial and industrial organisations mentioned previously, the Royal Agriculture Commission stated that it has resulted in an "increase in wealth" of our cultivators. The Indian Industrial Commission on pages 3 and 4 of its report explains this by saying that this export trade has rendered

"available to the (Indian) farmer in his distant and land-locked village a large share of the price offered by far-off nations for articles which once merely supplied the needs of Indian rural life,"

where obviously the local prices were formerly lower than the international prices secured through the export trade.

Some reference has now to be made to the emergence of middlemen and wholesale dealers, generally Indian, who act as the agents of the European exporters. Formerly, where the ordinary village traders with their modest capital

were in a position to finance the cultivation and the ordinary movements of crops in the limited areas within which these operations were carried on, they could not do so when India was linked to the world markets. The result was that cultivators had to secure such finance as they needed from this new race of middlemen and wholesalers.

The Indian Industrial Commission on page 5 of its report pointed out the results of the situation thus created in the following terms:

"The position of the peasant farmer, with grain, seeds or cotton to sell, and at the same time heavily indebted to his only possible purchaser, effectively prevents him from obtaining a fair market price for his crop."

The reason for the failure to secure a fair price for his commodities, in the language of the Indian Industrial Commission, is that

"The export trade from country districts suffers from the existence of an undue number of middlemen who intercept a large share of the profits."

Obviously, the Industrial Commission itself proves beyond any doubt that, granting that the Indian farmer gets a higher price for his money crops, the major part of the profits does not come to him.

This matter has also been noticed by Dr. P. Pillai, an economist somewhat conservative in his outlook who, on page 24 of his *Economic Conditions in India*, has said that

"The rapid growth of the export trade brought in its train an army of unscrupulous middlemen, who intercepted a large part of the ryots' profits."

VIII

Formerly, the Indian agriculturist experienced a certain sense of security when favourable monsoon conditions and untiring labour combined to give him a bumper crop. Today, he has to grow what are called money crops to meet his liabilities which have to be paid in cash. But the linking up of the Indian cultivator with the Western consumer of his products has not proved an unmixed blessing for the price at which he has to sell his crops is not determined by local but by international conditions.

A bumper crop, say of cotton, in the United States and Egypt must, if we too have an abundant crop in India, depress its price in our motherland. Lack of holding power forces the Indian cultivator to sell even when he is offered a price which fails to cover the actual cost of production. Every one possessing some knowledge about our export trade in agricultural products is aware that this is an undeniable fact.

While it is admitted that such things are inevitable under present conditions, this does not prove that the Indian cultivator has always been a gainer by being thrust into the whirlpool of the world market.

But one thing is clear, whether the Indian agriculturist secures a remunerative price or not, the middleman ordinarily gets his share of the profits on such transactions as are put through. Similarly, the exporter, generally European, who buys and sells at the prevailing prices, faces nothing but the normal risks of trading in addition to which, now and again, his superior holding power enables him to add considerably to his profits.

IX

That prosperity has been brought to the countryside through the export trade in our raw products to which the Royal Agriculture Commission had referred, has been sought to be proved by pointing out that

"Articles like sugar, kerosene oil, cotton piece-goods, silks and woollens, boots and shoes, apparel, matches, soap, etc., which were once articles of luxury, only within the reach of the wealthier classes, are now in much wider use."

It may also be added that villagers now use aluminium ware, tea, umbrellas, bangles, mirrors and even sewing machines and cheap bicycles.

There can be little doubt that the increasing use by villagers of these articles is due to changes in the standard of living arising from Western influences. It may, however, be stated that these luxuries have to be paid for in hard cash to secure which they have to enter the world market for the sale of their products with consequences pointed out already.

But after everything has been said, the fact remains that the use of these luxury articles is confined to a small fraction of the rural folk. On pages 11 and 151 of its report, the Indian Industrial Commission drew attention to the small extent to which the standard of living in rural India has been affected by the economic forces now in operation in our country and in that connection stated that

"The poverty of the Indian peasant precludes most novel forms of expenditure."

It also said on page 7 of its report that

"The effect of the use of imported and factory-made articles on the standard of comfort of the rural population has been generally small."

Indians feel that only arm-chair economists who have no personal and intimate knowledge of the conditions of rural life as can be obtained

by living in the homes of our agriculturists, can afford to indulge in generalisations based on obviously insufficient knowledge of actual facts.

X

We have so far dealt with the export of our agricultural products which the Indian producer is often compelled to sell at a loss. There is, however, some consolation in the thought that if proper steps are taken, we may, in times to come, be able to obviate this difficulty. Matters are on a different and a more serious footing when we consider the question of the irretrievable loss we are suffering through the not always prudent way in which our mineral assets have been and, in some cases, are still being exploited, generally by Europeans.

Apart from the inadequacy of the Indian share of the advantages derived from the mining industry to which some reference is made below, we cannot regard the exploitation of the mineral resources which are not subject to natural growth and recovery, as in any way a benefit conferred on us by non-Indians. Outstanding Indian leaders like Thakersey and Mudholkar, etc., who can, by no stretch of the imagination, be regarded as extremists, have felt the economic loss India has been suffering through the alien exploitation of our minerals so intensely that they have gone even so far as to suggest that it would be to our ultimate interest to suspend their extraction till such time that we are in a position to undertake the entire responsibility for not only raising but also for utilising them in industries to be started by us.

The absence of a proper mineral policy on the part of the British administration aimed at the conservation and wise utilisation of our mineral resources has made it easy for foreign concerns to acquire mineral rights on the basis of lease often for practically nominal payments over some of our best mines. Urged by the profit motive, many of them have been very reckless in the way in which they have extracted the minerals, a fact easily proved by a glance through the pages of the Burrows Report.

While very high dividends have gone to the shareholders, the only benefits derived by the Indians have consisted in the generally inadequate wages paid to labour and the nominal royalties given to the owners.

In this connection, the reader may be referred to the chapter dealing with industrial wages in Mr. B. Shiva Rao's well-known *Industrial Labour in India* and to the re-

marks of Sir Thomas Holland, President of the Industries Commission of 1916-18, on the extraction and export of manganese ore.

There cannot be much doubt that, as in the case of the export trade in agricultural products, it is the European businessman who enjoys the lion's share of the benefits.

XI

The self-sufficient economy of our old time villages was referred to by the Indian Industrial Commission when, at the very opening of its report, it pointed out that all the non-food requirements of villagers were generally provided either by the agriculturists themselves or by the village craftsmen.

The Industrial Revolution in England deriving its strength from large-scale production, complex division of labour, efficient manufacturing and marketing organisation and improved transport and communications introduced a new element in the placid life of rural India. This became easier on account of the revolution in transport and communication caused by the construction of roads and railways and the opening up of our waterways by the starting of steamer lines. The new towns served as distributing centres, and even remote parts of the interior were thrown open to the inrush of cheap machine-made goods.

That great friend of Indian handicraftsmen, Sir Alfred Chatterton who, among other things, popularised chrome tanning and introduced the aluminium industry in India was referring to the Indian factors of the situation when on page 20 of his *Industrial Evolution in India* he said that

"Roads, railways, telegraphs, the construction of the Suez Canal, and every improvement in the means of transport both by sea and land have contributed to the difficulties, and in many cases, to the ultimate discomfiture of the Indian artisan."

On page 130 of his *Development of Capitalist Enterprise in India*, Dr. D. H. Buchanan explains the difficulties of the village craftsmen in the following terms :

"The railways and steamships have made it possible for European power manufacturers to offer the Indian farmers much better terms than the Indian village craftsmen could give. Self-sufficing local economy has been displaced by international specialisation and trade, much to the discomfiture of the Indian craftsmen."

Emphasising the unemployment to which this state of things has led, the same author on page 471 of his above-mentioned book has said :

"The Europeans were able to outbid the Indian craftsman on two important scores. They could pay more for Indian grain and cotton than he could afford and they could sell manufactures cheaper than he could

make them. Thus the farmers sold the produce abroad and bought power-manufactures from Manchester and Birmingham, while the craftsmen who had formerly been paid in food were left with neither occupation nor income."

Where a National Government would have done everything in its power to help the village handicraftsmen suffering from the formidable competition of machine-made imports, the British administration was not only indifferent to their interests but occasionally went out of its way to assist English manufacturers in exploiting the Indian market, a fact proved by what Sir Alfred Chatterton, himself a British official, observed in his book mentioned above. Here he stated that

"Assistance has in more than one case been given directly to the efforts of English manufacturers to exploit Indian markets, whilst the industrious artisan has been left severely alone to combat as best he can the growing difficulties of his position."

The two outstanding evils of this system were summed up by M. G. Ranade, one of the earliest and most discerning students of our economic problems on page 107 of his *Essays on Indian Economics* in the following terms :

"As one result of the change (brought about by the Industrial Revolution in England and the provision of improved facilities of communication in India), the gradual ruralisation of this great dependency (India), and the rapid decadence of native manufacturing trade became distinctly marked."

XII

It is true that in England, the change over from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial economy involved great hardship for the handicraftsmen as also that the Parliament did nothing to minimise their sufferings by taking steps calculated to make the transition easy. There, however, these men, after a sharp but brief period of agony, were absorbed by the new large industries the demand for labour on the part of which was so intense that the whole country was urbanised.

In India, however, the craftsmen whose occupation was gone were thrown back on the land. Many became landless labourers and their economic position grew worse. Even those who succeeded in securing land did not, on account of lack of experience, make good husbandmen and India experienced growing ruralisation, a fact amply proved by the census statistics in regard to the percentage of the population depending on agriculture for their living.

According to the census of 1891, the percentage of the agricultural to the whole population was 61. In 1901, it was 65.2; in 1911, 69.8; in 1921, 70.9. It has been held that if the same

method of counting had been followed by the census authorities in 1931, the percentage would have been nearly 75. From such information as is available to the present writer, it appears that the figures of the 1941 census indicate a further increase in the percentage of the agricultural to the total population.

We have also to remember that the negligible increase of about 4 per cent only in the urban population in the seventy years between 1871 and 1941, is so abnormally small that this also proves our growing ruralisation and the dependence of the majority of our people for their living on that most uncertain and most unsatisfactory of callings, agriculture.

XIII

The attention of Indians is very often called to the enormous increase in our imports and exports and the conclusion drawn that this is a sign of our economic progress. We maintain that a mere increase in the volume of our foreign trade does not necessarily imply a corresponding increase in our national wealth and welfare.

We feel that our political subordination to a highly industrialised country which cannot altogether ignore the interests of its own nationals and the numerous advantages enjoyed by foreign business in the shape of banking, insurance, shipping and other facilities have led to the emergence of a system under which our exports have increased the economic prosperity of Britain and other Western countries and, by killing our old time industries and handicrafts, converted India into a market for their manufacturers.

The best that can be said in favour of the Niagara flood of cheap imported articles is that it enables the Indian to make some gains by buying them in a cheap market, a fact specially true of cotton piecegoods. As against this, we must remember the destruction of our village and cottage industries, the growth of a landless proletariat and the occasional financial strain thrown on the resources of the administration which has to give them relief in times of scarcity or downright famine. What is regrettable is that India can produce nearly all the cheap imported articles which have displaced the products of her village artisans if only sufficient care is taken of their interests.

The conclusion we are entitled to draw from the facts already placed before the reader is that those Britons who buy our raw products in order to sell them at higher prices, the British industrialists engaged in the manufacture of articles imported into our motherland and the

British businessmen who place them on the Indian market benefit more than the Indian people as a whole. Another conclusion equally warranted by facts is that none of these men was ever in the past or is today engaged in these commercial activities for the benefit of anyone except themselves.

We contend that the need for our raw products by the industrialised nations and specially by Britain is greater than our need for such articles as we import from them and that, under these circumstances, we have the right to expect that the major part of the advantages which accrue from our foreign trade should be enjoyed by us though this, most unfortunately, has rarely been the case.

We hold that we could have developed our agricultural and mineral resources more satisfactorily and could have manufactured most of the goods we import if, as a politically free country, we had enjoyed the power of protecting our home market against foreign competition—in other words, if we had complete freedom in controlling our foreign trade policy. And we also maintain that this would actually have been the case if we had absolute control over our fiscal policy and could manipulate our currency and exchange with an eye to our own interests.

XIV

From what has appeared previously, it is quite clear that the major part of the profits resulting from both the import and export trade has been secured by European trade and commerce. Such modest benefits as have been derived by India from our foreign trade and commerce have come in as a by-product, a fact acknowledged in Paragraph 344 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report where, after expressing the view that "India has benefited enormously by her commercial development"—India is not prepared to swallow the "enormously" part of the statement—it goes on to say that this benefit "was incidental and not the purpose of the undertaking."

After this admission, any attempt on the part of Europeans to convince Indians that they have sought what the latter consider excessive representation in our legislatures as well as special economic advantages in order to advance our economic interests is doomed to failure. On the other hand, Indians would retort by saying that they have secured this representation to safeguard and, if possible, to extend those advantages which have hitherto enabled them to carry on their business operations in India

and that, conscious of Indian resentment at their past indifference to our economic interests, they have been compelled to ask for and secure special economic safeguards from their countrymen.

M. Davies in his well-known *Warren Hastings* has given certain reasons why in those far-off days Britons lived and worked in our motherland though, for most of them, "life in India," in his language, "was a race against death."

"One thing only had brought these Englishmen to India, one thing only held them there: Money. Their object was to make enough money so that they could return to England, there to live in ease and comfort for the rest of their days."

It is contended that from the facts set forth above, Indians are entitled to draw the conclusion that though life in our motherland has become easier for the Briton and though disease does not take so high a toll of British life as it did formerly, the century and a half or more which have elapsed since the days of Warren

Hastings have not made any difference in the attitude of the average British businessman.

Economic and Political India maintains that the revolution in transport and the small amount of commercial prosperity conferred on us by the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures are no adequate compensation for the sufferings to which they have led or the damage they have inflicted. No credit is due to those who planned an un-coordinated system of transport, partly the result of military considerations and partly of administrative and commercial reasons, using it, at least occasionally, for their own purposes. Nor can we feel excessively grateful to those others who organised the exploitation of our money crops and mineral resources and of our need for manufactures for the purpose of making profits. And it has always seemed preposterous that these last should base their claims for over-representation in our legislatures and for the enjoyment of economic privileges on the ground that they have added to our prosperity by engaging in trade and commerce in India.

AN EYE-WITNESS'S ACCOUNT OF THE FAMINE OF 1770 IN CALCUTTA

By NANI GOPAL CHOWDHURI, M.A.

VERELST was succeeded by Cartier in the Governorship of Bengal on the 26th December, 1769. His administration was ushered in by a long-continued drought in consequence of which Bengal and Bihar had to face a terrible famine from the beginning of 1770. From the month of April the famine raged furiously over Bihar, North Bengal and West Bengal and showed no signs of abatement till the end of October, 1770. The famine carried off, according to the estimation of Warren Hastings, one-third of the total populace of Bengal leaving the country in utter destitution. The rigour of the famine was not felt in Calcutta till the month of April. The country-side of Bengal and Bihar was badly affected by the famine and the famished people from the adjoining villages were seen crawling towards big cities like Calcutta, Murshidabad and Patna. The dead bodies of those who sank under the effort lay strewn on both sides of the roads leading to the cities. By the month of April Calcutta became a city of misery. The condition of Calcutta has been vividly depicted in the letter written by an English officer in the Company's Service in Calcutta to one Mr. J. C. in England who

got it published in *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* for the month of September, 1771. It took at least six months for the letter to reach England; so it may be assumed that the letter was written a few months after the famine had ceased. The writer of the letter was an eye-witness to the miseries described therein. A few relevant passages from the letter are quoted below. The foot-notes are added by me:

"As soon as the dryness of the season foretold the approaching dearness of rice, our Gentlemen in the Company's Service, particularly those at the subordinates,¹ whose stations

1. The reference is to the English Supervisors who were appointed during the administration of Cartier to look after the welfare of the people and to supervise the work of the Indian revenue Collectors so that no oppression might be committed by the latter upon the raiyats. The Plan of Supervisorship was adumbrated by Verelst and was put into operation during the rule of Cartier. Each district was placed under the charge of an English Supervisor. The Supervisors were the precursors of the Collectors of modern time. The Supervisors took charge of their respective districts in the month of March, 1770 when Bengal was in the grip of the famine.

gave them the best opportunities, were as early as possible in buying up all they could lay hold of. When the effects of scarcity became more and more sensible, the natives complained to the Nabob at Muxadabad, that the English had engrossed all the rice, particularly in the Bahar and Purnea Provinces.² This complaint was laid before the President and Council by the Nabob's minister, who resides in Calcutta; but the interest of the Gentlemen concerned was too powerful at the board; so that the complaint was only laughed at and thrown out.³ Our Gentlemen in many places purchased the rice at 120 and 140 seers for a rupee, which they afterwards sold for 15 seers for a rupee, to the Black Merchants; so that the persons principally concerned have made great fortunes by it; and one of our writers at the Durbar,⁴ who was interested therein, not esteemed to be worth a thousand rupees last year, has sent down as it is said, 60,000£ sterling, to be remitted home this year. The Black Merchants, who had made their gross purchases from our gentlemen, brought down great quantities of their rice, and

2. Many Europeans as well as Indians, both official and non-official, accused the English Supervisors in general of a monopoly of rice in their respective districts. Among those who accused the English Supervisors or their *gostasthas* mention may be made of men like Becher, the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad, Muhammad Riza Khan, the Naib Nazim and Naib Diwan, (Ref.: Letter from Becher to the Council, 7th January, 1770 included in Mr. Graham's minute—Secret and Separate Progs.—3rd March 1774) and Warren Hastings. (Ref.: Letter from Warren Hastings to Colebrooke, 26th March, 1772).

3. Though regular enquiries were held into the conduct of Muhammad Riza Khan and Devi Singh, Diwan of Purnea, for the alleged monopoly of rice during the famine, no such enquiries were held into the conduct of English Supervisors though the Court of Directors repeatedly enjoined the Council at Fort William to make special enquiry into the alleged monopoly of rice by the Supervisors and to punish those who might be found guilty. (Ref : (i) General letter from Court, 10th April 1770, (ii) *Ibid*—28th August 1771). The Court of Directors specially mentioned the name of the Resident (Supervisor) of Hooghly in this connection, but he was let off after he had been reprimanded by the Governor (Ref: Postscript to the letter from Court, 18th December 1771). For this negligence on the part of the Council the Court of Directors came to the conclusion that either those persons were officers of some rank in the Company's service or an unholy alliance might have existed between the Supervisors and some of the members of the Council (Ref : (i) General letter from Court, 28th August 1771—para II. (ii) General letter from Court, 18th December 1771).

4. This is a covered hint to Mr. Becher, the Resident at the Durbar at Murshidabad; but Mr. Becher's benevolent exertions for the relief of the famished people during the famine stand in the way of implicating him in this nefarious transaction.

deposited it in the Golahs or Granaries about Calcutta, where, very unfortunately for the poor inhabitants, great part of it was destroyed by most terrible fires,⁵ which we had in the month of April and May, before which time the English had sold off all they had on hand. The effects of the scarcity continuing to become daily more alarming, our Governor and Council bethought themselves, though by much too late, to send into the interior parts of the country to purchase what rice they could on the Company's account, fixed the price of sales in Calcutta at 10 seers for a rupee⁶ and seized all they could upon the rivers. The Black Merchants remonstrated, that the charges of bringing the rice down the country, together with the high interest which they paid the Shroffs or Bankers for raising the money, and other contingencies, ran so excessively high, that they should, upon those terms, be losers by their purchases, upon which, by an order of Council, sepoys were stationed at their Golahs, to prevent the delivering of any rice without a permit or order⁷ and notwithstanding all the orders for purchasing up the country on the Company's account, so bare were the Company's granaries here, that the Council were obliged to send and take from the merchants' Golahs, what they wanted for the support of the workmen on the fortifications at Calcutta and Budge Budge, who were threatening to desert for want of victuals; and it was deemed a great favour if

5. Stores of grain at Rajganj, Diwanganj and other places in the districts of Dinajpur and Purnea had also been consumed by fire in the months of April and May (Ref.: Calendar of Persian correspondence—Received—Vol. 9—pp. 47-48. From Riza Khan, 15th May, 1770). It is possible that fire was set to the granaries by the famished people.

6. Muhammad Riza Khan also fixed the price at which the merchants were required to sell their rice in the markets of Murshidabad (Ref : Vansittart's opinion—Secret and Separate Progs.—3rd March, 1774).

7. The measures adopted by Muhammad Riza Khan for the constant supply of grain to Murshidabad during the famine may throw some light upon this action of the Company. In the year of famine the city of Murshidabad like all other places suffered extremely from the scarcity of rice. The Government apprehended that the Citizens of Murshidabad might desert it for good. To ensure constant supply of rice to Murshidabad orders were issued by Muhammad Riza Khan prohibiting the exportation of Grain from the adjoining districts unless by a set of merchants for the supply of Murshidabad (Ref : Vansittart's opinion—Secret and Separate Progs.—3rd March, 1774). Instructions were also issued forbidding the sale of rice in large quantities in those districts without special permission, as the rich people might have purchased large quantities of rice for their future stock. (Dacres' opinion—*Ibid*).

the merchants were allowed to carry from their Golahs a few maunds to the Bazars to sell for the support of the inhabitants. The Nabob and several of the great men of the Country at Muxadabad distributed rice to the poor gratis, until their stocks began to fail, when those donations were withdrawn,⁸ which brought many thousands down to Calcutta, in hopes of finding relief amongst us. By the time the famine had been about a fortnight over the land, we were greatly affected at Calcutta, many thousands falling daily in the streets and fields, whose bodies, mangled by dogs, jackals and vultures in that hot season (when at best the air is very infectious) made us dread the consequences of a plague. We had 100 people employed upon the Cutcherry Lift on the Company's account with doolys, sledges, and bearers, to carry the dead and throw them into the River Ganges. I have counted from my bed-chamber window in the morning when I got up forty dead bodies laying within twenty yards of the wall, besides many hundred laying in the agonies of death for want, bending double, with their stomachs quite close contracted to their backbones. I have sent my servant to desire those who has strength to remove further off, whilst the poor creatures, looking up with arms extended, have cried out Baba ! Baba ! my father ! my father ! this affliction comes from the hands of your countrymen, and I am come here to die, if it pleases God, in your presence. I can not move, do what you will with me.—In the month of June our condition was still worse, only three seers of rice to be had in the Bazar for a rupee and that very bad, which, when bought, must be carried home secretly, to avoid being plundered by the famished multitude on the road. One could not pass along the streets without seeing multitudes in their last agonies, crying out as you passed. My God ! My God ! have mercy upon me, I am starving; whilst on other sides numbers of dead were seen with dogs, jackals, hogs, vultures,

8. The Company, the Nawab, Muhammad Riza Khan, Jagat Set and Ray Durlabh contributed Rs. 1,83,282-9-11 towards the charitable distribution of rice among the famine-stricken people of the affected areas. Of this sum the Company's share of contribution was Rs. 1,24,506-13-11. The Nawab, Muhammad Riza Khan, Jagat Set and Ray Durlabh together contributed Rs. 58,775-12-0. Out of the total sum thus donated Rs. 1,52,443 was spent in making charitable distribution of rice at Murshidabad between the 1st March, 1770 and the 4th September, 1770 (Ref :—Secret Progs.—1st February, 1771). From the accounts preserved by the Company it appears that rice was distributed in charity at Murshidabad at least up to the month of September 1770.

and other beasts and birds of prey feeding on their carcasses. *** *** *** At this time we could not touch fish, the river was so full of carcasses; and of those who did eat it, many died suddenly. Pork, ducks, and geese, also lived mostly on carnage; so that our only meat was mutton when we could get it, which was very dear, and from the dryness of the season so poor, that a quarter would not weigh a pound and a half. Of this I used to make a little broth, and after I had dined, perhaps there were 100 poor at the door waiting for the remains, which I have often sent among them cut up into little pieces, so that as many as could might partake of it; and after one had sucked the bones dry, and thrown them away, I have seen another take them up, sand and all upon them, and do the same, and so by a third, and so on. In the month of August we had a very alarming phenomenon appeared, of a large black cloud at a distance in the air, which sometimes obscured the sun, and seemed to extend a great way all over and about Calcutta. The hotter the day proved the lower this cloud seemed to descend and for three days it caused great speculation. The Brahmins pretended that this phenomenon, which is a cloud of insects,⁹ should make its appearance three times; and if ever they descended to the earth, the country would be destroyed by some untimely misfortune. They say, that about 150 years ago they had such another bad time, when the ground was burnt up for want of rain; this is the second time of this phenomenon's appearing, and that they came much lower than is recorded of the former. On the third day, the weather being very hot and cloudy, with much rain, we could perceive them with the naked eye, hearing a continual buzzing.

About one o'clock they were so low as 30 feet from the ground, when we saw them distinctly to be a great number of large insects, about the size of a horsestinger, with a long red body, long wings, and a large head and eyes, keeping close together like a swarm of bees, seemingly flying quite on a line. I did not hear of any that were caught, as the country people were much frightened at the prognostications of the Brahmins. Whilst it rained, they continued in one positon for near a quarter of an hour; then they rose five or six feet at once, and in a little time descended as much, until a strong north-west wind came and blowed for two days

9. These insects are nothing but locusts. But no mention has been made of the appearance of locusts during this time in any other contemporary records.

successively, when they gradually ascended and descended in the same manner, but more precipitately, until next morning, when the air was quite clear. It was very remarkable, that for some days before the appearance of this phenomenon, the toads, frogs, and insects, which in numbers innumerable always make a continued noise here the whole night, during the rains, disappeared, and were neither seen nor heard except in the river."

BENGAL RIVER PROBLEMS

Need for an Inter-Provincial Commission

BY MAHARAJA S. C. NANDY, M.A., M.L.A., of Cossimbazar, Ex-Minister, Irrigation, Bengal

THE inter-provincial aspect of the river problems of Bengal brings into prominent relief a most intriguing feature which still awaits solution. Our main river systems pass through several provinces and states and naturally they do not pay any attention to political boundaries or jurisdictions created artificially to suit political exigencies from time to time. The problems connected with flood or erosion or the deterioration of the spill channels in Bengal have multiplied within recent times, thanks to the absence of any co-ordinating agency which would treat the Ganges or the Brahmaputra-Meghna river systems as an integrated whole and prevent the pursuit of policies suited to purely regional or local interests. If we refer to the experience of other countries we would also come across similar disastrous consequences of treating the river problem in a piece-meal fashion and allowing divergent policies to be followed. The history of the working of the Mississippi River Commission and the more recent Tennessee Valley Authority in the U. S. A. would show that no satisfactory progress can be made unless and until the problems are approached on the basis of the river itself and scientific measures for river training and control and canalisation schemes are followed up with energy and determination, co-ordinating the divergent interests and policies of the different areas through which the river passes. It is, therefore, only on an inter-provincial or inter-state basis that we can satisfactorily tackle our mighty river problems and prevent the recurrence of floods and other disastrous consequences which follow from their unruly behaviour from time to time or from their decay. It is really unfortunate that much water has been allowed to flow down our rivers before any serious attempt could be made to take up this all-important question of an inter-provincial river commission, and that even though a start was made by myself as early as 1939 in this regard, we in Bengal are still at the conference stage and that also only in respect of the Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers.

It appears from a Press Note issued by the Government that the problem of the Gangetic basin has not yet been taken up, and yet a little reflection will tell us that this presents by far the most serious problem in Bengal at the present moment. The catchment basin of the Gangetic system of rivers is spread over several provinces and states. Extensive deforestation in these regions has caused incalculable damage to the lower reaches of this system, aggravating the flood problem, reducing the dry-weather flow in our rivers, complicating the problems of navigation and irrigation, and leading to, among others, the progressive deterioration of the tidal channels where there is an ever-increasing salinity in the water supply. This question of controlling deforestation is only one important aspect of the host of problems which require an immediate and effective inter-provincial solution. On the other hand, there are the canal schemes in the upper reaches of the river notably in U. P. which are being energetically pursued without perhaps taking due care of the interests of areas situated in the lower reaches. There is of course no intention to question the wisdom of extending the beneficent irrigation schemes in the up-river areas : but it will certainly not be unreasonable to claim that any particular province or state should not be permitted to take advantage of its geographical position and monopolise the use of the river for its own benefit and cause detriment to other interests which may not be less vital.

Unfortunately under the Government of India Act, each province has been allowed to follow its own river policies practically unhampered by the trammels of any federal control. This is really disastrous particularly when we note that the interests of the different areas are divergent. In the matter of irrigation needs for example, we can easily distinguish between three distinctive sub-regions in the Gangetic Valley—Upper Ganges Valley with its canal irrigation, the Middle Valley with its magnificent system of well-irrigation, and thirdly the Bengal delta with its marvellous

natural flood irrigation covering a vast alluvial plain. The interests of Bengal require that the irrigation or canalisation schemes of other provinces and states can be permitted with safety only to that extent as would not seriously interfere with the natural flood irrigation, the source of all our agricultural prosperity. Unfortunately, however, we have before us the painful fact that this "natural" irrigation of Bengal has been seriously interfered with, and that the spill-channels of the Ganges in Western and Central Bengal have deteriorated, some possibly beyond repair. In its train we have a declining agriculture, deterioration of drainage, and aggravation of the problems of Public Health particularly malaria. There had no doubt been certain mistaken policies followed by Bengal in the past, but the fact remains that the mischief must be traced at the source and remedial measures adopted so as to restore this natural flood irrigation of our once-rich lands. This means that there must be some inter-provincial administrative machinery which can effectively control deforestation and systematically plan out afforestation in the catchment areas, and at the same time co-ordinate the irrigation policies of the different provinces and states for the interest of the river itself as also of all the interests affected.

The geographical position of Bengal in respect of both the Gangetic as well as the Brahmaputra-Meghna river systems is adverse, situated as we are in the lower reaches of the same and consequently the initiative in these matters must be taken by us. It may be recalled that early in January, 1939, on behalf of the Government of Bengal I had the privilege of being able to secure the co-operation of the Government of U. P. in arranging an Inter-Provincial Flood Conference in Lucknow, which was duly attended by the representatives from U. P., Bihar, Bengal and several Indian states. This conference agreed on principle to the constitution of a Ganges River Commission and actually set up an Interim Committee to draw up the details. We had, however, to encounter a considerable opposition from the very beginning, probably because a good deal of vested interests had already been created in the canalisation and electrification schemes. As a matter of fact, the Chairman of the Interim Committee, who happened to be the Chief Engineer of U. P. objected at a subsequent stage to a very important point which was agreed to by the majority at the conference. It was agreed that all prospective irrigation schemes involving material

extraction of river water supplies should be referred to the Ganges River Commission for opinion. The objection raised by U. P. practically signified a clash of interests between the up-river and the down-river areas and a state of deadlock was thus reached.

In respect of the Brahmaputra and Meghna rivers the problem was comparatively simple, as the provinces concerned had only been Bengal and Assam and there were no serious vested interests created in the upper reaches as in U. P. It must also be said to the credit of Assam and the states concerned that they took a very reasonable view of the case from the very beginning, and naturally one should not expect any serious obstacle in setting up the Commission as required by our interests. But the really serious matter is about the proposed Ganges River Commission, which should have been taken up and pushed with much more vigour and energy. Here the problem is acute, the suffering of the people is very great and a comprehensive policy for the resuscitation of the dead and dying spill-channels of the Ganges cannot be taken up with any reasonable chance of success, unless and until the up-river areas are prevented from following divergent policies and effective control measures are taken in respect of deforestation in the catchment areas. There are then the drawbacks in the Government of India Act itself, where there are no clear provisions empowering the constitution of an effective inter-provincial river commission, should there be no agreement among the provinces concerned. There are of course the Sections 130-135 of the Government of India Act and the residuary powers enjoyed by the Central Government under Section 104. But none of them empower positive measures and are obviously unsatisfactory for setting up a permanent body of experts for dealing with the conservancy of a major river passing through several provinces and States. Considering the vast stakes involved and the benefit likely to accrue to millions of people if a major river like the Ganges is satisfactorily controlled and trained, a Statutory River Commission on the model of the T. V. A. is worth having and fighting for. Bengal has paid heavily in the past for not presenting her case with vigour and earnestness and in time. But in this matter of our life-sustaining rivers, I do not think we can afford to lose our case by default, and the sooner we take it up, the better it is for all the interests concerned.

THE RECENT BENGAL FAMINE : THE ULTIMATE BACKGROUND— AN IRISH PARALLEL

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE recent Bengal famine has been an astounding phenomenon. It was previously urged that famines occur in India, in the majority of cases, not because of any absolute shortage of food supply, but because of the difficulties due to lack of transport in bringing food from surplus areas. The recent Bengal famine has occurred in an era when the Government claims to have a sufficiently extensive network of railways and other forms of transport, though significantly enough, the railways, which had been extended on this plea of protection against famine, failed to perform their expected duty when the crisis actually came. Famines are not new to India; in the list given in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th Edition) of thirty-four "Great Famines" all over the world from 436 B.C. to 1921 A.D., not less than twenty have occurred in India, and the majority of them during the British rule. The figure, according to Ramesh Dutt, should be still greater; he is of opinion that

"Excluding severe scarcities, often confined to limited areas, there were eighteen famines between 1770 and 1878; and if we add to this list the subsequent famines of 1889, 1892, 1897 and 1900, we have a sad record of twenty-two famines within a period of 130 years of British rule in India."

It would appear on analysis that such famines are inevitable where the people live in absolute poverty and completely lack the strength to resist even the slightest shock. As Ramesh Chandra Dutt has remarked :

"If we honestly seek for the true causes of recent famines in India, without prejudice and bias, we shall not seek in vain. The immediate cause of famines in almost every instance is the failure of rains,...but the intensity and frequency of recent famines are generally due to the resourceless condition and chronic poverty of the cultivators.....they can save nothing in years of good harvest, and consequently every year of drought is a year of famine."

Famines, thus, are the periodic manifestations, in acute form, of the disease that is eating into the vitals of the nation; their permanent solution demands not any temporary relief measures, but a permanent improvement of the economic condition of the people.

It should be pointed out in this connection that though famines are the usual features of the Indian socio-economic pattern, still there are

some famines of very special intensity, which not only possess the usual characteristics but go still further. The Great Bengal Famine of 1770 and the Bengal Famine of 1943 belong to this special category. Not only they affect, in common with other famines, the population growth, not only they produce the usual devitalising effect on the national health, not only they take heavy toll of human lives, but along with all these they permanently alter the economic relationship, deeply disturb the socio-economic equilibrium and set in motion forces that lead to the complete disintegration of the existing social structure without, however, being able to set up any other structure on a basis of ordered progress. This is nothing unnatural, for if the Government not only refuses to plan from beforehand for economic advancement but, what is more, indulge in economic exploitation directly or indirectly, it is only inevitable that any sharp crisis would lead to nothing but famines of extreme violence. What was the background of the Famine of 1770 ? To quote Ramesh Chandra Dutt :

"When an old system of Government breaks down, and the country passes under a new power, war and disorders are inevitable. When the Moghal power broke down in India, and Marhattas and Afghans contended for supremacy, war and devastation followed. And when the British nation entered into arena, they too took part in many wars which impeded cultivation and harassed the population of peaceful villages. In the words of Sir Thomas Munro, wars were added to unfavourable seasons to bring on recurring famines in India. We may also add to these reasons the misrule of the servants of the East India Company."

The result was the Famine of 1770 which destroyed the fundamental bases of the old society and laid, in its own way, the foundations of the present one. Such famines are, in fact, the process through which our society jumps from one era to another.

We might, however, ask this question : Why is it that the process of our social evolution must be so painful ? Is it not possible to avoid the pain of such evolution by planning ahead and by having slow but steady and continuous reform ? It is, unfortunately, the lesson

of history that no such painless evolution is possible within the framework of Imperialism. It is contradiction of history for Imperialism to provide for the social evolution of the subject country in such a painless manner, for in that case Imperialism must annihilate itself. In discussing the causes of the present Bengal Famine, therefore, we should not forget this ultimate cause. The reasons for this cataclysm are, in fact, many. The war—another crisis that Imperialism has produced—has indeed adversely affected our food position. There has also occurred some natural calamities doing heavy damage to the crops. Curtailment of transport facilities, cessation of imports and increase in exports, abnormal conditions due to the proximity to the war-zone—all these are no doubt partly responsible for the Famine. But it would be a mistake to assume that these immediate causes could have produced such a devastating famine like the Famine of 1943 if the ground had not been prepared from before. Any discussion of the recent Bengal Famine, therefore, should distinguish between the immediate and the ultimate causes, though it must be remembered that the ultimate causes are not in the least less responsible—in fact they are more responsible—for the famine than the immediate ones. We propose to discuss about the Bengal Famine under four heads. First, we shall try to show that the ultimate background of this famine must be traced to the implications of imperial domination. Secondly, we shall discuss a more immediate cause, that is, the consistent neglect and the consequential decay of agriculture that has grown in volume and pace particularly since the second half of the last century. To these may be added the third and a still more immediate set of causes, *viz.*, the shock of the last Great War and the last Great Depression on our economic structure. We would lastly discuss the immediate causes that finally led to the disaster. In this article we would confine ourselves only to the first aspect of the problem.

RECURRENCE OF FAMINES UNDER IMPERIAL DOMINATION

If we briefly recount the economic history of India, we would find that the Great Bengal Famine of 1770 came at a critical moment of history. As already said, it marked the end of an era. It came at the height of British misrule and was the natural result of a long period of drift, corruption and oppression in the political and economic spheres. All the settled economic principles were cast to the winds; the agricultural classes were uprooted from the soil; everything

had to give way before the aggressive policy of exploitation that the East India Company chose to follow. "The terrible calamity," writes Ramesh Chandra Dutt, "aroused the attention of the British public to Indian administration and the Regulating Act of 1773 was passed by the Parliament to improve the administration." The next step was the Permanent Settlement. It was the only visible effort made by the Government to get out of the mess it had run into through their rapacity, wholesale corruption, steady incompetence and continuous mismanagement. But it would now appear that the Permanent Settlement was clearly no remedy to the evil that had been done. The damage was, indeed, manifold. The first blow came in the shape of destruction of India's national industries.

"Large portions of the Indian population," writes Ramesh Dutt, "were engaged in various industries down to the first decade of the nineteenth century.....it was not, however, the policy of the East India Company to foster Indian industries....while such was the policy pursued in England to discourage Indian manufactures, the system pursued in India did not tend to improve them....as India lost her manufacturing industry, she began to import British and other foreign piece-goods, paying for it in food-grains....it was a natural result. When handicrafts and manufactures declined, and India had to pay her annual tribute to England as well as for her imports, that she sent out a continuously increasing share of the food-supply of the people....while the British Political Economists professed the principles of free trade from the latter end of the eighteenth century, the British nation declined to adopt them till they had crushed the manufacturing power of India and reared their own manufacturing power; then the British Nation turned freetraders, and invited other nations to accept free trade principles."

We thus see that the destruction of Indian industries threw the entire population on agriculture and all money for payments, nationally or internationally, had to come from that only source of national income. This was the first stage when foreign capital broke our indigenous industries. The next stage began with the offensive intrusion of this foreign capital into our national economic life. Dumping of foreign goods had its repercussions ultimately on agriculture for the reasons stated above, while the mad gamble that began with land since the institution of annual settlements totally destroyed the basis of agriculture itself. The Permanent Settlement could not undo all this mischief. Its expressed object was, broadly speaking, to create an atmosphere, both material and mental, in which the hedonistic calculus of a particular class would lead to the economic development of Bengal as a whole. It is now obvious that such a measure was doomed to failure from its very birth. The Permanent

Settlement did not tackle the problems of industry; there was no effort to increase the National Income, and thereby the resistance of the people, by improving industry side by side with agriculture. But the Permanent Settlement did not go far even as a measure of agricultural improvement. In fact it could not anticipate the needs of the country and was therefore not in a position to offer a plan that would enable India to compete successfully in world agriculture. What were the needs of the time? If it had been at all possible for India to maintain so long her self-sufficiency, such self-sufficiency became clearly impossible now after the intrusion of foreign capital into India and the opening up of the Indian market to foreign countries. It became, for example, impossible for India to plan her agricultural development without taking into account the effects of the forced export of foodstuffs. It became, for example, also impossible for India to fully develop her agriculture if she refused to pay any regard to the Terms of Trade and the international agricultural position. What is more, India can, in the present *milieu*, never be prosperous if her policy of economic development is not based on an intelligent interpretation of the relative position of world agriculture, industry and commerce as also of relative producing power of the countries involved. The broad world picture at that time was that England with all her industrial power was rapidly assuming world economic leadership, first, by spreading her empire, and secondly by racing ahead in industrial growth. Raw materials came from America and other parts of the empire, but whenever in difficulty, England had to turn to India for supplies. But even then no effort was made to develop India into an efficient supplier of raw materials. The Permanent Settlement took no note of these international factors and gave a *carte blanche* to the newly created landlords without laying down the basis on which such an efficient planning might have been possible. The scheme of the Permanent Settlement was, in fact, still less ambitious in its idea and still more limited in its scope. Not only it did not envisage a plan that could have brought economic prosperity that India could have gained, if proper efforts would have been made, as an efficient raw material producing country, not only it merely shifted on the landlords the responsibility of carrying on agriculture somehow on the old lines,—but it did not even lay down whose positive responsibility it was to develop and improve agriculture. As we have said, it was left to the hedonistic calculus of the landlord class, on the assumption that such calculus would coincide with the general welfare of the province—but no provision was made for the contingency when that calculus would become inoperative after the saturation point is reached or when that calculus would come into conflict with wider interests. It is almost a miracle that the system was able to produce even some good results in its early years; that is perhaps due partly to the fact that the Permanent Settlement was, at least at that time, a limitation on the greed of a foreign government and consequently a limitation on the economic drain which the government policy of sending away to England its net revenues as profits of the Company entailed in India. But it did not take long for the reaction to come. As soon as the initial force was exhausted and stagnation, if not deterioration, began to set in, resentment began to grow in volume and strength against the Permanent Settlement. The hope of extensive agricultural improvement through the settlement was completely frustrated; the Government found that it no more served their purpose, inasmuch as they could no more evade the responsibility of doing something for agriculture. A change of attitude was distinctly visible at this time; there was a growing tide of reaction against the Permanent Settlement even in official quarters; there was no extension of Permanent Settlement anywhere; and the Government tried to soothe the people by penalising the landlords in some form or other. The whole series of land legislation from 1850 onwards has been almost completely negative in character; these laws have imposed restriction on the landlord, but has never tried to compel the landlord or somebody else to be positively responsible for the improvement of agriculture. The government, thus, again evaded their responsibility. Nothing would have been better, if the landlord system was abolished only to make it possible for the Government to undertake a positive and extensive plan. But that was not the case. The myth was created that only the landlords—and not also the system—were responsible for the misery of the cultivators and legislation penalising individual excesses or abuses would be sufficient for the economic development of the province. But it was not realised that economic improvement, specially in these days, can never be the result of purely negative legislation but must always be the fruit of conscious positive effort. It was, for instance, laid down in the Bengal Tenancy Act that the landlords would not be allowed to increase rent except in certain specified cases, but it was not laid down that

the landlords must do something every year for its intensity and magnitude, but also in its improvement of agriculture. Thus began economic background and future consequences, the gradual decay of agriculture, and with it, the Irish famine is another illustration of the fact that a long period of misrule combined with the General economic condition of the province. Over and above it came the shock of the Great War and the Great Depression. It is not unnatural, therefore, that the recent troubles, coming over all these, would produce such an unthinkable calamity. These other factors would be discussed in subsequent articles; but it must be remembered here that the ultimate cause of the Famine must be traced to that criminal evasion of responsibility and disastrous neglect of agriculture that are the essential features of imperial administration. In the phrase of the London *Economist*, the belt has been tightened where there was no slack to take it in. While discussing the causes of famine we should not only discuss why the belt has been tightened, but we should also discuss the more basic question, why there is no slack to take it in. Readings of history once more confirm the thesis that an Imperial Government is, by its very nature, incapable to develop the subject country, for any such economic development would lead to clashes between the imperial finance-capital and the native capital. It is in the interest of Imperialism to have, in these circumstances, as its ally native agricultural interests, and that is why it is the object of the imperial government to keep agricultural interests just—but only just—alive. Famines are inevitable if it becomes the object of the Government to prevent national industrial growth, to maintain agriculture just on the subsistence level and to force foreign goods on the population and to take away indigenous raw materials at terms disadvantageous to the country in question. We are, for these reasons, painfully familiar with famines as separable concomitants of imperial domination, for that is the usual pattern everywhere.

THE IRISH EXAMPLE

That we are not wrong in our reading of history is proved by the fact that India is not the only country to experience such famines under imperial domination. We mention here only one other instance—the great Irish Famine of 1845 to 1847. The history of Ireland has many points of similarity with the history of India. Not only in matters of politics, but also in the matter of economic evolution, Ireland bears a strange similarity to India. The Irish Famine of 1845 to 1847 is astonishingly similar to the recent Bengal Famine not only in

a policy of drift, if not exploitation, in the economic sphere, particularly in agriculture, which must lead to famines on the grand scale. The similarity is surprising. Ireland was, at that time, completely under English domination and the landlords were mostly English. The first stage of Ireland's economic development began, as in India, with the breaking up of her isolation and the forced establishment of world contacts. In 1780, the colonial and foreign markets were thrown open to Ireland, and by the Act of Union (1801) the markets of Great Britain. The result was the destruction of Ireland's native industries. As an author describes it :

"Skill and capital were lacking and the system of absenteeism was fastened upon the land. True, under the Act of Union Irish manufactures were allowed a measure of protection, but the duties were neither high nor were they regarded as permanent....in 1825, practically all the duties were abolished. At once the whole structure of the nascent Irish industries collapsed."

The third stage then began; lacking industrial development, the Irish people for the most part turned to agriculture as the only means of livelihood. As the said author writes :

"One might expect, however, that an ideal relationship would develop between agricultural Ireland and industrial England. Historically this was not the case."

As in India so also in Ireland, there began an era, not of agricultural development, but of agricultural decay. There was, of course, an expansion of tillage land at the cost of grazing, but the majority of tenants turned out to be cottiers, and not farmers or permanent tenants. There existed frequently a discrepancy between wages and rent and the cottier was forced to make good the difference. Thousands therefore migrated to England to help the English harvest, and the money so earned was used to make up the deficit. Farmers also lacked the necessary capital for agricultural improvement and this induced the middlemen and jobbers to interfere and speculate and get themselves interposed between the owner and the cultivator. The cessation of Napoleonic wars ended the period of comparative prosperity and brought about an agricultural depression in Ireland. The landlord found it impossible to save themselves except by more efficient and economic farming. Consolidation of holdings thus began with great

2. J. C. Pomfret: *The Struggle for Land in Ireland* (Princeton U. P.), p. 2.

vehement. But it had disastrous effects on the peasants who were thrown out in large numbers on the streets. Legislation, however, only helped the speed of ejection. Along with this, there were in existence other factors, such as uneconomic holdings and an unsatisfactory land system which prepared the ground for the Famine. To quote the previous author again :

" As the famine year approached, conditions became gradually worse. There was no improvement in agriculture and an ever-increasing population was living from hand to mouth. Each year the clearance system took its toll, severing its victims from land and from life.....A development of manufacturing industry would have been a great boon, but this possibility, as we have seen, was accorded little consideration."

It was reported by the *Poor Enquiry Commission*, 1834 that

" Numbers resort to the cities, towns and villages. Some settled on waste lands, mountains or bog in their neighbourhood."

A Report of the Repeal Association painted an even more dismal picture.

The natural and necessary consequence of the system of clearance has been that large numbers of ejected peasantry have been driven into miserable dwellings along with the dykes, and in the ditches adjacent to the public roads.

The Government pointed to the doctrine *laissez-faire* as a plea for non-interference in favour of the tenants, but they had no hesitation to pass, during this period, some sixty acts in favour of the landlord and against the tenants. The real idea, as Palmerston phrased it, was that Tenant Right meant Landlord Wrong and the doctrine of *laissez-faire* was only used as a cover for this plainly unjust and unfair attitude.

It is therefore not unnatural or unexpected that if any immediate aggravating factors were added to this general decay, the result would be a terrible famine. That is what happened. The potato crop, the mainstay of the people, failed because of an extremely bitter winter and this was the immediate cause of the great Famine of 1845-47. But, as in the case of the recent Bengal Famine, destruction of crop was not the only cause. The potato crop was no doubt destroyed by blight, but even the London *Times*⁴ declared :

They are suffering a real though artificial famine. Nature does her duty; the land is fruitful enough, nor can it be fairly said that man is wanting. The Irishman is disposed to work; in fact, man and nature together do produce abundantly. The island is full and overflowing with human food. But something ever intervenes between the hungry mouth and the ample banquet.

The factor that "intervened" was simple. Rents had to be paid; the grain was claimed

by the landlords in payment and the Government refused to close the ports. John Mitchell has recorded the rage and despair with which people saw

" immense herds of cattle, sheep and hogs floating off on every tide, out of every one of the thirteen ports, bound for England; and the landlords were receiving their rent, and going to England to spend them; and many hundreds of poor people had lain down and died on the roadsides, for want of food."⁵

The whole situation was described by the Census Commissioners in horrible details :

Agriculture was neglected and the land in many places remained untilled. Thousands were supported from day to day upon the bounty of outdoor relief; the closest ties of kindred were dissolved; the most ancient and long-cherished usages of the people were disregarded; food the most revolting to human palates was eagerly devoured; the once proverbial gaiety and light-heartedness of the peasant people seem to have vanished completely; disorganisation of society became marked and memorable by the exodus of above one million of people, who deserted their homes and hearths to seek food and shelter in foreign lands, of whom thousands perished from pestilence and the hardships endured on shipboard. It is scarcely possible to exaggerate in imagination what people will and are forced to do before they die from absolute want of food, for not only does the body become darkened, the feelings callous, blunted and apathetic, but a peculiar fever was generated, which became but too well known to the medical profession in Ireland at that time.....Thus a stipendiary Magistrate stated in Galway in extenuation of the crime of a poor prisoner brought up for stealing food that to his own knowledge before he was brought to the theft, he and his family had actually consumed part of a human body lying dead in the cabin with them. Generally speaking, the actually starving people lived upon the carcasses of diseased cattle, upon dogs and dead horses, but principally upon the herbs of the field, nettletops, wild mustard and water cresses, and even in some places dead bodies were found with grasses in their mouths. Along the coast every description of seaweed was generally devoured, often with fatal consequences; even the dillisk or 'salt-leaf,' though a safe occasional condiment, became the cause of disease when used as the sole support of life.⁵

There was, after the famine reached its full intensity, the usual outburst of charity. First, there were relief works, which at one time (March, 1847) employed 734,000 labourers. But all such works were to be of a public nature (that is also the regulation in India) and as such could not be of any benefit to the estates of the owners. The unproductive nature of such relief works was soon realised and works were brought to a close during March-August, 1847. The Government fell back upon the very simple solution of feeding the poor. Soup kitchens were established in the impoverished districts. Unfortunately, there was attached to them a severe

4. John Mitchell : *The Last Conquest of Ireland*.

5. *Census of Ireland, 1851, Part V*, p. 243.

test known as the Gregory clause, which provided that no person in possession of more than a quarter acre of land could be deemed destitutes and that it would not be lawful for guardians to relieve such person. The result was disastrous :

The class of poor and destitute occupiers who are debarrased by law unless they give up their land, struggle, notwithstanding their great privations, to retain it, and endeavour by every effort to pass through the season of difficulty, by which they see the prospect of their previous mode of subsistence returning, provided they continue in the possessions of their land. The use for a long time of inferior food has in such cases sometimes induced disease fatal to the occupier himself or one or more members of his family.⁶

To famine was thus added the terror of evictions. Sir Robert Peel later stated on the 8th June, 1879 :

"I do not think, the records of any country, civilised or barbarous, present materials for such a picture."

A recent writer writes :

"By the famine, the majority of the Irish people had been crushed below the level at which the human nature has the vitality to rebel. In 1848, the tide of revolution was in flood over Europe. Oppressed peoples were filled with the vision of liberty, but Ireland was in despair."

What was the result ? The first effect was felt on the population growth. The population had been growing rapidly and was expected to grow from 8·2 millions in 1841 to over 9 millions in 1851. But as a result of the famine it actually shrank to 6·5 millions. The lowly Cottier class was almost exterminated; even the return of normal conditions could not restrain the exodus which the famine had set up. In spite of all efforts, emigration went on steadily until 1914. The population of Ireland decreased from 6·5 millions in 1851 to 4·39 millions in 1911. This depopulation brought about by the famine at first relieved, to a certain extent, the pressure of population on the soil and seemed to solve the problem of poverty. For, during this period, over half of the uneconomic holdings (those under 15 acres) had disappeared. But, ultimately, this offered no real remedy. Increase in the size of the holdings was due to the fact that the landlords, who were hard hit, found it more profitable to convert tilled land into pastured and began recklessly to turn out the peasants. This not only hit hard the peasants,

but did not profit even the landlords in the long run. The return of bad seasons following the year 1857 revealed much suffering and made it apparent that as yet there was no real margin. But exploitation went on unabated; anti-tenant measures were passed with bewildering rapidity, and gradually it dawned upon the Irish people that no real improvement was possible until the Irish people had the power to provide for themselves and remove all obstacles that stood in the way of national development. The whole subsequent history of Ireland is the history of her struggle for national independence and political power. It is neither necessary nor relevant to go into the details of this political struggle; it is, however, significant that matters did not improve after this great famine of 1846-47 in spite of government efforts, and bad seasons inevitably led to famines of varying intensity throughout the century. Irish nationalism was the political expression of the realisation of this economic situation and its extreme violence was due to the fact that the utter prostration of the Irish people in 1846, followed by the "Great betrayal" of their hopes in 1852, had caused them to turn their backs upon constitutional action.

CONCLUSION

We, therefore, find that the pattern of economic development is strangely common to India and Ireland during the periods under consideration. In both cases, the first stage began with the establishment of international contacts, that is to say, the beginning of the onslaught of finance capital. In the next stage, came the destruction of native industries, and the whole population was thrown completely on agriculture. The third stage began with the exploitation by foreign capital on the one hand and the establishment of landlordism and the evasion of legitimate responsibility by the government, on the other, with the consequential decay of agriculture. This decay of agriculture must lead to the impoverishment of the people and ultimately leave them resourceless, so much so, that the slightest shock, the slightest tightening of the belt must lead to nothing short of a major disaster. Mill wrote long ago :

"It is an inherent condition of human affairs that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interest of others can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands."

The events in Ireland and India,—especially the chronic poverty and famines—provide ample illustrations of Mill's saying.

6. *First Report of the Irish Poor Law Commission, 1847.*

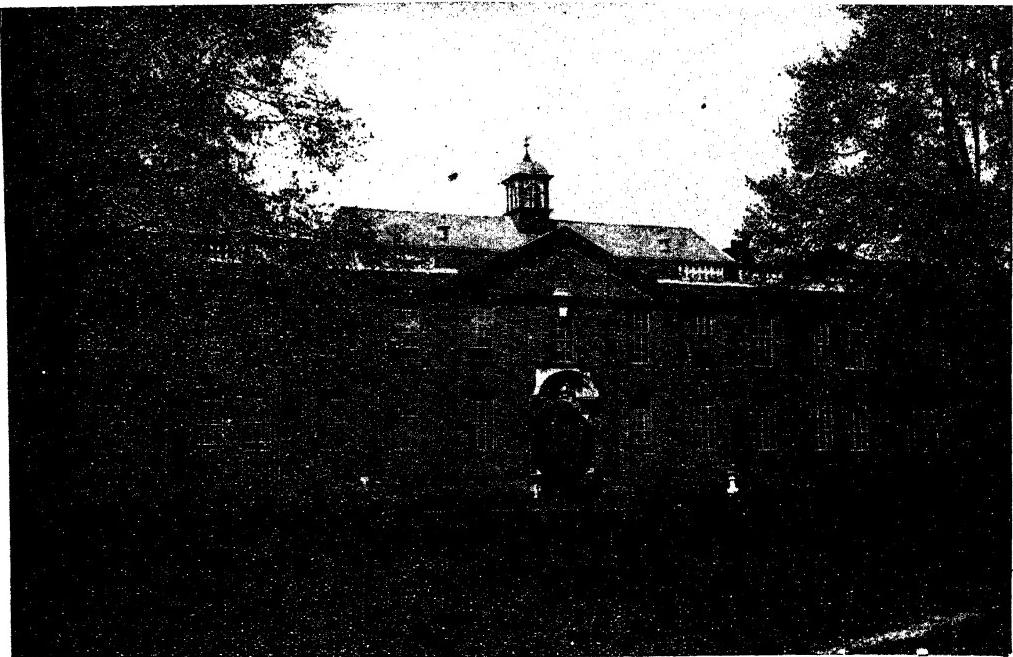
7. Dorothy Macardle : *The Irish Republic* (Gollancz) p. 47.



U. S. General Stilwell watches Allied troops advance in North Central Burma



American soldiers ford a jungle stream.



For a hundred years, the Rothamsted Experimental Station in England has been
conducting experiments to improve agriculture



The famous Broadbalk field of the Rothamsted Experimental Station has grown
wheat for a hundred years

SANDALWOOD CARVING IN SURAT

By S. I. CLERK

II

We may now take some of the craftsmen individually and notice their annual output, their cost of production, their requirements, etc.

I. *Hormusji Faramji Pettigara*, Athughar Mohulla.

This seventy-five years old Parsi gentleman, we believe, is the oldest sandalwood craftsman in Surat to-day. Most probably, a biographical study of him would reveal quite an interesting history of the sandalwood craft in Surat. He learnt his craft from his uncle, his own father being carpenter. He is illiterate and works all alone without any assistants.

Hormusji makes about nine dozen sandalwood boxes in a year; mostly, these are money and handkerchief boxes. He has the sandalwood designs prepared for him by a Nakshiwalla, while he himself makes the inlaid boxes. We are glad to state that quite a number of sandalwood craftsmen told us that Hormusji's boxes are very good as regards appearance, durability and the genuineness of the raw materials used. In a year he requires the following quantities of raw materials :—

Sandalwood—Quantity 400 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 400.

Teakwood—Quantity 60 sq. ft. Estimated Cost Rs. 50.

Redwood—Quantity 10 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 10. Ivory—Quantity 12-15 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 150 to Rs. 200.

Stag horn—Quantity 140 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 60. Tin—Quantity 20-25 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 240 to 300.

Glue—Quantity 15 lbs. Estimated Cost Rs. 15.

Hinges—Quantity $\frac{1}{2}$ gross. Estimated Cost Rs. 150. Locks—Quantity $\frac{1}{4}$ gross. Estimated Cost Rs. 150.

Velvet—Quantity 30-40 yards. Estimated Cost Rs. 90 to 120.

He requires in a year about two to three files of about ten inches long of three types, rough, smooth and three-edged, and one or two steel plates for the saws.

As regards marketing his products, Hormusji sells them to a bigger Pettigara in Surat who, we believe, supplies him with raw materials. This merchant Pettigara obviously deprives Hormusji considerably of his legitimate dues. At the same time, it proved difficult to convince him of the benefits which would accrue to him if he were to make the Government Sales Depot his selling agent. This was mainly because of his old age. At seventy-five, few of us can be prepared to take even imaginary financial risks or ventures !

II. *Narotamdas Vithaldas Patel*, Amar Nivas, Nampur Road, Gopipura.

This young man of 24 years represents perhaps the best result of the Government efforts to train the various artisans in Surat. Formerly, he was an employee to a big Pettigara. Then he got Government scholarship and went to Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, where he studied sandalwood carving for about two to three years. On his return he took from the Government interest free loan and also availed himself of the opportunity of getting his tools at half the cost from the Government.



A young sandalwood craftsman at work

In his establishment, there are four men employed. Narotamdas is an intelligent craftsman and we have been able to collect fairly interesting details about his craft from him. He established himself only about four months back. On an average, in a year he would require the following quantities of raw materials :

Sandalwood—Quantity 960 lbs. Cost Rs. 960.

Teakwood—Quantity 100 sq. feet. Cost Rs. 75.

Redwood—Quantity 18-20 lbs. Cost Rs. 20.

Ivory—Quantity 36 lbs. Cost Rs. 860.

Stag horn—Quantity 18 maunds. Cost Rs. 360.

Tin—Quantity 3 maunds. Cost Rs. 1,080.

Glue—Quantity 3 maunds. Cost Rs. 152.

Hinges—Quantity $\frac{1}{4}$ gross. Cost Rs. 675.

Locks—Quantity $\frac{1}{4}$ gross. Cost Rs. 675.

Screws—Quantity 18 gross. Cost Rs. 675.
 Nails—Quantity 4 lbs. Cost Rs. 28.
 Velvet—Quantity 50 yards. Cost Rs. 200.
 Copper Sulphate—Quantity 64 tolas. Cost Rs. 50.
 Total Rs. 4,440, i.e., say about Rs. 4,500.

In a year he requires the following tools :
 Saws 18 ins. by 4 ins.—Quantity 6.
 Chisels—Quantity 2.
 Drills—Quantity 1.
 Planes—Quantity 4.
 Files—Quantity 4.
 Hammers—Quantity 4.
 Cost at about Rs. 500.



A craftsman working on a semi-finished sandalwood box

Narotamdas's establishment would produce about 300 boxes in a year. These would be sold on an average at about Rs. 30 each, bringing him an income of Rs. 9,000 from which following would be his expenditure :

Raw materials and tools—Rs. 5,000.
 To Nakshiwallas—Rs. 1,375.
 Karigars (i.e., workmen)—Rs. 1,500.
 Rent—Rs. 120.
 Total Rs. 7,995, i.e., Rs. 8,000.

The remaining Rs. 1,000 constitute his profit including his renumeration as a craftsman. From this he repays his debt to the Government @ Rs. 15 per month. These figures are of course only a rough indication as Narotamdas has started his business only four months back. His annual income may vary from

about Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,500 depending on the number of boxes he makes and sells during the year. Elsewhere we have attempted to find out the cost of production and net profit of a single sandalwood box. The result of that analysis more or less corroborates the above-mentioned figures supplied to us by Narotamdas.

III. Babarbhai Harkisondas, Kachhis Sheri, Syedpara.

Babarbhai is about forty-five years old. His father was a carpenter while his uncle was a sandalwood carver. About ten persons are employed in his establishment. His total output is about five hundred boxes in a year. His annual requirement of raw materials is :

Sandalwood—Quantity 60 maunds.
 Teakwood—Quantity 500 sq. ft.
 Redwood—Quantity 1 maund.
 Ivory—Quantity 2 maunds.
 Stag horn—Quantity 25 maunds.
 Tin—Quantity 112 lbs.
 Glue—Quantity $2\frac{1}{2}$ maunds.
 Hinges—Quantity 7 gross.
 Locks—Quantity $3\frac{1}{2}$ gross.
 Velvet—Quantity 30-40 yards.

Babarbhai estimated the total cost of these raw materials @ about Rs. 5,000. Further according to him, the ratio of raw materials to labour in his establishment is 1:5.

The main markets for Babarbhai's products are Delhi and Bombay. Babarbhai is fast growing into a sandalwood boxes merchant. Quantitatively, he may be said to be the foremost in his craft in Surat. Probably this was the reason why he was somewhat reticent in giving us more details about his craft which would have been very useful to us.

IV. Dayaram Karsondas Prajapati, Doodhwali Sheri, Rampura.

Dayaram was formerly only a Nakshiwalla and since only about four years back he started making sandalwood boxes independently. Even now he restricts himself to the making of all-sandalwood boxes and does no inlaid work. He is assisted by some casual assistants, but mainly works all alone.

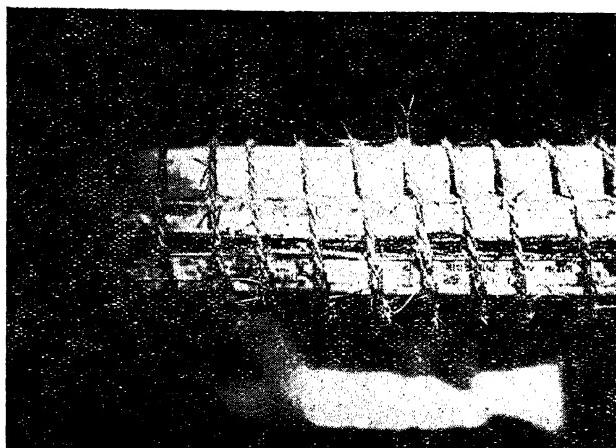
His total output is about twelve boxes per month for which he requires about ten to fifteen maunds of sandalwood per year. He feels that his craft badly needs more and more trained hands.

V. Rangildas Govindram Ramakdawala, Kachhia Sheri, Syedpara.

Rangildas was formerly a Nakshiwalla and began to produce all-sandalwood boxes as an independent artisan only since last January. He is assisted mainly by his son and his son-in-law. His output is about half a dozen boxes per month for the present. He also continues

to work as a Nakshiwalla whenever he gets orders from bigger Pettigaras.

Rangildas is intelligent and far-sighted and so made his son Champaklal take the advantage of the opportunity offered by the Bombay Government and get himself trained at Sir J. J. School of Arts for about two to three years in sandalwood designs. Champaklal Rangildas and Narotamdas Vithaldas (our Case No. II) both had their training at Sir J. J. School of Arts together. We are confident that these two young men will make the best of their training in quite near future.



Lozenge-shaped stick of long narrow strips of ivory, ebony, etc., cut into triangular or hexagonal shapes and fitted together in the process of making inlaid designs.

VI. Dayabhai Nakshiwalla, Ghatigara Mohulla, Nanpura.

This may be taken as a typical case of a Nakshiwalla. He carves designs on sandalwood pieces and supplies these to the Pettigaras. He works all alone and the Pettigaras pay him on a contractual basis. On an average, they pay him about Rs. 4/8/- per box depending on its size. His income is about Rs. 1/8/- per day.

He has a considerable number of tools such as carving gouges (*tankna*) varying in breadth from 1/16th of an inch to $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, carving chisels (*pania*), pattern chisels and gouges (*chitarvana tankna*) or penches. The veining chisels are angular gouges shaped like a V and some others shaped like a U.

On an average, one sandalwood box fetches to-day the craftsman Rs. 30 nett (i.e., after meeting trade commissions etc.). His cost of production per box is :

Raw Materials—Rs. 15.
Nakshiwalla—Rs. 4.8.
Inlaid worker—Rs. 5.
Rent, etc.—As. 8. Total Rs. 25.

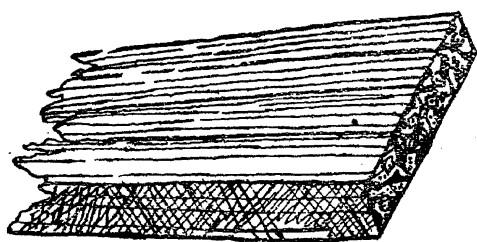
Thus the yield to-day is about Rs. 5 per box. The same pre-war was :

Sale Price—12.
Rs. 12 — 10 = 2.

Cost Price :—
Raw Materials—Rs. 6.
Nakshiwalla—Re. 1.8.
Inlaid worker—Rs. 2.
Rent, etc.—As. 8. Total Rs. 10.

Obviously, the yield would be more if (1) the output is more, e.g., the case of Babarbhais; (2) the craftsman is himself a Nakshiwalla and manufactures only all-sandalwood boxes.

On account of the present war, there is a boom period in this craft. The increasing number of foreigners in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, etc., constitutes important market for the products of this craft. Consequently, quite a number of persons have entered in this craft. Most of them were formerly labourers working under some big Pettigaras. They have now established themselves as independent Pettigaras. A number of Nakshiwallas have established themselves recently as Pettigaras making all-sandalwood boxes. Quite possibly, the present increase in demand and the rise in the prices of the finished products more than offset increased cost of production to-day and the

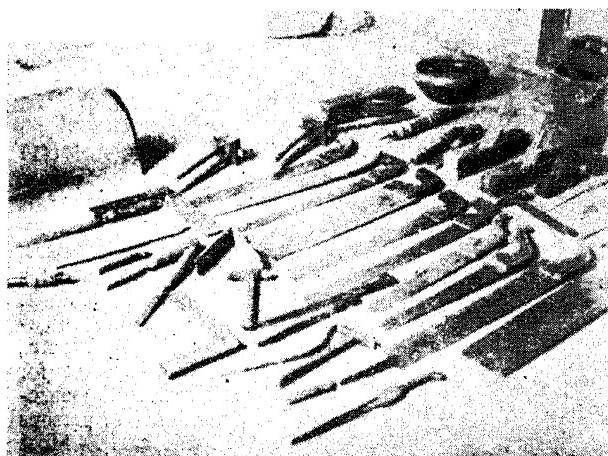


The lozenge-shaped stick described in photo III is cut into about six inches long pieces and placed together to form a slab having the pattern on the edge as many times as there are pieces of the sticks.

well-established craftsmen have been quite able to better themselves economically.

The future of the sandalwood craft in Surat is somewhat gloomy. To-day, of course, there

is the war-time boom and the craftsmen are tolerably happy. On account of this increased demand, unfortunately, increasing attention is being paid to the quantity of the output rather than the quality. Obviously, this will ultimately affect the craft adversely.



Some of the tools of the Surat sandalwood craftsman

That there is a general deterioration in the sandalwood designs as compared to those of say even twenty years back cannot be gainsaid. And the simultaneous use of cheap and undurable substitutes (e.g., lead instead of tin, seesum instead of ebony, deodar instead of teakwood etc.) obviously makes the future position of the craft precarious. This substitution is partly due to the acute shortage of raw materials and partly due to the Bombay imitation sandalwood works which makes use of all possible cheap substitutes.

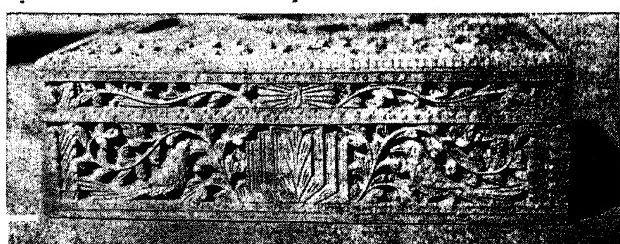
The Surat sandalwood craftsmen unfortunately have no association of their own. They can solve a number of their present-day problems if they were to form an association. Thus through an association they can induce the Government to procure them their raw materials at controlled rates and this alone would considerably reduce their cost of production. We do doubt if such an association can fix successfully the sale price of the finished products because these are not machine-produced and so cannot be standardised. And consequently, a sincere, hardworking and honest workman is bound to resent and resist any such move on the part of the association which would in practice

mean fixing the sale price of his products on the basis of the products of his less sincere and less honest colleague. Hence, the main function, at least in the beginning, of the association such as we envisage, will be to procure raw materials at controlled rates. We are glad to state here that almost all the craftsmen we interviewed favoured the idea of such an association and we hope that the efforts of the District Industrial Officer in this direction will be successful.

The Government of Bombay are considerably helping the artisans. Thus for instance, they offer Rs. 30 per month scholarships to intelligent young artisans for one or two years training course at Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay. On their return from Bombay, these young men are offered interest free loans and tools and implements at half the market prices in case they want to start their own establishments. And then of course there are Government Sales Depots which act as marketing agencies for the finished wares of the craftsmen. Their commission charges are also

very nominal. And as a matter of fact, the Government Sales Depot at Surat has been run at a loss for a considerable time as it has proved to be of at least some help to the artisans.

Already two young craftsmen have taken advantage of getting themselves trained in sandalwood designs in Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay. And we hope many more will follow their examples. In this connection, we should



An all-sandalwood box

like to point out that the Government should increase the scholarships, for Rs. 30 per month is obviously very low in the present high cost of living in Bombay. We think it should be at least Rs. 50. Such an increase will induce more young craftsmen to get themselves trained in Sir J. J. School of Arts than otherwise.

As an alternative, the Government should start a training centre right in Surat. The tutor of such a class must be well selected. He should not only be well versed in Indian arts and crafts, but should also have plenty of original ideas both as regards the designs and, also the final get-up of the products. Preferably, he himself should be a hereditary craftsman. About ten boys may be admitted to this class every year, and the course of the study may be either of one year or two years. The cost of such a class for the first year may be estimated :

Salary of the Tutor—Rs. 1,200.
10 Scholarships at Rs. 15—Rs. 1,800.
Raw Materials—Rs. 500.
Tools, etc.—Rs. 500.
Total Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 5,000.

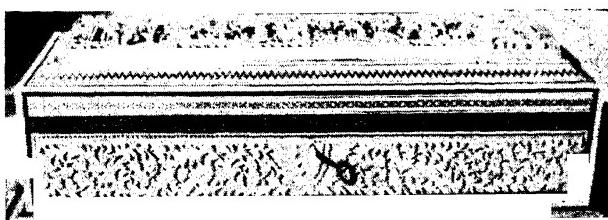
In case the tutor is efficient, then the class can be made self-sufficient in little time. The finished products of the students can be sold in the market.

Besides showing how to produce sandalwood boxes, the tutor should also initiate the students in making many other articles such as book-ends, wall calendars, etc., of sandalwood and other woods. In short, the tutor should not be satisfied by merely making his students mechanical craftsmen. We want the new generation of the craftsmen to be creative and not merely blind mechanical followers of their hereditary craft.

The main cause of the deterioration in the designs to-day lies perhaps not with the craftsman but with his patron. After all, if, the public does not want same old designs and is willing to patronise something better, then there is no reason why the craftsmen will not go in for something new and original. Thus for instance, a little less ornamented designs may quite possibly enhance the artistic merits of the sandalwood boxes when compared to the present over-decorated boxes. Besides manufacturing sandalwood boxes, quite successful attempts have been made in making sandalwood and other wood book-ends, calendars, etc., and the specimens may be seen at the Government Sales Depots in Bombay and in Surat. Nevertheless,

much remains to be done in this direction if the craftsmen are not to be reduced to the levels of machines and the craft to be allowed to rot and rust. We have got to make the craftsmen quit the rut.

It is mainly the upper strata of the society in our country which has an access to the finished products of the sandalwood craft. If at least some of the Surat craftsmen can be induced to substitute sandalwood by some cheap wood, such as teakwood or seesum as a side-craft and produced carved boxes of these woods then they can also approach the middle classes who obviously cannot afford to go in for sandalwood boxes which these days cost anything from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50. Any such approach to the middle classes



Another type of finished product. A sandalwood box prepared by the inlaid process

would result in a wider market for the Surat sandalwood craftsmen. This widening of their market will be good not only for themselves but also for their craft as well. It will also be a step in right direction, if we want our masses to appreciate their own traditional arts and crafts. It will bring us a mile-stone nearer to our goal of permeating our daily life with Art.

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PRESENT ACTIVITIES TOWARDS LONG-STAPLED COTTON CULTIVATION IN BENGAL

By ANATH GOPAL SEN

THE recent trends in the development of long-staple cotton cultivation may interest those who have been kept in suspense since my discussion on the problem in *The Modern Review* for May, 1943. With funds contributed by the Central Cotton Committee of India and the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, the five years' scheme of work which ended in 1942-43, has been extended, in a modified form for another three years. It may be noted here that the Government of Bengal made no contribution for working this remodelled scheme. The Bengal Cotton Sub-committee which also ceased to exist since 1942, has however been revived and the Government Agricultural Department has been working the scheme as before under its guidance. The Daksheswari Cotton Mills have also been continuing their development work in this direction, in different parts of Bengal. In Cossimbazar (Murshidabad) area, they have been growing different varieties of cotton under the schemes sponsored by the Central Cotton Committee of India as well as by the Calcutta University. The success of the Dhakeswari Mills' venture in the growth of cotton as mixed crop with 'aus' paddy in Cossimbazar area has appealed to cultivators there, who now do not hesitate to take to the cultivation of a new crop like cotton as a source of subsidiary income without disturbing their existing paddy crop in the same field. The plan is very suitable and we hope it will appeal to tillers of soil of other localities, who always hesitate to undertake experiments on an unknown new crop, unless its success can be demonstrated. In this connection we had occasion to note that last five year's experiments have proved that cotton cultivation is profitable and in some centres more than 200 p.c. profit has been realised. It is unfortunate, however, that even in those localities people have not taken to its cultivation for want of sufficient impetus on the part of the authorities concerned.

The cultivation of Dacca Egyptian cotton, about which Bengal possesses immense possibilities was as we had occasion to note, threatened with extinction by a fungus attack known as anthrax. The Agricultural Department had under advice from the last Cotton Sub-committee, thought it advisable to discontinue its cultivation and did not take advantage of the special contribution, granted by the Government. But the Dhakeswari Mills, as we know, carried its cultivation with great success, considered both from qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, for three successive years since 1938. In the face of various difficulties, the above mills have been continuing its cultivation of this variety every year with seeds treated by Mr. S. N. Bannerji, Mycologist of the Botany Department of the Calcutta University. It would be gratifying to note that the University, as requested by the previous Bengal Cotton Sub-committee, sent a scheme of work for 5 years and with funds contributed by the Bengal Mill-owners' Association, it has been carrying on Research work on that variety of cotton from its last session 1943-44, under Dr. S. P. Agharkar, Head of the Department of Botany of the Calcutta University.

Regarding formation of the new Cotton Sub-committee for Bengal, we regret very much to note, that in spite of repeated requests and suggestions by the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills to include scientists like Prof. S. P. Agharkar M.A., Ph.D., F.L.S., F.N.I., one Professor from the Bose Institute, and some growers who have of late shown great success in cotton cultivation under Government scheme, they had been totally ignored, and there is not a single scientist, or a successful grower, on the committee who can deal with the different problems connected with this cultivation of cotton in the meeting, from personal knowledge and experience except the Second Economic Botanist, Bengal.



THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

With the capture of Cherbourg by the Americans the Allied forces under General Eisenhower have completed the first part of their task in establishing a bridgehead in Western Europe. The selection of the site for the staging of the Invasion of Europe left very little to be desired judged from the point of view of suitability for the application of the maximum force at the disposal of the Western Allies. The Invasion itself was carried out under the shelter of the most terrific aerial and naval bombardment of the defending forces that history has as yet seen. It was an immense force carried over by a super-Gargantuan armada under the cover of an Air-umbrella the size of which surpasses imagination even after the graphic description given by the observers on the spot. The hundred and odd mile wide strip on the French side of the channel coast between Le Havre and Cherbourg is ideally situated for the focussing of the aerial and naval forces concentrated by the Allies in the great air and naval ports of the south of England. Transit time is short and the traversing of the channel as secure as the full force of the combined Invasion Fleet could ever make it. Indeed the planning and the execution was superb to the extent of getting unstinted and eloquent praise from Marshal Stalin. The Invasion force struck the shores of Normandy with the weight and momentum of tidal waves and in the inferno that followed more and more weight of arms and armour was flung in with the inflexible determination and with the complete disregard for cost that has hitherto been shown, on the side of the United Nations, by the Russians alone. Under the relentless pressure the battle-zone on the beaches started widening in a westerly direction. The American forces then cut across the peninsula to the south of Cherbourg and after subjecting the defences to a veritable volcanic eruption of fire and metal broke into and finally occupied Cherbourg. Now the Allies have the makings of a real bridgehead though a great deal has as yet to be done before that is really and truly established on a scale commensurate with the requirements of a Continental Second Front engaging scores of divisions of arms and armour and hundreds of squadrons of air planes on either side.

But if the Invasion forces are almost irresistible in weight and fire-power the defences have proved so far to be most formidable. At the time of writing these notes the Allied invasion force has been in continuous action, with the maximum force applicable under the circumstances, for twenty-four days and nights, with the full weight of the Allied Naval and Air fleets behind it. But even with the application of this stupendous force and with the complete supremacy established in the air and on water, there are no wide cracks visible as yet in the defence system organised by the Nazi Supreme Command. They had ample time for all arrangements and it is evident that they have wasted very little of it. In a struggle of this nature many unpredictable things do happen and extremely vital changes are possible but judging purely by what has happened, and is happening in that hundred-odd mile wide strip of undiluted Hell-on-earth up-to-date, it seems very improbable that the hopes for an early collapse of Germany will materialize as soon as hoped for by one of the Big Three, purely through action on the Western Front.

Russia has started its summer campaign. The opening moves on the Finnish front showed that Marshal Stalin did not intend to give the German High Command any respite, and now with the break-through round Vitebsk the campaign is on in its full fury. The Russian estimate of Axis strength on the Eastern European front will surprise many. According to that, the Nazi High Command has at its disposal 200 German divisions with 50 divisions of other nationalities in support though the value of these is doubtful. But leaving out these auxiliaries those 200 German divisions in Russia, added to the 25 or 30 divisions in Italy and the 30 divisions in the Balkans and Scandinavia, leave only 40 to 50 divisions to oppose the Allied Invasion forces in France, if Mr. Churchill's estimate of German strength—which he put at a total of 300 divisions, many of which are depleted—be correct. All these estimates, however, are bound to be conjectural to a certain extent and as such must be left at that. The Russian drive at present is lower down in White Russia around Bobruisk and the

threat to the German divisions defending the Minsk centre is increasing fast. On the Beresina sector too the Soviets' forces under General Rokossovski are increasing their pressure on the German defence lines and General Zakharov's forces are pounding the last remnants of the Dnieper line. In short the Soviets are fast bringing up the tempo of their assaults to a pitch comparable with that of their campaigns of 1943, summer and autumn.

In Italy too the Allied armies are exerting continuous pressure on the defenders. The drive for Florence after being slowed down has again gained some slight impetus by the improvements in the Allied position west and east of Lake Trasimeno. Here again the defenders are making every possible use of the terrain and it is likely that the opposition will stiffen as the Allies enter more and more into the mountainous regions. Italy has been made into a separate and self-contained theatre of war evidently because of the tremendous difficulties of terrain and the campaign has so far not belied the expectations of delay. The progress will have to be stage by stage for some time as yet since the Germans are not giving battle excepting when positional advantages enable them to overcome the Allied superiority to a certain extent.

Taken in general, the Axis in Europe is in the toils. Pressure on the Eastern Front is increasing hourly while the Allies in the West are battering with increasing force on the coastal defence system. When these have been breached and the field of operations attains sufficient depth, it is only then that the real Second Front will be established. Before that happens the bridge-head will have to be firmly established and the port of Cherbourg restored and augmented in order that a swift and uninterrupted flow of supplies and reinforcements to the main battle-zone may be maintained. As yet the preliminaries are not over and at least for some time to come the fighting will be the harder the further the Allied forces get beyond the supporting guns of the navy. But all the same the Second Front is on its way, and though some days will have to pass—it may even be weeks—before its nature, scope and magnitude is fully revealed, there can be no denying now that the last trial of strength is on and that it will not be very long before Hitler's Wehrmacht faces at last its supreme test. It must not be forgotten however that *this is not the last lap of the run for the United Nations* for their problems would by no means be solved by the collapse of the Axis in

Europe. A great deal depends on how soon and in what condition the Allies emerge out of the European struggle, for Asia still waits and Japan is not wasting time or opportunity.

Allied miscalculations of Japan's strength, resourcefulness and audacity have resulted in minor disasters in the Arakan and the Manipur fronts as late as last spring and just now China is facing a threat greater than any since 1938. On the Indo-Burmese Front, things cannot be deemed satisfactory beyond the fact that the threat to the Assam-Bengal Railway has now been definitely removed. We never gave any credence to the supposed threat of invasion and as such that need not be discussed. But the fact remains that with only limited resources the Japanese succeeded in holding up the Burma campaign of 1943-44, and that with characteristic stubbornness they are still trying to hold on to the strips of Indian territory in their hands against greatly superior forces. In China they are now attempting a nullification of the plans of the United Nations by clearing the railways of threats from the forces of Free China and by putting out of action the aerial advanced posts established after so much effort by the combined U. S. and Chinese air-forces. We do not by any means believe that Free China will crack under the latest Japanese offensives, but at the same time we cannot but believe that every Japanese gain in China will substantially retard the conclusion of the struggle in Asia. Whatever be the extent of Japanese disasters in the Pacific and whatever be the gains of the Allies in the Islands of the Pacific and the Indian Oceans the final decision will have to be obtained by way of China and no substantial improvement of the position of the United Nations has been achieved there yet, indeed just now it is on the contrary.

We have been hearing a lot about the whittling down of Japan's power during the last two years. But it seems that in spite of all these defeats and disasters, Japan can stage powerful thrusts in China, and major diversions on the Indo-Burmese fronts, the nett effect of which is to upset Allied plans for some time to come. The only conclusion that can be drawn from such events is that Japan is playing for time and that she hopes and believes that given some more breathing space, she would be able to challenge the combined might of the A. B. C. D. group. So, unlike in the European theatre of War, in Asia time is not as yet on the side of the Allies.



Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek



Chinese troops march against the Japanese
in Burma



General Sun Li-jen of the Chinese Army explains to a group of Chinese Officers
the operation of the U.S. Army's "bazooka" rocket gun



Chinese Officers and Soldiers in an Infantry Training Centre somewhere in South China.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY RISHI

BY SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

WITH the death of Sir Prafulla Chandra Ray a lofty beacon-light of our nation has been quenched, and a character has disappeared from our midst which can hardly ever reappear in the coming centuries, since our social evolution has already taken a turn to a new stage. He was himself an eminent research worker in chemistry and the teacher of two generations of scientific workers; indeed, in popular parlance he bore the title of "the Father of D.Sc's." In this respect he ran true to the type of our ancient *Rishis*,—those self-forgetting, life-devoting, austere simple, but smiling and childlike, *gurus*, who moulded Indian life and thought twenty-five centuries ago. Indian scientists now in the fulness of life can truly speak of him as Bhavabhuji spoke of the father of Indian song :

स च कुलपतिः आद्यः उन्दसाम् यः प्रयोक्ता ।

"He the primeval Great Teacher, who gave origin to our craft."

Acharya Prafulla Chandra, as he was lovingly called in Bengal, was the *Kulapati* of Indian science; his pupils and his pupils' pupils fill many a chair in laboratories all over India; and many others who had not been privileged to sit at his feet, have been inspired by the example of his life.

And a life, so rich in its variety, so fruitful of achievement, and so unfailingly directed to a single goal for 83 years, deserves reverential contemplation for our own good. Hard-working, abstemiously poor professors of Chemistry there have been on the Continent, especially in France. His visit to one such old savant in a poor servant-less tenement in the suburbs of Paris, during his Continental tour of 1921, Dr. Ray described to me with rapt admiration. But what raised P. C. Ray to a different plane from them was the practical side of his life's work. This original investigator of Nature's secrets, this abstract scientist, was at the same time an intensely practical patriot. Scorning to win cheap popularity by flattering the current whims of our "educated public," he kept crying out month after month, year after year, from the platform and the press : "Young men of India ! give up indolence, give up your habits of luxury, pursue plain living and high thinking, throw

away the hollow bombast and deceptive slogans of politics, and turn to the economic regeneration of the country. Otherwise, our race would become extinct." His insistence on this primal need of the nation made supercilious "leaders" sneer at him (in private talk) as an old crack-brain. But he also won the lasting gratitude and devotion of thousands of his thoughtful countrymen, as a true light of life. And he set practical examples of how to do it. This aim he kept before himself and before his countrymen to the last day of his life, and always stressed to us who had the privilege of his private friendship.

Judged by the use he made of his life's opportunities in pursuing his ideal, and not merely by the honour and wealth he earned (though these, too, were considerable for a middle-class Bengali College teacher)—his career was in every sense fruitful of success. His equipment for his chosen work was the highest possible and richly varied. Born on 2nd August 1861, he went through the undergraduate course in Calcutta, won the Gilchrist Scholarship for study in Britain (1882), and joined the Edinburgh University where he obtained the D.Sc. degree in 1887. His career there is best illustrated by the following conversation :

"In 1936 the Dacca University conferred honorary doctorates on Sir P. C. Ray and Sir John Anderson the Governor of Bengal. At the tea party following the ceremony, Dr. Ray sitting at the right hand of the Governor smilingly remarked to him, "Today we have become enrolled in the same University. We are fellow-students now."

Sir John.—"Was it not earlier ? Are you not a Faraday Gold Medalist of the Edinburgh University and were you not elected Vice-President of the University Natural Philosophy Society in 1886 ?"

Sir P. C.—"Yes."

Sir John—"I also won that medal and was elected a Vice-President of the Society, eighteen years after you. In looking up the lists of my predecessors in that office and among the former medalists I found your name in 1886."

Then their talk drifted on to Ray's contemporaries at Edinburgh who had since made great names in Sciences and some of whom were

Anderson's teachers,—such as James Walker, Hugh Marshall, Alexander Smith and others.

The Scotsman entered the Civil Service of his country by a competitive examination open to all, and rose to be Governor of Bengal, a minister under the British Crown and a Right Hon'ble Member of the War Cabinet. His Bengali compeer,—who had won the same academic honours (and a doctorate in addition) eighteen years earlier was admitted to the provincial educational service of his own country grudgingly by *nomination*, and was confined to the same *subordinate* category throughout his 27 years of Government service. Sir Alfred Croft, the Director of Public Instruction, refused him a post in the higher service (I.E.S.) with the consoling words, "Many other ways of life are open to you. Nobody compels you to enter the educational service." [P. C. Ray's *Autobiography*.]

On his return to India Dr. Prafulla Chandra secured employment as an Assistant Lecturer in Chemistry at the Government Presidency College, Calcutta, in June 1889, and continued to serve there till his retirement in 1916,—when the Calcutta University took him up as the Palit Professor of Chemistry at its newly founded Science College in Upper Circular Road. Here in a single barely-furnished upper room he passed all his remaining years, and here he breathed his last, on 16th June 1944, at the age of almost 83 years. His presence there and his daily work in the laboratory year after year, were an inspiration to countless students, even to those who did not profess chemistry. It was a life wholly dedicated to Science—and also to the country's varied interests, as I shall show later.

After being settled in life in Calcutta the young scientist proposed for the hand of the daughter of a very well-known cultured family, but his suit was rejected and one of his pupils was preferred to him. (The lady later died young and without issue.) So, Prafulla Chandra remained a bachelor all his life; it was a gain to science and to the country—and to himself also personally... The lonely hermit was spared the hundred and one worries of domestic management which fall on the father, and he escaped also

The grief that saps the mind
For those on earth we see no more.
But it does not mean that henceforth he led a sordid self-centred life, dead to the rest of mankind. On the contrary, he took the student community—not in Bengal alone—as his adopted sons, and lavished all his time, all his thoughts and nearly all of his money on them.

His influence over them sprang not only from his life's example, but also from his varied mental equipment. Prafulla Chandra Ray was no narrow specialist who knows nothing and cares for nothing outside the minute sub-division of science in which he is making his researches. His liberal culture and wide human outlook were reflected in his love of general literature, passion for reading History books, and study of Sanskrit. Thus the scientific bias of his genius was balanced and corrected by literature, as Sir J. C. Bose's was by sumptuous examples of the painter's and sculptor's art, which the many visitors to the Bose Institute and Home must have noticed. In his old age Dr. Ray was re-reading Cicero's *De Senectute*. During one of my visits he told me in anger: "Look at... a D.Sc. and one of my pupils. I was dictating a paper of mine to him, when he suddenly stopped and asked me 'How shall I spell Cicero? Does it begin with S or C?' The new generation knows nothing beyond science, and their minds are cramped by their want of a broad general culture. From this basic defect even their writings on science will be unreadable." He was opposed to the abolition of compulsory Sanskrit from the Matriculation course and argued that the ignorance of this parent language would hopelessly weaken and vitiate the style of our Bengali writers, even on strictly scientific subjects;—"those who do not know Sanskrit literature, cannot write Bengali well."

He told me that during his fifth visit to Europe (in 1926), he went to the Rotunda-like place in London (now destroyed in the Blitz) with bookshops radiating all around, and bought a copy of *Tom Jones* in five volumes, in a large-paper clear-type edition, as very soothing to the eye in his old age! Classics, English fiction, Indian history,—all these were the delight of his life and the nourishing sap of his intellect.

His love of history and his love for his country drove him to suspend his modern chemical research, and study *ancient* Sanskrit works on science and make experiments to test the old formulae and recipes of Hindu medicine. Old Sanskrit works on Chemistry (*rasa-shāstra*) were traced by him, usually with the help of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* of Sanskrit MSS., and he secured transcripts of them for study with the help of pandits. The multifarious and recondite learning shown by Dr. Rudolf Hoernle in editing and translating the Bower Manuscript, extorted his boundless admiration. At this stage of his studies in Hindu chemistry, he one day told me in the Professors' Common Room, "I admire Hoernle like a god. What

marvellous scholarship! It is more than human."

At the same time he was no blind Chauvinist, no false patriotism would ever make him support any untrue claim. One day I collared him and asked, "Do you really believe that the ancient Hindus knew the atomic theory in its modern scientific sense?" He replied with a smile, "I don't. But I have given the theory in an appendix to my *History of Hindu Chemistry* as propounded by a friend who has been clearly stated there as its father!!!".

He opposed the opening of the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver,—which would still further lower the exchange value of the Rupee,—though many Indian industrialists were ranged against his view. When in a neighbouring province (economically very weak), the bureaucracy (with some Indian support) proposed to spend ten lakhs on University office buildings, Sir P. C. Ray publicly declared that to spend so much on mere brick and mortar would be worse than a mistake, it would be a crime!

His heart was with the mass of the people, and not confined to the youth of the middle and lower middle classes only. In 1917 and 1918 he spent his Puja holidays (October) at Benares, and we used to row up and down the Ganges in a hired boat in the evening. One day he asked us about the owners of the lofty palaces bordering the river front,—this is the Sindha house, this is the Udaipur house, this is the Durbhanga Maharajah's *ghat*, this is the old Peshwas' palace (since purchased by a Rajah), and so on. Then he remarked, "I can now understand why there is Socialism in this world. Look at these lofty mansions of the idle rich and look at the miserable huts of the actual workers and cultivators that I saw bordering the railway line for many miles before Benares." Then, looking at the priests fleecing the pilgrims at the sacred *ghats*, he added, "Did not Vivekanand say that there would be no regeneration of India unless we seized the priests by the long tufts of hair at the back of their heads and flung them into the Ocean? He was quite right."

Even a pure scientist cannot remain untouched by the politics that dominate the life of his countrymen. Prafulla Chandra was a silent but ardent and at the same time far-sighted and wise patriot, even from his student days in an alien land. He believed (as he once told me in his sitting room *cum* laboratory on the ground floor of the old Presidency College building, eastern wing), that the British conquest of India was a divine dispensation for our own good, as a necessary step in our evolution to-

wards advanced science, industry and modern knowledge. This was also the publicly avowed opinion of Bankim Chandra, the author of the ignorantly-denounced song *Bande Mataram*. But, at the same time, he was keen to point out the short-comings of the actual British Indian administration and the prevalence of drift and absence at Whitehall of a clearly laid and persistently followed policy of Indian uplift. On this subject he wrote a strongly worded and fully documented anonymous pamphlet when a student at Edinburgh,—which he later acknowledged in his *Autobiography*. When Lord Curzon, in his address as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, told us that truthfulness is a virtue peculiar to Europe and little known and less valued in the East, the students hissed at him as he was leaving the Senate House. I was not in Calcutta at the time. Sir P. C. Ray who narrated the story to me added, "Those who can applaud, have also a right to hiss." Some readers may remember how the very next morning the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* published an extract from Lord Curzon's travel-book in which he boasts how he had lied to the Prime Minister of Korea in order to gain a diplomatic point!

This keenness to ensure the lasting good of his countrymen was at the bottom of his opposition to all disruptive schemes like the yearly deteriorating Bengal Secondary Education Bills and the attempts of designing leaders to widen the cleavage between the Hindus and the Muslims,—who in Bengal at least form one society, separated only by religion (with attendant meal and marriage customs). He applauded every attempt to show how the literature produced by the Bengali Muslims is very genuine Bengali,—and once embraced a Muslim essayist on this subject on the platform of a Bengali Literary Conference at Rajshahi. He subsidised the publication of Reza-ul-Karim's thoughtful English essays appealing for Hindu-Moslem unity.

The dream of his life, as he often used to tell his friends in his Presidency College days, was to see a fully equipped institute of scientific research established in India. That dream was realised, thanks to the munificence of Taraknath Palit and Ras-behari Ghose, in 1916. Himself leading a hermit's life of simplicity and abstinence, he pleaded for the necessary equipment of apparatus to the fullest extent. Any parsimony here would, he argued, be false economy and harmful to the nation's advance by nullifying the labours of our savants. At a meeting of the Hindu University Court (at

Benares, in 1918), he argued, "I am a scientific worker; you see how I am dressed. If my coat sleeves are examined you will find proof that I am a chemist, accustomed to handling corrosive acids. I do not ask for anything for myself. But I tell you, you must equip your laboratories with the latest and best apparatus, or you will not get the fullest benefit from the genius and industry of our students." This speech con-

vinced even those Elders who had been clamouring to see again the day when "Five thousand *vidyarthis* (students) would squat down on the grass under the trees and go through their College courses,"—very cheaply.

Of his personal charity, large-scale relief organisation, foundation of industries, tireless efforts at social uplift and practical help, I have no time to speak today.

MAHARAJA BHAGVATSINHJEE OF GONDAL The Faithful Servant of his People

By X

ACCORDING to Emerson, "the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude." Bhagvatsinhjee was truly great as throughout the whole tenor of his life he kept his 'perfect sweetness' and 'the independence of solitude.'

Born in the year 1865, the child grew under the influence of his religious mother Monghibai; but a major crisis of his life occurred in the demise of his father Sagramji in 1869 when he was but four. So deep was the impression of this event that this child of tender years began to think of his future responsibilities; and therefore as his teachers and professors report and his ways reveal that, to use the Poet's words :

"When I was yet a child, no childish play to me was pleasing; all my mind was set serious to learn and know and thence to do what might be *public good*."

The child developed sobriety of life, industry and application when he was a student in the Rajkumar College where he had been admitted at the age of nine years. Self-reliant, shy and lonely at heart he completed his course of studies and stood very high securing distinction in the classes.

In 1884 at the age of 19 this promising scholar was handed over the administration of the State which was then under the minority management under British Officers.

All his life he was a student. Never he gave up studies. He wrote *The Journal of a Visit to England, A Short History of the Aryan Medical Science*; and later an Encyclopaedic work of *Gujarati Dictionary* in five volumes was undertaken by him in his advanced age. It is called Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee's *Magnum Opus*. His academic laurels especially in medical studies were many. He was D.C.L. of the Oxford University, and M.D. of the Edinburgh University.

Since the day Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee

assumed the reins of administration, that is sixty years ago, one passion and one passion alone had stirred the mind of the great soul—devotion to a particular cause, the Service of Gondal. The planned work was carried through with determination and *tapasya* which characterised the ruler born to serve in the name of governing.

To him more income of the State meant more schools; more money meant relief to the poor and in lean years generous grants and profuse remissions in land revenues. Sixty years ago when Bhagavatsinhjee assumed power the annual income of the State was 13 lakhs of rupees. He worked up to 80 lakhs! Yet not a pie was added to the land revenue assessment. Prosperous peasantry was his greatest achievement.

And, how—question the curious. "By freeing his people from the chain of fifty taxes that hampered their growth in 1884. These fifty taxes one and all he abolished including the Octroi and Excise duties. Unparalleled in the history of the world-taxation!" We are a taxless people—a unique sector in this mad world groaning under taxation, this is the pride of Gondal.

The remarkable close of his life on the 9th March 1944 reveals the greatness of the man who maintained a wonderful calm and proved to the world that his was not an ordinary soul.

The sixty years that he led the march of Gondal show proof positive of an all-round progress. He refused to tear himself away from the noble tradition of an Aryan king. He wisely assimilated the very best he found in the Western civilization and culture. He never wasted time, money, words and emotions. He was *Facta non verba* personified; he was a man whose life and deeds inspire people; fondly his people call him *Father Bhagvatsinhjee*. His culture, his lofty ideals are known to and appre-

HANDS

ciated by some of Europe's greatest men and his administration won for him the respect of the Government and the people alike.

Gondal, a small State in the province of Kathiawar, say a little over one thousand square miles in area, is proud to possess 370 miles of good roads, eleven big bridges and more than twelve-hundred culverts, railways, electric lights, telephone, a bold peasantry prosperous and satisfied; schools and other educational institutions are the pride of Gondal. He stopped cruelty to animals, he stopped cow-killing; the deeper we think the greater grows the stature of his genius. This explains the reasons for his people celebrating with ever-increasing love and enthusiasm his birthdays, Silver and Golden Jubilees, raising statues of bronze and marble, placing copper plates and marble slabs in villages and towns, printing commemoration stamps and performing a thousand beautiful things. He got the divine honour of being weighed with the people's gold on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee. His Diamond Jubilee was to have been celebrated this year.

No great man's work could be truly evaluated until the unity underlying his work is grasped. That unity was to use his own magnificently resonant phrase—*Gondal Above All!* For securing that ideal and unity of purpose he spurned delights and lived laborious days; to him duty was the stern daughter of the voice of God. His readiness to help the poor and oppressed, his easy accessibility, his sympathetic imagination and the whole tenor of his life endeared him to his subjects.

His Highness the Maharaja Bhagvatsinhjee was indeed many great things in one. His masterful personality impressed its stamp on every little thing in Gondal.

His *inner faith* was steadfast and unshaken. With that faith this noble son of Gondal worked till the last throb of life in the service of his people. He died in harness, according to his philosophy of life. Now they rightly say that Bapu Bhagvatsinhjee's name and fame is immortal.

HANDS

By CYRIL MODAK

HANDS that turn a brute to man
Grasping in a narrow span

Pen and sceptre, hammer, sword and sickle,
Secret of all greatness, power that's fickle;
Holding Charm's strategic plan,
Mirror, powder puff and fan !

Deathful hands and hands that save,
Carve a palace in a cave,
Sanctuary for Love and Hope and Sorrow;
Gold-stained hands that trade on what they borrow;
Hands that gilded favours crave
With the gestures of the slave.

Jewelled hands that flirting try
O'er the piano keys to fly;
Hands of fashion, manicured and idle,
Fondly hope Futality to bridle;
Pretty hands that playful lie
On the breast of Luxury.

Working hands that never quail
At the toil the hours entail,
Hands that keep the wheels of life in motion,
Win a prize of pearls from threat'ning ocean,
Hands that say, "Love ne'er will fail !
Beauty will o'er scars prevail !"

APPLIED PSYCHOLOGY IN RECONSTRUCTED INDIA

By DWIJEN GANGULY

THE astounding successes of Soviet Russia in the present war against Nazi aggression are due mainly to the 'Five Years Plan' launched 16 years back in 1928. The "New Deal" of U. S. A. also has enhanced her productive capacity almost to an unbelievable extent. The attainments of these countries have not been achieved accidentally. They have come about because the plans behind them were preconceived and well laid out. Due weight was given to every essential point before the whole scheme was put into operation.

Here in India also signs are in evidence of an urge for national planning. Already a few plans have come out in the press and are being weighed and discussed. The one popularly known as the 'Bombay Plan' produced by some of the industrial magnates of India has already received considerable public attention. It takes into account the essentials of life, *viz.*, health, food, clothing, education, etc., with a view to increase the standard of living. The National Planning Committee began to collect data from almost 1940 but unfortunately barring a few reports of some of its sub-committees the full scheme has not been available as the committee could not conclude its deliberations owing to the incarceration of its Chairman Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Sargent report on the reconstruction of the educational system in India also came out during the concluding quarter of the last year. In order to be able to march along the high roads of progress abreast with other nations of the world, India will have to enlarge, in the near future, its projects in agriculture, education, industry, health and hygiene, etc., according to well thought-out plans.

Big industrial enterprises, advanced agricultural undertakings and new orientations in educational schemes will not only demand the help of material but also of mental and social sciences. These expansions will naturally make greater claims than at present on human factor and in consequence will introduce more intricacies and complexities in institutions as regards placement and proper utilization of personnel. Almost all the plans of national reconstruction in our country that have been proposed up to the present moment have failed to take psychology into account probably because the science is

comparatively young and unfamiliar and perhaps it has not as yet been able to inspire public confidence. But the story is different in other progressive countries. The fact that 'man and machine' go together to make the picture of human civilization complete has been well realized by the people of these countries. Psychology and physical sciences are nurtured side by side, the former for the benefit of the 'man' factor and the latter for the improvement of the 'machine' factor. If psychology could make its influence felt abroad there is every reason to believe that it is equally capable of rendering help here also. A plan drawn up with a view to national advancement should therefore take into account the data supplied by psychology and should make provisions for psychological guidance in appropriate spheres.

The field of application of applied psychology amongst other things embraces vocational guidance and selection. Vocational guidance aims at finding a suitable vocation for a particular person while vocational selection attempts choosing a suitable person for a particular job. Many persons come upon their respective vocations by drift as it were and cling to them without knowing whether they are able to do justice either to themselves or to their occupation and in consequence some of them fail miserably to adjust themselves to their chosen positions. These vocational misfits become unhappy and act as a constant drag on the institutions to which they belong. Vocational guidance, if given timely, can prevent this type of maladjustment to a very great extent. The guidance should be attempted quite early say at the school-leaving age when one just begins to feel the importance of the outer world and becomes conscious of the role one has to take up later in the struggle for existence. In advanced countries we find schools having in their staff psychologists as career-masters. These career-masters assess, with the help of psychological technique, talents and temperaments of students, consider the levels of attainments already achieved or likely to be achieved, take into consideration the effects of environmental influence and then formulate their guidance on the basis of these findings. The Sargent report

also points out the need of having career-masters in our schools.

Defective selection in various fields of employment causes numerous occupational failures. Reliance is often placed on the subjective or personal opinions of employers and judgment is arrived at from a consideration of some particular trait or other of the candidates with the result that the selection becomes defective. In the selection of personnel, objective estimates and measurements of the different capacities of the applicants should be carried out in order to have a comprehensive idea of the total personality. This procedure if adopted will effect considerable reduction in the number of failures in selection. Thus applied psychology helps the industrialists and other employers of human material in different spheres to select suitable personnel increasing thereby the efficiency of administration. Military authorities have found that a great deal of useless expenditure in time and money can be prevented if in the early stages of recruitment and training the help of psychology is availed of in sorting out the different grades of workers according to their levels of intelligence and ability. A department of selection of personnel has been set up in India also for military purposes. Work on personnel research to suit military requirements is being conducted by this department. The Applied Section of Psychology of the University of Calcutta has been for the last six years giving vocational guidance to the members of the general public and to school children of Bengal. It is also carrying on researches on problems of vocational selection. Mr. S. R. Batliboi has recently started a vocational guidance institute in Bombay with a view to promote the cause of vocational psychology.

Applied Psychology offers valuable help to industry in many other directions also. It attempts to remove the causes that prevent the smooth and easy working of industrial concerns, it devises measures against unnecessary fatigue and irritation, it seeks to minimize accidents and it endeavours to maintain a healthy atmosphere that affords full play to the abilities of the employees and that tends to satisfy their natural desires and ambitions. The industrial psychologist also strives to eliminate the harmful effects of mechanization on human element; no system which does violence to human nature can have a social sanction. The ultimate fate of an industrial institution depends upon its ability to adjust itself to the requirements of the men that serve it. To help this adjustment is the aim of industrial psychology. The full effi-

ciency of industrial concerns will never be attained unless adequate attention is paid to the human side of production. Proper consideration given to the man-factor is bound to secure substantial economy. Considerable improvement in industry has already been achieved in countries, such as England, Russia and America by utilizing the services not only of applied physics, chemistry, etc., but of applied psychology as well. Unfortunately, the industrialists of India in contrast to those abroad have not as yet taken any help from psychology. The expansion of industrial enterprises in India that will follow the termination of the present war is certain to bring about a change in our outlook with the result that persons trained in different branches of psychology will be in demand in large numbers. The University of Calcutta has made arrangements from last year for a course of lectures on industrial psychology for labour welfare officers. This is a beginning in the right direction.

The need of psychological knowledge in the field of education has fortunately been recognized in India for some time past. Special methods of teaching e.g., kindergarten, nursery training, etc., are results of psychological researches in the sphere of education. In western countries psychological tests have been and are being devised to classify school students into groups of different intelligence levels and to sort out mentally deficient children from among the normal. This system of classification has proved useful in bringing about a betterment in teaching. Problem children, i.e., those maladjusted in their emotional life or those children who have defective intelligence or who are otherwise handicapped in their relation to social environment, are helped to overcome their difficulties with psychological guidance and advice. These cases of abnormalities are a charge to the society and the state. Establishment of psychological clinics in large numbers is essential to help these unfortunate sufferers. At present although a few such psychological institutions are functioning in India as private enterprises they can render aid to only an insignificant fraction of such handicapped population. But the signs are definitely encouraging. The government of the country is now taking interest in mental hygiene problems. The Mental Hygiene Sub-Committee of the Health Survey and Development Committee of the Government of India under Sir Joseph Bhore recently considered the question of establishing mental institutions throughout India for the treatment of mental patients and for the care and education of mentally deficient children.

A large number of persons trained in applied psychology will find employment in the near future under the scheme as psychiatric social workers, as psychologists and as teachers for mentally deficient children. It is estimated that in connection with mental hygiene alone nearly 30,000 of such workers will be absorbed in the course of next 30 years. The industrial and educational concerns will probably require the services of an equal number of trained psychologists.

From the statements made above it may be concluded that reconstructed India will, for the full realization of her aims, need the services of a large band of workers trained in different branches of applied psychology but facilities for training in applied psychology in India is at present negligible. The Applied Section of Psychology of the University of Calcutta which has been up to now more a research body than a training centre and the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, which imparts training psychology.

to a limited number of persons every year are the only two institutions dealing with applied psychology in India. It has been stressed times without number by the prominent scientific men of our country that steps should be taken without much loss of time to intensify researches and facilitate training of students in the different branches of 'Science and Technology' so that we may cope with the demands when the time comes for national reconstruction. This statement is equally true of Psychology. We must look ahead and make preparation for training of the necessary psychological personnel of different types. It may be assured that if such opportunity of training be forthcoming persons interested in psychology and in its application will not lag behind to avail themselves of the facilities offered as the chances of employment in the near future are very great. It is for the Universities more than any other institution to take up this matter and to start training courses in applied psychology.

THE WRITER IN A CHANGING WORLD

By PROF. RAJENDRA VARMA, M.A.

VI

On the periphery of literary criticism there would always remain the inevitable question of 'tradition' and the writer. We have seen that T. S. Eliot has tried to construct a basis for a correct linking of the writer to tradition through a unified outlook on life as evolved by the Church. We have also seen that such an outlook is sadly out of place in the present scheme of things. In India tradition seems to be in the bone of the people. But this 'tradition' at times, proves to be a subterfuge of the defeated.

Speaking generally, Indian poetry written in recent times reveals a striking harmony of outlook. It appears as if some strong 'tradition' has penetrated the world of imagination. Yearnings of the finite for the infinite, of the self for the Great Beyond, of the aching spirit for the supreme bliss—these are some of the notes struck by poets in general, particularly after the experiments of Rabindranath Tagore. Mysticism, so it appeared, was motif of verse-creation. Indian philosophical system had acclaimed it as one of its chief tenets. It was to be found in a

nascent state in the Vedas, developed and elaborated in the Upanishads, practised and cherished by Kabir, Tukaram and Chaitanya. This kernel of the ancient truth, thought our poets, was the only hope of reconstructing the essential spirit of India's heritage.

Mysticism, as an attitude towards life, was accepted as the only living 'tradition' that could re-vitalize the drooping spirit of the Indian Muse.

India's cultural inheritance, if it means the philosophy of life which plays an important part in moulding national character, is undoubtedly to be sought in the fountain-springs of the Vedas and the Upanishads. The Atman—the unchanging constant self of man—is related in its depth to the ultimate Reality. This self of man finds the external world empty and fleeting. It is thirsting to have a vision of the Central Reality of the Universe and to express this vision in stammering, ecstatic terms.

In its orthodox working, the mystical mind is absorbed in the intuitive grasp of the metaphysical reality, to the complete exclusion of the

material reality. The novelty of Rabindranath Tagore lies in blending together the earthly and the ultimate, self and the non-self. In short his mysticism consisted in finding the finite in the infinite.

The inadequacy, the finitude, the pity of impossible yearnings are the limitations of the Self in its passionate quest. Separation remains, languor comes over, and the lover—the Self—experiences pleasure in pain. Kabir with his directness and a certain roughness expressed this attitude in his poems; Rabindranath's vision is irradiated by this ceaseless search, and reduced to poetry with its intense lyrical quality it becomes the religio-romanticism of *Gitanjali*.

This cultural inheritance which is shot through and through with ancient intuitive philosophy was the natural link with the past. In Eliot's sense, which we have already examined, 'tradition' is necessary inasmuch as it limits the eccentricity of the writer and makes him see and feel the community. We have also seen that Eliot's tradition is a queer amalgam of orthodoxy and reactionaryism. What shall we say of 'mysticism' as a tradition in our literary creation?

The consciousness which evolved the literature with a mystical stamp was the product of forces obtaining at the time of first Aryan settlements. After the wars of conquest came the period of reflection and assimilation. The warriors put down their sword and retired into North Indian forests to meditate on problems of life. The result was a kind of poetic-philosophic utterance which used the method of intuitive grasping as distinct from intellectual.

Those forces today have gone with the age. Intuition is a slippery companion to the modern mind which seeks to discover the causal relation between different facets of the phenomenon of existence.

Kabir was the product of the time when the best in Islamic theology was fusing with traditional Hindu thought to wrestle with problems of relation of man to the universe. Life of the two communities was in slow degrees being woven into a single cultural pattern. Kabir stood in symbolic relation to this synthesis.

Rabindranath Tagore was the scion of an aristocratic family of Bengal which was in the centre of social and cultural awakening. In the latter half of the nineteenth century contact with the West was bearing astonishingly good results, in the spheres of social reforms and culture. In those days only a minority of aristocrats could lead any movement. The impact of this cultural renaissance on the Indian mind was

responsible, to a great extent, for the political ferment which shook it from its dreamy mood of passive submission, and induced a vivid recollection of the glories of the past. Rabindranath, a poet who understood his times and the genius of his people, caught this stir of renaissance in his lyricism. The influence of the Brahma Samaj, the re-awakening among the aristocrats and upper middle classes and a final faith in the inherent strength of the ancient philosophy were some of the formative influences on Tagore.

His mysticism, therefore, was the lyrical expression of the new awakening in the latter half of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. Its philosophical basis too was the product of the growing national consciousness which was dominated by things ancient and glorifying.

VII

But it is a far cry from the Bengal of *Gitanjali* to the Bengal of this famine. New facts have come to the fore, new tone has been given to national consciousness, deeper conflicts within the same society are coming into evidence. No longer do we look back to a philosophical system that answered to the spiritual inquiries of its own time, no longer do we sing of the ethereal other-worldly things. Life, with the impunity of a tyrant, throws challenge to us, confronts us with problems; and if baffled mocks at us. Where will mysticism fit with its aching flight into the Great Beyond?

Mysticism as a trait of an individualist poet and as an austere conscious realisation of life's philosophy may be understandable. But if it becomes the dominant characteristic of an entire period of literary creation—denying life and defying time—then the softest that can be uttered against it is that it is a veiled form of "Escapism."

An usual feature of mystical poetry is its imagery scheme which is strongly tinged with sexual metaphor. We in modern times hesitate to accept anything that cannot be demonstrated in terms of scientific concept. Recent psycho-analysis, with its emphasis upon the "Unconscious" for correct explanation of complex motives, drags the truth out of its mystical drapery. Sex-inhibitions, repressed into the unconscious, take a sublime form in the poetry of mysticism. This may appear a wild inference. But a sentimental, weak in mind and bereft of any guiding light, may appear to don the robes of a transcendentalist; but there he is under the searching light of psycho-analysis, a

neurotic, self-conscious individual seeking religiously accepted symbols to hide his sex cravings.

Our middle class poets, with their sentimentalism and the desire to imitate rather than create genuinely, find an easy access to mysticism. Because they are afraid of life and its demands.

Mysticism as a tradition in our literature therefore is a hiding place that plays the writer false. It is a symbol of complete negation of life, a stubborn denial of its demands. Those who attempt to foist a mystical view of life on literature venture to dodge the inescapable influence of history on the time.

VIII

India in this century presents to our eyes the amazing phenomenon of change. Every decade that succeeds marks a break with that which has gone. This cataclysmic change is symptomatic of tension and conflict between forces in the society. In the first part of the twentieth century, the Indian society with its infant nationalism moved slowly on lines of social reforms. The middle classes and the aristocrats, the sanyasis and the philosophers—the cream of the intelligentsia—were coming into their own. Then came in the year 1920, the rude awakening of the open mass opposition to a foreign rule; the lower middle classes, students and in some cases the Indian peasantry invaded the scene of action. Integrated nationalism, bright with the glow of romanticism, expressed itself in Khadi, equality of women in the political field, removal of untouchability and prohibition campaigns. From 1920 to 1940—a short span of two decades—the organised nationalism of the Indian people suffered great changes. The peasants and workers started making the voice of the underdogs heard. People were coming slowly to the realisation that alongside the foreign exploitation there existed the indigenous one which was equally ruthless and meticulous in its methods. Swaraj which appeared to promise to the millions the dawn of a millennium, looked like the elusive will-o'-the-wisp. What worth would be India's freedom if it substituted the indigenous system of exploitation of man by man?

With the advent of the British rule the Indian society, which was predominantly rural, received the first shock of an attempt to uproot it. Imperialism worked through subtle and ingenious channels. It ruined the trade and industries and reduced the peasantry to real

serfdom by creating the novel class of rent-collectors, called the Zemindars.

This class of intermediaries between the foreign rulers and the Indian peasantry learnt the methods of its creators—the methods the more insidious since they arose out of a cynical disregard of the sufferings of compatriots.

After a few decades the Indian society stood uprooted from its natural soil. The values which took colour from the rural civilisation receded far back into oblivion, yielding before the new behaviour-pattern which was the expression of gathering commercialism.

This new culture which had little of traditional value in it and still less of the strength of the spirit claimed for its ready champion a queer creation of imperialism and bourgeois social relation—the middle classes. Made to learn the English language as a compulsory subject and as the only means of gaining a foothold in society the middle classes could be a convenient tool in the hands of the foreign rulers. The old rural civilisation, whatever its failings, had its roots in the soil of the race. Its corner-stones were a certain humanness, the strength to uphold an idea in the face of greed, and a readiness to die for prestige. The precursors of the new culture brought with them a distorted view of Western institutions. Liberalism, which as a creed in politics, was in the process of fossilizing in England came to be employed as the watchword of our political philosophy. The land-holders, who were formerly bound to their peasants in a personal way saw that the grace of existence lay in the mercy of the British masters. Gradual installations of small factories in towns, and flooding of the Indian market with foreign goods left no doubt that our old conceptions and pre-suppositions were false and the only true motive force was the greed of money and ungrudging submission to the ideal of imitation.

The new bourgeoisie was indifferent to questions of art. Its greatest cultivation or patronage to art was when a mill-owner or the new landlord commanded a painter to make a portrait of himself or the family. But art must have a champion. Therefore, the middle classes, which somehow came to believe in their role as a connoisseur and creator of art, pitched their tent in the domain of art.

Certain obsolete traditions obstructed a full exhibition of the possibilities of the middle class. The caste system with its monstrosity, the purda with its medievalism and orthodoxy with its dogmatism were some of the targets of attack.

which the middle class indulged in and decided it was revolutionary.

The individual in this class rebels against obsolete values, but he rebels to register his sovereignty over society which he somehow thinks its uncompromising enemy. And the individual, left to himself will always concern himself with his "Personality." The middle class individual must live in the land of romance. His romanticism is not the full-blooded romanticism of a Shelley or a Byron but a water-cum-romance of a sentimentalist.

He has a vision of progress, because he is possessed with a cruel hallucination that he is the vanguard of society's progress. He takes a stride or two on the path but the compromise of which he is the helpless child staggers him back to defeat. The middle class individual is neither rich nor poor. He has in most cases come from the poor class and stands on its border-line. He therefore dreads to look back to the "filth" of his birth-place, he pretends to hate it. But he is not rich either. The bourgeois would not accept him on equal terms. He makes pitiful efforts to imitate the bourgeois in his social vanity. He, in this way, strikes a balanced position between two worlds.

And when the two worlds come to the inevitable clash the middle class gropes for security. Protection to it can be made secure only in the battle-tent of the rich; and when the battle-tent seems to totter before the fury of the rabble in arms this satellite of the bourgeoisie tries to dodge the battle by resorting to camouflage.

It invents myths of racialism, mysticism, individualism and all those institutions which stand as a secure base against the force of history.

This middle class is the usual deceptive phenomenon in the social life of India. It has been so far the main class from which our poets, playwrights, novelists and critics have been drawn. These authors the class has imparted its legacy—its cant, its tendency to moralise, its sentimentalism and its decay.

Most of these authors have a typical outlook which centres on the "Home" with its four walls. The novelists and playwrights contemplate situations in an Indian home; the problems which exist for them are the problems born and bred at home. This characteristic "home outlook" of the middle class excludes possibilities of a wider view of life, embracing the dignity, the pity, the pathos of human soul marching its way to truth. Woman, the pivot of the household world, becomes the presiding deity of the writer's cult. She dominates the

poet, perplexes the novelist and amazes the playwright. Instead of looking upon her as a comrade of man, sharing his joys and sorrows with a stout heart, she becomes the dream-lady of their lives.

One must therefore be on one's guard against the doubtful role of the middle class in the cultural life of our country. Its seemingly progressive role should not blind one to its vulgarity, its imitations, its crudities and its escapes.

IX

There is then the third class, the neglected and the despised—the Indian masses. Centuries of exploitation and ignorance have dug their claws on their face. Yet they are the factor who matter in the evolution of history. Though lacking cultivation of mind and expression they do not lack one thing—genuineness and sincerity. Their crudely composed folk-songs tingle with rock-bottom genuineness of feeling. Theirs is not the desire to grope for security because they stand completely on this side of the world. They cannot think of reaching far the other side because it is so awfully far and alien. So when they are aroused they simply are on the march. And once in a social mood they foster and develop qualities of comradeship, commonness and heroism. They give new tone to social consciousness, they evolve new emotional make-ups. With them arises in the offing a new set of values.

Indian masses have been aroused—and are on their feet. Life with its gruesome variations of persecutions, injustices, struggles and submissions, brutalities and pathos unrolls its pages. Those who have eyes read and understand. Those who do not, beat a retreat into a cosy corner to concentrate on form and indulge their personal whimsies. The masses symbolise the soul of man in this century struggling to free itself from shackles. This struggle is the grandeur of human spirit at grips with a de-humanizing and brutal system. Reduced to writing, it breathes revolt—revolt against canons of an art fostered by the class in power, revolt against the lies of a dying world.

The writer today must set his face towards the Indian masses. He must know that in every age the author is in a subterranean communion with the people for whom he writes. It is a centre from which he addresses his particular class of people, and it is this centre which changes with times. The raw material of his art the writer draws from life itself. Once he slips away from this centre of communication he loses contact with life. Shakespeare knew his centre, so did

John Donne and Pope and Wordsworth. Shelley and Tennyson.

This centre is indeed the main nerve-point of the developing humanity. In switching on to this point the Indian writer shall be placed amid a world which is real and solid. From here he shall view the ramparts of old civilisation going up in smoke, the incongruous interruptions of normal life by the monster of war, and the toilers and the despised pulling down in a supreme effort the prison-house of their soul. And in this view of life he shall find situations ripe for his pen, themes tingling with heart-throb to stir his imagination. His sympathies would widen and his spirit would harmonize with the world-spirit.

And it would be in keeping with the best cultural inheritance of India if our writer can create kinship with the world, because the Indian humanity forms an essential part of the world humanity which is astir in this World War. At such a time when the old relics are being cleared up and the organised creativity of peoples is finding a free expression in the Soviet Union the writer finds spiritual comfort in a comradeley people whose ideal is the same as his own. But no amount of spiritual energy or intellectual nutrition can make our writer worth his salt unless he abandons his exclusive obsessions with a narrow and private life and merges himself into the life of the people. His conversion can never be real until he ceases to treat literature as a decoration.

This process of mental transformation is attended with pain and our writer would experience it all the more. In his case the giving up of old cherished ideals and conceptions would be an agonizing experience, because our writer has so far treated literature as a beautiful Ivory Tower to which he could retire when life threatened to be ugly and bewildering. But he has to treat literature as a Watch Tower. His task is that of a critic and painter of life.

He is the individual conscious of his relation to society. Unlike the escapists he sets before

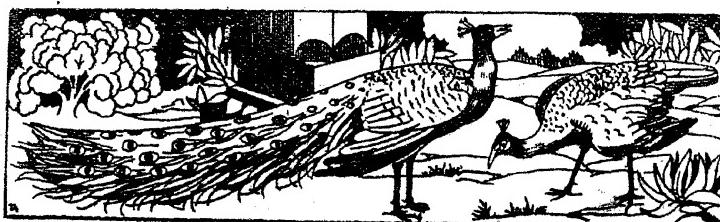
himself and the society the ideal which must be reached. An individual without a consciousness of the aim of the historical evolution of society becomes indeed a self-centred wreck. Our writer, because he is aware of this aim, alone can judge, criticise and interpret the flow of life. If the dominant aspect of the life of his time shows signs of an aberration from this ideal he slashes out, if it tries to walk the ether above the din of battle he mocks at the flight. But in no case would he weave a romantic web out of the suffering of his people. He has none of the middle class sentimentality, none of the bourgeoisie's nice rose-bud, lotus-leaf sensibility. In the civilisation where the market determines values and wickedness gives its dominating hue to life our writer is in the other camp which seeks to end this sordid state of affairs.

And it would not be expecting too much of our writer if he could possess an insight into the social process. In the days when history has ceased to be a chronicle of events, battles and kings and passed into the domain of science, and the forces that have been topsy-turvying the plans of peace arrange themselves into two opposite camps the writer must choose his place. Whether he is for reaction or progress let him know that he cannot play with history. He cannot adopt the quaint attitude of benevolent neutrality because the forces are too strong for the fence. W. H. Auden writes :

In the houses
The little pianos are closed,
And a clock strikes.
And all sway forward on the dangerous flood
Of history, that never sleeps or dies,
And, held one moment, burns the hand.

But before the writer can tune himself to the new note his old world with its myths, its romantic escapes, its decadence and its individualistic aimlessness must die, because this old world is powerless to give spiritual sustenance to his artistic instincts. It must be borne away 'on the dangerous flood of history.'

(Concluded)



SIKHISM AND BENGAL VAISHNAVISM

BY ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A.,
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GURU Nanak was a contemporary of Chaitanya, the great founder of Bengal Vaishnavism, and there is some evidence to show that they met at Puri.¹ Both of them played a decisive part in shaping the religious Reformation which swept over medieval India. Both of them formulated their teachings against the background of Islamic influence on Hindu religion and culture.² There are superficial resemblances between the doctrines taught by them. For instance, Krishnadas Kaviraj, whose great work³ is an authoritative biography of Chaitanya as well as a standard exposition of Bengal Vaishnavism, observes: "If a creature adores Krishna and serves his Guru, he is released from the meshes of illusion and attains to Krishna's feet" (i.e., salvation). Again: "Leaving these (i.e., temptations) and the religious systems based on caste, (the true Vaishnava) helplessly takes refuge with Krishna."⁴ Adoration of God and devotion to Guru are the leading features of Sikhism as well. But there are differences—and vital differences—between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism which the historian of medieval India cannot afford to ignore.

Even a casual observer must be struck with the close affinity existing between ancient Hinduism and Bengal Vaishnavism; the breach between ancient Hinduism and Sikhism was certainly wider. While Guru Nanak's scanty references to the Hindu scriptures seem to show that he was "only superficially acquainted with the Vedic and Puranic literature,"⁵ the literature of Bengal Vaishnavism is thoroughly permeated with the Vedic and Puranic spirit and imagery. The *Srimad Bhagvat* is the universally accepted primary scripture of Bengal Vaishnavism; Sikhism is not at all dependent on any ancient Hindu text. Although Bengal Vaishnavism imparted at least as great an impetus to the development of Vernacular literature in Bengal as Sikhism did in the Punjab, yet many standard works on Bengal Vaishnavism, including a dramatic bio-

graphy of Chaitanya,⁶ were written in Sanskrit. The *Chaitanya-Charitamrita* of Krishnadas Kaviraj is written in Bengali, but it is interspersed with Sanskrit *slokas* quoted from the *Srimad Bhagvat*, *Gita*, and other works. The most authentic philosophical exposition of *Rasa-sastra* is to be found in the difficult Sanskrit works written by the three revered Gosvamis—Rup, Sanatan⁷ and Jiv. Indeed, the Vaishnavas of Bengal did not try to dislodge Sanskrit from the position of the sacred language of the Hindus, although they composed poetical works and lyrics—all of them religious in character—in the Bengali language.

The antecedents of the founder and exponents of Bengal Vaishnavism explain this curious devotion of an essentially popular religion to the language and philosophy of ancient Hinduism. Unlike Guru Nanak, who cannot be described as a learned man in the ordinary sense of that word, Chaitanya was a profound scholar. His proficiency in Grammar and Logic excited the wonder of Navadvip, one of the greatest centres of Sanskrit learning in those days. He set up as a teacher in his early youth. Unlike Guru Nanak, who came from the lower stratum of Hindu society, Chaitanya was a Brahmin. The environments in which they lived were radically different. Nanak passed his impressionable years in rural areas subject to predominantly Islamic influence, but Chaitanya grew up in a centre of orthodox learning. Naturally their outlook on life and religion was different. Chaitanya quoted Sanskrit *slokas* when he was in ecstasy; he loved to reside at Puri, a sacred place of pilgrimage for the orthodox Hindus. His religion was rooted deeply in the past. His followers did nothing to introduce a new departure. Men like Rup, Sanatan and Krishnadas Kaviraj were deeply versed in ancient learning; the successors of Guru Nanak were not at all inclined to master or make use of the Hindu scriptures.

The entire dependence of Sikhism on the vernacular, to the total exclusion of Sanskrit, had two important consequences. Centuries of tradition had familiarised the Hindus with Vedic and Puranic stories and ideas, and a religion which was based on the total denial of the

1. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta session, 1939, pp. 762-763.

2. Dr. Tarachand thinks that both Nanak and Chaitanya were deeply indebted to Islam. See *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 176-177, 218-219. The present writer believes that his view requires modification.

3. *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*.

4. Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Chaitanya*, pp. 278, 281.

5. Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, pp. 176-177.

6. *Chaitanya-Chundrodaya*.

7. Dr. Tarachand (*Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p. 219) erroneously says that Rup and Sanatan were Muslims.

validity of these stories and ideas appeared to them in the light of a strange and alien novelty. Vaishnavism in Bengal did not in this respect involve a breach with the past. Throughout the orthodox section of the Hindu society Krishna was regarded as a deity to be worshipped. The emphasis on the idea (derived from the *Srimad Bhagavat*⁸) that Krishna was God (not a mere incarnation of God) was not in itself enough to create a gulf between orthodoxy and Reformation. In explaining and justifying their religious position the Vaishnavas took shelter behind some of the *sastras* which the orthodox Hindus revered (for example, *Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavat*, etc.,) and utilised the language which the latter regarded as sacred. One of the inevitable effects of this difference between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism was that, while the former made slow progress among a comparatively uneducated and socially inferior population, the latter appealed to high and low alike, to the learned as well as the illiterate. The converts to Sikhism belonged mainly to the agricultural class, deprived of the blessings of learning by the social and religious conventions of those days, quite unfamiliar with the *sastras* and infinitely less open to their influence.⁹ They easily appreciated a religion which improved their social position and promised salvation through simple devotion and service. But the higher classes, more educated, more familiar with Vedic and Puranic ideas, were conscious that Sikhism represented a definite breach with the past. Naturally they were not as anxious as the agricultural classes to get rid of traditions and conventions. Vaishnavism certainly presented this dilemma to the high castes and educated Hindus of Bengal, but in far less acute a degree. While the Brahmins of the Punjab could not embrace Sikhism without cutting themselves adrift from the century-old moorings of their society, the Brahmins of Bengal could with less difficulty transfer their allegiance to a reformed faith ostensibly based on ancient and venerated scriptures.

Another effect of the exclusive employment of the vernacular as the sole medium of religious worship was that Sikhism could not spread beyond the area in which that language was understood. Although there were isolated Sikh *sangats* in places far away from the Punjab (in Patna, Dhubri, Dacca and Nander, for

instance),¹⁰ it must be recognised that Sikhism has all along been a provincial religion. Bengal Vaishnavism, on the other hand, powerfully affected other provinces like Orissa and Assam; its message spread in Southern and Western India, and its centre was a place outside Bengal—Brindaban. This difference between the two reformed faiths may have been partly due to linguistic grounds. The philosophy of Bengal Vaishnavism was expounded by Rup, Sanatan and Jiv Goswami in Sanskrit, a language understood all over India. There was, thus, no linguistic barrier to the spread of Vaishnavism. Sikhism, on the other hand, was expounded verbally by the Gurus in a language which was not understood beyond the frontiers of the Punjab. Of the ten Gurus, only Nanak, Tegh Bahadur and Govind Singh travelled extensively outside the Punjab. It is difficult to ascertain how many converts they made beyond the homeland of Sikhism. Their number could not have been large, and they, or their descendants, must have found it difficult to maintain a living contact with their new faith. For about a century after its birth Sikhism had no scripture, no authoritative work in which the faithful could find the solution of his spiritual doubts and the satisfaction of his spiritual cravings. The compilation of the *Granth Sahib* did not solve this vital problem. How could a non-Punjabi Sikh living at Dhubri or at Dacca or at Nander understand the holy book? A Sikh merchant might be his neighbour, but all Sikhs were not competent to explain the scripture. No such difficulty was experienced by a Tamil or Assamese or Rajput Vaishnava who was personally ignorant of Sanskrit, for Sanskrit-knowing *pandits* were then available in every Indian village.

It must be recognised that the very confinement within the limits of the Punjab gave Sikhism a compactness and solidarity which Bengal Vaishnavism could never attain due probably to its wide distribution in different provinces. Living within the boundaries of one single province, speaking the same language, familiar with the same political, economic and social conditions, the Sikhs lived as fellow members of a common society, united by religious and social ties which became stronger and stronger with the lapse of time. There was no such geographical, political, economic or social unity within Vaishnavism; the bond of a common

8. I. 3. 28. Cf. *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, *Adi Lila*, Chap. II.

9. Only 9 p.c. of the Khatris belong to the Sikh religion. See I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, pp. 20-21.

10. The establishment of these isolated centres of Sikh worship may be attributed tentatively to the Sikh merchants trading in different parts of India.

faith was there but it was not strong enough to transcend all barriers.

Two important factors strengthened this initial solidarity of Sikhism. In the first place, Guru Nanak took a revolutionary measure when he selected Angad as his successor. The idea of Guruship was familiar in ancient and medieval India, but no other reformed faith transformed it into a living institution. Kabir's death was followed by the disintegration of his *panth* and the growth of twelve different schools, each with its own spiritual teacher. Chaitanya did not nominate any successor to guide his sect after his death. The result was that Vaishnavism could not organise itself under the shelter and inspiration of any central authority. His companions filled up the gap for some time, but their death was followed by the inevitable relaxation of rules and disintegration of organisation. Sikhism escaped a similar fate because its founder was wise enough to nominate a successor. The Gurus constituted the much-needed central authority which provided cohesion and ensured unity. When Guru Govind transferred the leadership to the Khalsa, disintegration was averted by the long course of training and discipline through which the Sikhs had passed during the last two centuries.

Guru Arjan's gifts as an organiser are well-known. The compilation of the *Granth Sahib* was perhaps his greatest contribution to the solidarity of Sikhism. The *masand* system, a unifying factor in his days, became a disintegrating factor under his successor, and in the interest of unity it had to be abolished. But the *Granth Sahib* became, and remains to this day, the symbol and embodiment of Sikh unity. Guru Govind clearly recognised its historical position when he vested it with the joint leadership of the Sikh. The *Granth Sahib* became the Quran of Sikhism, but, fortunately for the Sikhs, conflicting commentaries did not obscure its meaning, as they did in the case of the holy book of Islam. Bengal Vaishnavism did not provide its votaries with an authoritative scripture like the *Granth Sahib*. The *Srimad Bhagvat*, differently interpreted by conflicting commentaries, written against a background which had long ago lost touch with historical reality, speaking through a language which was a mystery to millions of Vaishnavas, inspired by a difficult philosophical idealism beyond their understanding—such a book could not fill up in the Vaishnava society the place accorded to the *Granth Sahib* by the Sikhs.

One far-reaching result of the growing solidarity of the Sikhs was the gradual elimina-

tion of the caste system. There is enough evidence to show that Guru Nanak did not abolish the caste system.¹¹ Sikh tradition shows that it survived in some form or other till the inauguration of the Khalsa by Guru Govind.¹² Sikhism provided a natural solution of the social and religious problems created by the caste system: the gradual relaxation of its rigidity culminated in its total abolition. In the days of the early Gurus the Sikhs hesitated to uproot the system which had so long been recognised by the Hindus as the only possible standard of social life. Gradually they perceived their alienation from the Hindu society. Different castes began to take food on a footing of equality from the Guru's Kitchen and even to intermarry. Islam provided the example of a caste-less society. By the time of Guru Govind the process of evolution was complete, and Sikhism got rid of caste.

Bengal Vaishnavism began with a programme similar to that of Guru Nanak, but the culmination was different. Bipin Chandra Pal says :

"The Movement of Shree Chaitanya helped . . . very largely to emancipate the so-called lower classes or castes of Bengalee Hindus from the many social disabilities under which they had been living in the old Brahminical society. Shree Chaitanya Mahaprabhu tried to abolish the current caste exclusiveness of Brahminical Hinduism. He accepted many a qualified non-Brahmin, even of the so-called untouchable caste, . . . into the ministry of his new congregation. These people became the *gurus* or spiritual leaders or preceptors of the new community, taking equal place with the hereditary Brahmins, who joined the new Movement".¹³

With a view 'to create a new and reformed community, freed from the trammels of the old and medieval Hindu society, particularly the bondage of Brahminical laws and customs', Chaitanya and his associates simplified the ancient laws and customs regarding important ceremonies like marriage, *sradh*, etc. The worship of numerous gods and goddesses was abjured, although the importance of toleration was clearly recognised. Unfortunately, however, this promising movement was confronted with unbreakable orthodoxy within its own fold. B. C. Pal says that

"Converts to Shree Chaitanya's Vaishnava cult belonging to the higher castes of Hindus, the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, could not sacrifice their social position to the demands of the

11. I. Banerjee, *Evolution of the Khalsa*, Vol. I, Appendix A.

12. In 1783 Forster (*A Journey from Bengal to England*, p. 256), noted that "the Sikhs formed matrimonial connections only in their respective tribes".

13. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 119.

new culture. All that they did was, therefore, only to adopt the so-called spiritual laws of it, namely, to accept their initiation at the hands of the Vaishnava gurus, and pursue the spiritual and subjective disciplines of the new culture, while continuing to observe the general laws of Hindu society in regard to social and sacerdotal affairs. The new community of Vaishnavas in Bengal was thus divided almost from the very beginning into two sections, one consisting of those who were obedient to the laws of Chaitanya, and the other, though initiated in the worship of Shree Krishna, continuing in their loyalty to the old Brahminical laws¹⁴. The former, "to whatever caste they might originally belong, were gradually condemned to a very low social position on account of their Bohemian ways, particularly in the matter of marriage"¹⁵.

This triumph of Hindu orthodoxy virtually killed the spirit of the social message of Bengal Vaishnavism.

Closely connected with the question of caste is the traditional classification of worships according to the qualifications of the worshipper (*adhikāri-bheda*). The Vaishnava attitude towards the caste system was incompatible with the recognition of that classification. A religion which recognised different methods of worship (like *jñāna-mārga*, *bhakti-mārga* etc.) and emphasized the validity of rituals could not place all men and women in the same category, but, according to the Vaishnavas, the highest and purest worship of the Lord consisted in the repetition of His holy name.

"This required no rituals, no offerings of flowers or leaves or edibles to the Deity, or the services of the Brahmins. Whoever took the name of the Lord became purified by that one single act and was qualified to worship the Lord. In this way the Bengal Vaishnava cult . . . granted the highest religious franchise, hitherto enjoyed by the Brahmins only, to all men and women, irrespective of all considerations of birth, parentage and social status"¹⁶.

In this respect Sikhism is in complete accord with Bengal Vaishnavism.

The only direct evidence revealing any intimate relation between Sikhism and Bengal Vaishnavism is the inclusion of two hymns¹⁷ attributed to Jaidev, the celebrated author of the *Gita-Govinda*, in the *Granth Sahib*. Macauliffe says :

"Notwithstanding the lusciousness and sensuous beauty of several parts of the *Gita-Govinda*, there can be no doubt that Jaidev intended the poem as an elaborate religious allegory. This, too, is insisted on by the author of the *Bhagat Mal*, who states that the love scenes and rhetorical graces of the poet are not

to be understood in the sense that persons of evil minds and dispositions attach to them"¹⁸.

It may be safely said that Guru Arjan's selection of Jaidev as one of the *Bhagats* of the *Granth Sahib* was due to the long tradition which regarded the *Gita-Govinda* "not so much as a poetical composition of great beauty as an authoritative religious text, illustrating the refined subtleties of Vaishnava theology and *Rasa-Sastra*".¹⁹

The fame of this great poem "has never been confined within the limits of Bengal. It has claimed more than forty commentators from different provinces and more than a dozen imitations; it has been cited extensively in the anthologies . . .".²⁰

The legends incorporated in the *Bhakta-mala*, some of which are echoed by Macauliffe,²¹ show in what light Jaidev was glorified in the eyes of the later Vaishnavas. This glorification is dimly reflected in the homage paid to him by Guru Arjan.

It is curious, however, to note that the two hymns included in the *Granth Sahib* have nothing Vaishnava about them. The first hymn is devoted to the praise of God in general terms. The name 'Krishna' is not used; there is no allusion to Radha. The second hymn, says Macauliffe, "is given to illustrate the practice of *yog*." It contains the sentence : "I have become blended with God as water with water." This identification of self with *Brahman* is a leading feature of Sankara's Advaita philosophy; it is quite alien to the *Rasa-sastra* expounded by the Vaishnava Gosvamis of Bengal.

Macauliffe says :

"The Hindu Bhagats (of the *Granth Sahib*) for the most part began life as worshippers of idols, but by study and contemplation arrived at a system of monotheism which was appreciated by Guru Arjan".²²

He adds that, Mira Bai's hymns²³ were

18. Vol. VI, p. 10.

19. The following remarks of Dr. S. K. De deserve careful consideration. "It should not be forgotten that Jayadeva flourished at least three centuries before the promulgation of the *Rasa-Sastra* of Rupa Gosvamin. . . . As a poet of undoubted gifts, it could not have been his concern to compose a religious treatise according to any particularly Vaishnava dogmatics . . ." (*History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 369-370).

20. S. K. De, in *History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. I, pp. 367-368.

21. Vol. VI, pp. 8-12.

22. Vol. VI, p. 1.

23. "A hymn of Mira Bai is preserved in the *Granth Sahib* of Bhai Banno, which can be seen at Mangat in the Gujarat district . . ." This hymn is peculiarly Vaishnava in tone and terminology. See Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 342-356.

14. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, pp. 122-123.

15. B. C. Pal, *Bengal Vaishnavism*, pp. 123-124.

16. B. C. Pal, *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 129.

17. Macauliffe, Vol. VI, pp. 15-17.

excluded from the collection "because the lady respect the Sikh creed is identical with Islam lived and died an idolater."²⁴ There is no reason and Christianity. But the Krishna (or the to believe that Jaidev had ever 'arrived at a ultimate Reality) of the Vaishnavas is not system of monotheism.' An ornament of the orthodox Sena Court, he must have 'lived and died an idolater.' It is, therefore, difficult to account for the preference shown to him by Guru Arjan, who was not satisfied with the melodious hymns of so well-known and romantic a *Bhagat* as the Rajput princess. We may surmise that the distance of time which separated the Guru from Jaidev—about four centuries—and the growth of multi-coloured legends about the poet, had obscured his religious views, and the Guru was led to discover in him a fellow monotheist.

In conclusion, it may be observed that there is a vital difference between the monotheism of the Sikhs and the monotheism of the Vaishnavas. According to Sikhism, God has no form. In this

standpoint in the following words :

"... In every ... system, whether Hindu Vaishnava or Shaiva or Christian or Islam or Judaic, which accepts the worship of the Lord as an eternal duty we must concede to the Lord some notes or marks of differentiation from His worshipper. Bengal Vaishnavism declares that these notes or marks, or, in a word, this 'form' of the Lord, is not material but spiritual. The Lord, therefore, is not without form but has a spiritual form of His own. The Lord is not without body but has a spiritual body."²⁵

Very few worshippers could conceive of this spiritual body. The natural result was the practical recognition of image worship by the vast majority of the Vaishnavas.

24. Vol. VI, p. 1.

25. *Bengal Vaishnavism*, p. 26.

BALANCED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

BY V. R. K. TILAK, M.A.

MUCH emphasis is generally laid on a comprehensive policy of industrial development for India as a whole, but, Regional planning has not received the attention it deserves. Regional problems thrust upon the attention of the nation especially when there is the pressure of economic distress and unbalance in various parts of the country. Whether India is considered to be one of the industrially advanced nations as per the estimate of the League of Nations, or whether she is industrially backward according to the notions of some nationalists, there is no dispute that there is ill-balanced industrial progress among the different provinces. We find that in some provinces and states, industries are developed and localised, while certain other parts of the country are left in a backward condition with little or no industrial progress. If the former regions enjoy the advantages of specialisation, with no drawbacks, the problem simply resolves itself to the development of the latter. But this is not the case. Side by side with the advantages of specialisation, there are obvious disadvantages. Hence the problem is not merely one of developing

backward areas, but also of decentralising a part of industry where it is unduly concentrated. Of course, the problem of decentralisation does not assume so much importance in India as in countries like Great Britain, where, in the words of the Economic Adviser to the Federation of British Industries, "the primary reconstruction problem will not be so much one of choosing the regions in which new industries are to be established, as of selecting those in which over-expanded industries are to be contracted."¹

Turning to the actual problems in India, the evil effects of localisation should be minimised on the one hand, and the development of backward areas should be undertaken on the other. We find certain industries are localised in certain parts of the country, for reasons, economic, natural or geographical, though the degree of localisation has not reached such heights as in the West. That the cotton industry is localised at Bombay, Jute and Paper in Bengal, Sugar in U. P., Iron and Steel and Coal in Bihar is revealed by the following table, where the figures

in all the columns are highest of all production centres in India.

crowded urban areas is recommended so as to avoid the risks of air attack.

Industry and Place	Per cent of workers employed (1937)	No. of factories in that place, and in India as a whole.	Per cent share of production (1939)
Cotton of Bombay	63.4	205 344	Yarn 59.8
Jute of Bengal	94.0	96 104	Cloth 69.6
Paper of Bengal	65.0	3 10	*
Sugar of U. P.	56.5	81 154	75.0
Iron &			57.1
Steel of Bihar & Orissa	75.0	3 10	Iron 52.4
			Steel 79.0

* * Information not available.

The injurious effects of concentration may be broadly classified under three heads :

(i) Social : The important cities in these areas are burdened with high local rates and rents resulting in increased cost of living. Bad housing, overcrowding and other feverish developments on the one hand, and the bad conditions of work in factories on the other cause labour scarcity. The chronic scarcity of labour that was felt in the cotton mills of Calcutta or the Jute mills of Howrah is a clear example. In places, where there is a single industry, there is psychological strain and industrial unrest among the local inhabitants, leading to industrial disputes.

(ii) Economic : The economic effects are much worse. To depend entirely on one group of industries is to put all eggs in the same basket; and a region, where one industry is concentrated is more susceptible to the effects of trade cycle than if there are varied industries, where the prosperity in one may compensate the depression in another. Business fluctuations may be so severe in such places that Andrew Carnegie early observed that steel in Pittsburg was either prince or pauper. Again, there is the further handicap of employing in the main one kind of labour with the result that the opportunity of varied openings for the young is stinted and there will be forced employment in some cases.

(iii) Strategical : The packing of industries in a particular place is more likely to be subject to enemy attack than if they are spread here and there. A policy of dispersal from over-

II

The problem of industrial progress in any country should be considered against a background of dynamic change and not as a static problem. Some indices of industrial progress help us to conclude that Bengal, Bombay and Madras had a good initial start and that they may be classified as prosperous regions. The next question is whether the prosperous regions have been able to maintain the rate of progress and whether any of the less prosperous regions are able to show progress. The trend of industrial progress in all provinces and states shows that the rate of development in states has been found to be higher than in provinces. Some of the states, like Mysore, Hyderabad and Baroda had developed, thanks to the efforts of their rulers, there is no dearth of finances and they have some competitive advantages. Among the prosperous regions, Bombay and Bengal may be said to show slightly declining tendencies. Madras, U. P., and the Punjab show progress. Bihar and Orissa and C. P. are declining and continue to be backward, due to little scope for further expansion in the existing industries. N.-W. F. and Assam are stagnant and continue to be most backward.

The most important feature of these backward areas is that the number of working population is low, since there is abnormal 'place' unemployment; the wage level will naturally be low and in spite of the lure of low wages, there is little tendency for industries to develop there. Such economic backwardness will obviously have an adverse effect on the health of the inhabitants as revealed by mortality among infants, etc. While mortality rate is high in overcrowded cities due to congestion, smoke, dirt, etc., on the other hand, due to lack of nourishment and poverty it is also high in the backward areas. Thus in C. P. both the birth-rate and the death-rate are highest in India. It is but natural that migration takes place from these places to the prosperous areas and "migration has always arisen mainly from the difficulty of finding an adequate livelihood in one's native place."² For example, nearly 1,291,567 persons had emigrated from Bihar according to the 1931 census. Such migration has cumulative effects on the areas which are

2. Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. P. 14.

losing population. Since most of the emigrants are young adults and juveniles, there will be no prospect of revival or of initiating new enterprises, for this tendency to migrate may reduce the birth-rate due to the decline in the proportion of persons of child-bearing age, and that most potential leaders and prospective captains of industry will be leaving the place. The drab tragedy of these areas plays on, as it were, and it is clearly brought out in the words of Henry A. Mess :

" Children have grown to manhood or womanhood in communities blighted by an all-pervasive atmosphere ; young men have grown to middle age, never knowing the opportunities which the young should know ; men in the prime of life have grown old, and have known that trade revival would come too late for them at last."³

Thus long-period unemployment, low wages, high mortality, high rate of migration and low density of population in these backward areas—all these are not desirable in the interests of a nation's progress, and balance of industry and population should be aimed at throughout the country as far as possible. As the National Resources Committee points out :

At the present stage, however, the most immediate problem, and one which is of national concern, is the development of backward regions, in which planlessness, misuse and exploitation have resulted in physical, economic, and social waste and deterioration. Progress in such areas means progress for the Nation; the prosperity of the whole depends upon the prosperity of its parts."⁴

III

Regional balance is of two kinds: (i) Intra-regional and (ii) Inter-regional. Balance has to be brought about mainly in three directions :

1. Labour balance, i.e., balance of employment among different age groups and both sexes. Light industries tend to employ more females, while heavy industries usually employ more males. Where there is a lack of balance, new industries should be introduced to bring the balance.

3. *Political Quarterly*, 1937. P. 353.

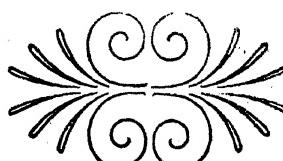
4. National Resources Committee—Regional Factors in National Planning.

The distribution of population according to sex in different provinces of India shows that there are more females than males in Madras, Bihar and Orissa, C. P. and Berar. Besides this disparity in geographical distribution, there is another disparity among the daily number of persons employed in all industries. Taking the proportion of males, females, boys and girls employed in each province, we find women and children are mostly out of employment in most part of the year. The part played by women in industry is very insignificant in U. P., Punjab, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, while that of children is entirely overlooked except in Madras, Bombay and Bengal. Special attention should be paid to improve light industries in these provinces so as to utilise the labour resources to the maximum extent possible.

2. Social balance. There are now places where the inhabitants are engaged in jobs of either low grade or high grade. The social distress of the congested areas on the one hand, and the social misery of the undeveloped areas on the other are prevalent. A well-planned development must provide the areas, with low grade occupations, giving small incomes, high unemployment risk, etc., with higher grades of employment.

3. Geographical balance. In India, where ruralisation is most predominant, there is a wide gulf of development and outlook between the rural and the urban population, which has to be bridged up. The thinly populated village and the urban cluster must be brought together by a sort of 'urban' development and with the development of 'agricultural factories.' An attempt at geographical balance will certainly yield splendid results in India where urbanisation is at its lowest ebb, ranging from 3·4% in Assam, 7·3% in Bengal to 22·6% in Bombay.

A ready plan of Balanced Regional Development for the post-war period will certainly achieve a better balance of prosperity throughout the country. It will also improve the industrial stage of the country by avoiding sporadic location, by full utilisation of national resources and by extending employment for all persons in all regions.





Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

WARNING TO THE WEST: By Krishnalal Sridharani. Published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York and International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 189. Rs. 4-14.

The author who has already achieved a reputation by his doctor's thesis on Ahimsa which, after necessary additions and alterations was published simultaneously in England and the United States under the title of "War without Violence" and who subsequently wrote "My India, My America" is a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and a believer in the technique evolved by him for securing political, economic and social justice.

Dr. Sridharani shows how the racialism of the West and its economic exploitation and political domination of the East, have combined to make Asiatics restive. The prestige of the West, the most important factor in maintaining its supremacy has been gradually undermined from the days of the Russo-Japanese war, the final blow being administered at Singapore.

The author has made a close and faithful analysis of the psychological factors responsible for the disappearance of the old meekness and has not hesitated to show up the blunders committed by the Western nations in their dealings with the East. Believing as he does that unless there is a radical change in the Western attitude, a conflict between the East and the West is inevitable, Dr. Sridharani pleads for a change of heart.

His remarks on a possible Asiatic federation which appears in the fifth part as well as those on the Cripps offer and the Congress demand for independence are worth careful study.

A brightly written book, full of new ideas and characterised by the utmost frankness, it ought to be welcomed by all Asiatics including Indians as well as by Europeans desirous of familiarising themselves with the Eastern point of view.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THERE LAY THE CITY: By D. F. Karaka. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1942. Pp. 269.

Mr. Karaka generally succeeds in reproducing the environment of the West, even if he cries it down. In this novel he allows us a glimpse of the West in the East, and the scene is set in a dancing hall under the management of Maxine in Bombay. Maxine with his longing for Bangalore and America comes out in the end as a romantic type, endowed with a certain generosity, if not heroism, in the composition of his character. The novel centres round the lives of the "hero", the narrator who presents himself as an Oxonian

and a man of the world, and a dancing girl Judy or "Dee", a creature simple and coy, yet surrounded by an atmosphere of mystery and melancholy. The author's facile pen has sketched for Judy a charming character unspoilt by any provoking progressiveness. Chance brought the two together, the "hero" and "Dee", and how they felt differently in war-time, how self-love tried to meet meek simplicity half-way, how the gulf between them widened and how tragedy in all its finality overtook them—the reader will find out for himself. Others who came and went through their lives, not very conspicuous yet, contributing to the sense of futility which pervades the lives of Judy and her "Nineteen hundred"—Sir Udul Boice, the Khoja Lady and the doctor Felix D'Souza—have placed the novel in a richer setting.

And there, in the background, lay the city of Bombay, calm and unruffled, with its diverse and ever-changing crowd, promenades, dancing-halls and hotels.

Some may venture to suggest that here is something too sensuous and morbid, and yet—who can arrest that it has not struck the right note regarding the "high society" of the present-day world?

P. R. SEN

THE PAKISTAN ISSUE: Edited by Nawab Dr. Nazir Yar Jung, with a foreword by Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif. Pp. xxvi + 100. S. H. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Price Rs. 3-12.

This is a very useful collection of the correspondence between Dr. Sayyid Abdul Latif and Mr. Jinnah on the one hand, and between him and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the other, and connected papers on the subject of Pakistan, edited by Nawab Dr. Nazir Yar Jung, a retired Judge of the Hyderabad (Deccan) High Court with a foreword by Dr. Latif himself. The foreword written by Dr. Latif, one of the sponsors of the Pakistan issue and the prefatory note by Dr. Yar Jung are highly interesting. No student of Indian politics, especially Hindus, can do without this very useful collection.

"The provincial part of the Constitution Act of 1935 had just been inaugurated, giving the Congress a decided position of vantage in greater part of the country. The Muslim League had, as a reaction to this, to reorganize itself. But it had no specific goal before it. The utmost that it could think of was to fit into the Congress goal and programme on the basis of cultural safeguards for Muslims. But what those safeguards should be, no responsible Muslim leader could state! Indeed the Congress President, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was bluntly asking the Muslims what the Muslim culture itself was and where was it



TIMES HAVE CHANGED

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to be found in India" (p. xx). The answer slowly came in a hazily Pan-Islamic form, first in Dr. Latif's *Cultural Future of India*; later in *Muslim Problem in India* and the Pakistan idea of several types.

How near the Congress came to the idea of accepting the Pakistan idea will be clear from the following quotation from Yan Jung's prefatory note. Dr. Latif "met Mr. Gandhi and the leading members of the Congress Working Committee in Bombay in the first week of August 1942. The resolution of the Congress passed in Bombay on 8th August, 1942 and the correspondence dated the 6th August between Dr. Latif and the Congress President Maulana Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru marked a historical stage in the Congress reaction to the substance of Pakistan proposal. The Congress at this stage agreed to :

1. The largest measure of autonomy to federating units.
2. Residuary powers to units.
3. The right of secession to units.

All these argued sovereign status to units including Pakistan states. It was intended by the Congress leaders to open negotiations on this basis, but their arrest on the 9th August 1942 came in the way. Had negotiations opened, Dr. Latif expected that the only outstanding item in his plan of compromise, *viz.*, the provision of a centre agreeable to the Muslims, would be settled to the satisfaction of the Muslim League.

The Congress, be it noted, had now gone a long way to placate the Muslim League; and every one expected that Mr. Jinnah would, at least at this stage, take a long view of things and see in what manner the several points conceded by the Congress constituted an agreeable substitute for his 'Pakistan in isolation.' On the other hand, he tried to belittle Dr. Latif's services and to disregard the Congress advances."

Whatever the differences between the Muslim League and Dr. Latif "the basic principles are the same", to quote the opinion of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan, a prominent light of the League.

Even now Dr. Latif is not hopeless of persuading the Congress to agree to a centre agreeable to the Muslim League. Says he : "The Congress has not so far defined the centre. Let that be done by the League. Indeed, it is for the League to say what would satisfy it and on the basis of which a settlement might be reached."

Who knows that the Congress, when out of jail, will not agree to a centre agreeable to the Pakistanis in their mad anxiety to present a united front before the United Nations? Herein lies the real danger to the Hindu India.

The book, considering its nice get-up and printing, is rather cheap at Rs. 3-12 in these days of high price; and we must congratulate the publishers.

J. M. DATTA

FAMINE OVER BENGAL: By T. G. Narayan, Published by the Book Co., Ltd., College Sq., Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-4.

Of all the books so far published on the Bengal Famine, the present one is decidedly the best. Mr. Narayan has been in Bengal almost continuously since 1940, and during the famine he made a 1500 mile tour of the worst affected districts. His study, although at points passionate and emotional, is on the whole based on facts and gives a correct picture of that preventable calamity. The book is divided into two parts—the first half gives a history of the famine and in the second one he narrates his experience. He has unsparingly criticised both the Huq and Nazimuddin Ministries basing his criticism on the utterances of the

Ministers themselves. He says, "The Nazimuddin Ministry, like the previous Ministry, lacked the courage to put down profiteering and corruption. It did not possess any more collective intelligence. It did not have more support in the country than the previous Ministry had. It depended for its existence on the support of the administration and the European group more than any other previous Ministry in Bengal. And guided in its policy by the administrations in Bengal and in New Delhi it made the fundamental mistake of assuming there were enough stock of rice in the province till the next harvest should come in." Mr. Narayan rightly concludes, "No intelligent Ministry should have accepted office after the Fazlul Huq Ministry was thrown out, and provided scapegoats for the bureaucracy in New Delhi and London and an argument against the fitness of Indians to govern themselves." To arrive at the conclusion, he has provided sufficient facts which invite the attention of serious students.

A very reassuring feature of the book is that the author has taken a straightforward view of things. In the chapter "Notes of Warning" he has made no mention of the *Statesman* and has thus maintained himself above the popular ideas about this paper's contribution. An intensive campaign has led to a belief that the *Statesman* had done immense service to Bengal during the famine. A careful perusal of the pamphlet *Maladministration in Bengal*, which is a collection of the editorials and famine pictures published by this paper, would convince anybody that if there has been any political utilisation on the famine, it was done by the *Statesman* on behalf of the European party with the object of stabilising the present Ministry which owes its existence to European votes. The balance of power politics made it imperative that the Huq Ministry, independent of European votes, must vacate in favour of a reactionary set dependent on Europeans. Criticism against the Huq Ministry was encouraged but that against the succeeding one, even after a series of failures in their primary duties, was dubbed 'low level politics' by this very paper. Mr. Narayan has ignored *Statesman's* role, but would have done better if he had criticised it in its true perspective.

We have no hesitation in recommending this little book to all who desire to get a balanced, accurate and compact history of the Bengal famine.

D. BURMAN.

BEHIND THE MUD WALLS: By Freda Bedi. The Unity Publishers, Lahore. 1944. Pp. 173+xii. Price Rs. 5.

Freda Bedi is an English lady who now belongs to India by marriage. In this collection of about twenty essays written at different times she narrates some of the reminiscences for her tumultuous life in India as the wife of a political worker, as a mother, a writer, a college professor and a political convict. Mrs. Bedi has adopted India as her own country and its people as her people, sharing all their joys and humiliations, struggles and sacrifices, not as a tame Indian housewife following her husband on the traditional path, but with an understanding and courage that only true love can give. The process of her assimilating India or *vice versa* could not be better described than by her own words in the preface : "Not that these few pages are any estimate of what India means to me. My feelings here are but a tattered fragment of the rich clothes she has clothed me in. She has harrowed me with her festering poverty, her dirt and her despair, and I have become a unit of the ragged army that fights against it. She has

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projected me into her many-layered past, and recreated me a dozen times in the guise of her many cultures."

The authoress has recorded her reactions to unfamiliar environments with utmost sincerity and without reserve. Her appreciation of the variegated texture of urban and rural life in India is spontaneous, warm and colourful. The folk tales and the folk songs of the Punjab and Kashmir valleys interest her as much as the historical personages that have left their indelible mark on the art and architecture of North-West India. As a product of two cultures and as a citizen of two worlds, she sometimes find herself in baffling contradictions and seems resigned to Fate, but always comes back "to live a unity that overcomes words." After going through the precious leaves of this personal narrative, the reader can hardly escape the feeling that scores of Miss Mayos do not matter so long as there is one Freda Bedi to interpret India which continues to live "behind the mud walls."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

KASTURBA GANDHI: Edited by Rezaul Karim, M.A., B.L., Published by Messrs. Chakravarty, Chatterjee & Co. Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee St., Calcutta, Pages 64. Price Re. 1-8.

Mr. Karim in this small volume has collected almost all that have been written about this great woman of India. Kasturba was mother to the people of India and her death in detention has sent a gloom and sense of humiliation throughout the length and breadth of this country. Gandhiji has lost in her a life's partner who stood by him on all occasions without any doubt or demur. Such a life will ever be a source of inspiration to Indian womanhood. A chronology has been added to this book which gives all important events from 1869—year of Kasturba's birth to Feb. '44 when the great soul passed away.

Although several books have already been published on the life of Kasturba Gandhi, this small volume is a welcome addition because of special treatment of the subject by the author.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

AKBARASAHI—SRINGARADARPANA OF PADMASUNDARA: Edited by K. Madhava Krishna Sarma, M.O.L., Curator, Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner. Demy Oct., i—xxviii+1—46+1—60.

It is gratifying to note that the State of Bikaner, well-known as the custodian of a rich library of Sanskrit manuscripts, a descriptive catalogue of which was published in 1880, has initiated a series of publications and thus undertaken to bring to light and make acces-

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sible to the world of scholars the valuable works enshrined in the State Library which seems to have been reorganised under the name Anup Sanskrit Library.

The first work to be published in the series is an interesting treatise on Sanskrit poetics, dealing primarily with Sringerarasa, and incidentally with other rasas and kindred matters. The chief interest of the work lies in the fact that it is one of the many works composed at the instance of Akbar, the greatest of the Muhammadan patrons of Sanskrit learning. The edition is based on two manuscripts readings from which are noticed separately in two different places. In a separate section again the emendations suggested by the editor are noted while those suggested by Dr. C. Kunhan Raja are incorporated in the Notes contributed by him. It would however have much facilitated the work of reference if all matters concerning textual criticism could be brought together in one place. The introduction gives an account of the author and his works, incidentally referring to the *Sringara-Sanjivini*, a collection of erotic verses, the text of which has been published in the form of an appendix.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANKASROT: By Sumatha Nath Ghose. Mitralaya, Calcutta. Pp. 322. Price Rs. 3.

This is the story of a precocious and proud youth who lost his parents quite early in life and was transplanted from the warm and congenial environments of his Calcutta home to the rather dismal setting of his uncle's house in a Howrah village. The main interest of the story is psychological, as behind the shifting scenes and tortuous course of Aloke's life the author emphasizes the mysterious working of his subconscious mind. The tragedy of human passions is implicit in this Freudian drama of repressed emotions. Reader's interest in the story is pleasantly kept alive by the inscrutable ways, depicted by the author, in which the human psyche reacts to familiar as well as strange situations. The thrills and heartaches of juvenile friendship and first love, of confident self-esteem and frustrated ambitions have been admirably woven into the fabric of this delightful story. There are, however, strains here and there on the otherwise entertaining portrayal of some characters, due probably to the author's temptation to overstress a psycho-analytical point. The jealousy-complex of the aunt, for instance, has been probably a little overdone, and it certainly admitted of a more subtle treatment. On the whole, the author has produced a readable book and an interesting story, which will be appreciated by all discerning readers.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JULY, 1944

of these substances and majority of the cases of dysentery and typhoid are out-come of the use of these things. These are prepared in very unhygienic conditions and the materials from which they are prepared are far from good. If you observe these general hygienic principles you may escape from being a victim to these diseases.

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above 2 years of age, half the dose being necessary for children below 2 years. And you and your whole family who take it are protected against these diseases during the period of the epidemic. As it is always taken per mouth, fear of injection and its after-effects, namely, pain, fever, etc., are alleviated. It has another advantage in that, being tasteless and odourless it is very readily taken by children, who fall prey to these diseases more easily than the grown-up ones. All wise men follow the golden rule "prevention is better than cure."

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Some Notes on Education in Turkey—Past and Present

In an article in *The Calcutta Review* S. K. Chowdhury after giving a short description of the efforts of Turkish nationalists under the Old Regime sets forth the radical changes brought about in the system of education during and after the Kemalist Renaissance :

In the Turkey of the Old Regime education was mainly doled out in the *mektebs* and *medressehs* and was religious in character. This characteristic feature of Turkish education was noted and criticised in the last century by scholars and travellers such as Sir W. M. Ramsay, the archaeologist, Arminius Vambery, the celebrated Hungarian Orientalist and A. Ubicini, an acute observer of the Turkish administrative system—who either sojourned in or passed through Turkey.

Besides these *medressehs* and *mektebs*, there were the *tekkyes* of the various Dervish Confraternities—a.f.i. the *Bektashis*, the *Akhis*, etc. In the 19th Century these *tekkyes* had ceased to perform any useful function and had become places notorious for the idleness within their walls—where story-tellers regaled the occupants with the droll fables of *Nesreddin Hodja* and where *mevlud* chants provided the climax to an escapist existence.

There were only two secular educational institutions in those days in the whole of Turkey and both of them were in Constantinople. The one was the celebrated "Harbiye"—the Military College,—later to become famous as the rendezvous of the "Young Turks"; the other was the American Missionary institution—Robert College—which like the other famous American Missionary College in the Near East, the A. U. B. (American University of Beyrouth, Lebanon) inculcated in its alumni a modern, progressive and nationalist outlook. These, however, served only a microscopic minority.

The spirit of revolt against the trammels of religion and against archaic ideas was growing among some junior civil servants and young officials serving in the various ministries in Constantinople.

These young men were "literati" as well as patriots—they wanted to reform the language, to write in a chaste Turkish and through their writings to urge for reforms in the administration, which had grown thoroughly corrupt and venal. They felt that no such reform was possible, however, without a radical change in the educational system. Therefore they demanded secular education as an absolute necessity, since only through this could modern progress be achieved. Many of them were exiled by the Government for their reformist opinions and thus they imbibed all the more liberal doctrines and Western scientific ideas from the countries of their exile—chiefly from France and

Switzerland. Foremost among this group of intellectuals were Shinasi Effendi (1826-1871), Zia Pasha (1829-1880) and Namuk Kiamil (1840-1888). They were responsible for the conceptions of *Yeni Dunya* (New World) and *Vatan* (Fatherland). The most representative successor of this group was Zia Gok Alp (died 1925), the cultural precursor of Ataturk and the author of the basic book of Turkish nationalism—*"Turkdjuluk Esasları"* (The Foundations of Turkism). In his writings Zia Gok Alp clearly stated that he saw no hope for the future of the Turkish people till they completely secularised their education and culture and freed themselves from an "Arabo-Persian" cultural domination. The Turks, in his opinion, should cherish their own language and not hanker after Arabic and Persian, which were in their case instruments of denationalisation. They should also realise that they had a history and culture of their own in their original homelands of Central Asia, before they became Islamised and that the History of Asia Minor was as much Hittite, Armenian, Hellenic, Byzantine and Turko-Mongol as Islamic.

It was left to Kemal Ataturk to introduce radical changes in the educational sphere.

In this respect the Kemalist Renaissance ably preserved the enthusiasm and *bravura* of the Kemalist Revolution. The death-knell of the Old Regime which had been only too willing to sell the country to the victors of the War of 1914-1918 had been sounded. In order to preserve the nation, a broad, secular and progressive outlook was required in all nation-building schemes.

Ataturk had a very sensible notion of the importance of a secular outlook in administration. He knew that unless all other minorities in Turkey—Jews, Christians, Armenians, Kurds, Lazzis, Alevis—were made to feel that they too were Turkish Citizens, they were bound to become malcontents and give trouble to the Government. Thus he destroyed the foundations of the denationalising system of the different communities—the *milli*—by establishing an undenominational or secular state. He opened all avenues of State service and enterprise equally to all communities. Christian and other minorities had no longer to seek the protection of foreign embassies and consulates which had so often utilised these same minorities against the Turkish Government. Education to-day is uniform for all communities: they think of themselves as Turks first and Moslems or Christians afterwards. *Tekkyes*, *mektebs* and *medressehs* have been abolished altogether.

Ataturk and his able Minister of Education,—the late Dr. Rashid Galip, had tried to give all communities of Turkey an interest in their own histories and cultures and had succeeded in showing them how indissolubly their different cultures were linked up with Turkish history. Thus all communities have not only acquired a self-respect but are also welded together in national unity.

In the lycees and colleges of Turkey, all instruction is given in Turkish. Arabic has been relegated to the background. The Arabic script, a Semitic script, was unsuited to Turkish—it was like a healthy man using crutches. As naturally Ataturk could not use the oldest and purest Turkish Script—the “Runic” script of the Pre-Islamic Turks of Central Asia—he did the next best thing, he latinised the script. Arabic and Persian loan words in the language are being reduced to a minimum and are being replaced by words of a Turkish or Turko-Mongol origin.

Even in the mosques,—the Koran is no longer read in Arabic but in Turkish and the Muezzin calls the Faithful to Prayer in Turkish.

Thus the Arabic “*Allah-ho-Akbar*” (God alone is Great) is now said in its Turkish form “*TenGri Utluq-dur*”. To use Arabic now in mosques is considered an offence and the offender is regarded as a counter-revolutionary against the Kemalist Revolution.

Religious instruction is forbidden in the schools and colleges, as this might affect the susceptibilities of other communities. Religion is essentially a man's private affair in Turkey—it is neither thrust down his own throat nor does he try to proselytise others to his belief. The State being undenominational, it does not propagate or encourage any religion in any form. Ataturk himself used to emphasise this point at the periodical *Turk Dil Kurultay* (Turkish Language Congress) and at the meetings of the *Turk Enstitüsü* (Turkish Historical and Cultural Institute) over which he used to preside. So much for secondary and higher education.

Religion is also excluded from primary education. Turkish children learn more about the History and Culture of the Turkish peoples, about modern inventions and scientific progress than about creeds which had retarded the progress of their country and had kept the people disunited. The *Halkeviler* or peoples' institute in the villages and towns of the interior keep before the simple, rural folk secular ideals and a secular outlook. These institutes provide lectures for the villagers on hygiene, agriculture, etc.; religious lectures are, however, taboo. The watchword for all is *Vatan* (“Fatherland”) and the symbol for national cohesion is *Turkdjuluk* (“Turkism”).

Thus Turkey to-day in its educational and cultural ideology is in full accord with the rest of the Near East, where nationhood and secular culture are matters of primary importance and religion purely a secondary affair.

Air Superiority

The New Review observes :

Is air superiority vital to success in modern battle? Facts and theories point both ways. The last Nazi retreat in Russia was successfully carried out in spite of the ‘enormous German air inferiority,’ as the British War Secretary admitted; in the same way Rommel staged a very orderly retreat from el Alamein to the Tunisian frontier. In spite of marked air inferiority, he had in 1942 developed a successful summer offensive, defeated the British at Gazala, stormed Tobruk and advanced to within sixty miles of Alexandria. Hence Germans and Russians consider the airplane as a co-operative rather than a preparatory weapon. They do not despise using air bombing when they have the time and means to do so, but to a methodical preparation, they prefer surprise and

velocity of attack. They also expect a quick concentration of fire power from artillery rather than from air bombing. Air power has, indeed, severe limitations. Accuracy is still largely problematical as regards targets on a battlefield. Moreover, dropping five thousand tons of bombs a day during a month is a feat which no air force has yet attempted, whilst, already in the last war, artillery concentrations were deadlier: during the Battle of the Somme in 1916, 148,000 tons of shells were unloaded in 30 days on a small area, and in the Ypres Battle of 1917, 179,000 tons were fired in 13 days. The defence of Moscow and Stalingrad as well as the latest Russian advances were all due to artillery superiority.

Venmani : Pioneer of Modern Malayalam Poetry

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Dr. C. Kunhan Raja pays his tribute as a Malayalee to the great poet Venmani, born a hundred years ago, who brought out the native wealth of Malayalam which for centuries had been enriching itself with Sanskrit :

The year 1944 marks the centenary of the poet Venmani the Younger, who was the pioneer of modern Malayalam poetry. He was born in April 1844 and died in February, 1895 at a comparatively early age.

We know of no period in the history of the language when it has not adapted itself to immense borrowings from Sanskrit, both in vocabulary and in ideas. *Krishna Gatha*, a rendering into Malayalam songs of the *Bhagavata Purana*, and *Ramayana* and *Bharata*,



renderings into Malayalam songs of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* and of the *Mahabharata*, in a very abridged form, are the earliest specimens of noteworthy poems in the language. The first of these three is supposed to be by a Brahmin poet of Malabar whose family name is now assumed to have been Cherusseri. The other two are by a poet known at present as Ezhuttassan, whose family name is now accepted as Thunchat.

Along with their writings, and for some time after the date of these poets, a form of Malayalam poetry known as *Manipravalam* was very popular among poets. Here Malayalam was freely mixed with Sanskrit.

Another great Malayalam poet is Kunchan Nambiar, who flourished nearly two hundred years ago and who wrote a class of poems called *Tullals*, composed for recitation along with a certain amount of action.

About his time and for about three-quarters of a century after him, the dominant literature in Malayalam was the *Kathakali*, in which there is more of Sanskrit than of Malayalam. In this literary form there is brief narration of the story in verse composed in Sanskrit metres and, except in a few cases, written in the Sanskrit language; and these brief narratives are interspersed with antiphonal dialogues to accompany dancing and action on the stage.

It was at about the end of the *Kathakali* period in Malayalam literature that the great poet, Venmani the Younger, came on the scene.

It was Venmani the Younger who started the real Malayalam poetry on Malayalam subjects. The only element in which he did not free the language from Sanskrit influence is metre. His father, Venmani the Elder, was also a great poet and he too has made a good literary contribution to the language. But in Malabar, when one speaks of Venmani, he means the son, Venmani the Younger. There were other contemporary poets. But Venmani the Younger was recognised as the greatest of his time. All the young poets of the day gathered round him.

The only other poet who could be counted along with him was his half-brother Kunjukuttan Thampuran of the Cranganor Royal Family. The latter was about twenty years Venmani's junior and he did keep up the tradition of his half-brother.

Although Venmani wrote Malayalam poetry in Sanskrit metres, his language is very chaste. The sweet melody, the effortless rhymes and alliterations and other embellishments of sound, the easy style, the rhythm and beat in his poetry, the free flow of his language and its dignity, the profusion of his vocabulary, his polished diction, the variety of his imagery—such an unusual combination of literary excellences along with the atmosphere of familiarity that prevails throughout his poetry, won for him unrivalled fame and popularity. His verses are perfect in workmanship and at the same time they are natural.

Venmani was born in a very aristocratic Brahmin family, related to the Royal Families of Malabar.

He lived and moved among royalty and among the aristocrats of the country. But one sees no touch of aristocratic narrowness or aloofness in his poetry.

His poetry is also extremely personal. In the case of the *Ramayana* and the *Bharata* of Ezhuttassan, all that connects the poetry with a particular country is the language. Otherwise it is universal; one notices no trace of the poet or his environment in the poems. Venmani is the exact opposite. He is everywhere in

A MIDDLE-AGED PUNJABI MAH-

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his poems. If Venmani is anything, he is original; and his originality has sometimes served him ill.

In one of his long poems, perhaps his earliest contribution, written when he was under thirty, and when his genius was yet unripe, he introduced himself as the chief character. People who did not know him well began to associate his private life with certain incidents in that poem. He was a pure soul. Yet this indiscretion, which is only a reflection of his originality, spoiled his reputation after his death.

His great contribution to the literature of the language consists in the fact that he was the first to write Malayalam poetry in the Malayalam language and on Malayalam subjects. It is in this sense that Venamani must be called the maker of modern Malayalam literature.

His earliest major work is *Poora Prabandham*, dealing with the Pooram festival at Trichur, conducted every year in April or May. People from all parts of Malabar come for this festival. He writes in the form of a letter giving an imaginary account of his trip to the place and of what he saw and experienced on the occasion. Here, apart from the description of the crowd that had assembled, he describes how he met some ladies and talked to them and how at night he visited some houses and attended music parties. Considerable portions in the middle of the poem have not been discovered. *Bhooti Bhoosha Charita* is an imaginary classical story; but the introductory part gives him plenty of opportunity to bring in his own personality. He has also written the whole of *Kama Sashtra* in beautiful poetry; this is perhaps his masterpiece. Here also there is much of the local touch and of the personal element in the handling of the subject. He has written many dramas also. Most of them remain unfinished; or the complete dramas are not yet available.

A Turning Point in Indian Education

In the course of an article on Indian education in *Prabuddha Bharata* Mrs. Swarna-prabha Sen observes:

The Government of Marquis of Wellesley had established the College of Fort William in the beginning of the nineteenth century for the study and training of civilians in the language and literature of the country. Ignorance of the Indian languages and laws and usages of the country meant unavoidable difficulties in the work of administration, and it was decided that a knowledge of the language and laws of the country was

indispensable for civil service. In this connection we must mention the Christian missionaries and their work. The Christian missionaries saw in the spread of education a means of preaching the Gospel. This means of conversion, however, had led them to contribute a great deal towards the cause of education in India. It is a far cry from the Serampore College to the Scottish Church and St. Xavier's in Calcutta, the Forman Christian College in Lahore, and the Madras Christian College, but everywhere the success of their activities is due to the fact that they have been directed towards education primarily and not so much to religious work among the pupils.

Carey, Marshman, and Ward are well-known names in the history of education in Bengal, and no less so is the name of Dr. Alexander Duff of the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta.

Rev. William Carey was one of the Professors of Sanskrit and Bengali in the College of Fort William. Its students (who were not Indians but young writers in the Company's service) were given practical training in speaking and writing in the vernacular. Essays were written and prizes awarded on subjects dealing with the Indian languages, their position and possibilities, and, among other things, suitability to business. Books, treatises on the Gospel, grammar, and dictionaries began to be written. The College of Fort William was abolished by order of the Government in 1854, and a Board of Examiners set up in its place, among the first members of which were Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Rev. K. M. Banerjee, and Mouli Mahomed Wujeeb. The College had not only equipped the Civil Service—it had imparted to the Indian languages a new tone and spirit.

Presumption as to Sunnism &c. in India— How Far Just?

In the course of an article in the *All India Reporter* Jatindra Mohan Datta observes :

The law as to presumption of the different sects and sub-sects of the Muhammadans in India has been stated thus in Sir Dinshaw Mulla's Muhammadan Law (Edn. 11 by Sir George Rankin) :

"Presumption as to Sunnism.—The great majority of the Muhammadans of this country being Sunnis, the presumption will be that the parties to a suit or proceeding are Sunnis, unless it is shown that the parties belong to the Shiah sect. As most Sunnis are Hanafis the presumption is that a Sunni is governed by Hanafi law. As most Shiites are Athna-Asharias the presumption is that a Shiite is governed by the Athna-Asharias exposition of the law." (See p. 20; paras 19 and 20).

We question the justness or propriety of the above presumptions being drawn mainly on three grounds : (1) first, there never has been a survey, at least any exhaustive survey, as to the respective numbers of the Shiites and the Sunnis throughout India, far less of their sub-sects; (2) secondly, 'the principle of providing for the ordinary course of things' or that 'the laws are adapted to those cases which more frequently occur' should not be and cannot be applied when it is a question of applying the personal laws to the parties; and (3) lastly, these presumptions are not presumptions of universal application, capable of being applied to all parts of India irrespective of the local conditions.

We shall deal with the last objection first. When Oudh was annexed to the British dominions it was found that,

"the Sheeahs had acquired so great an ascendancy that they were found numerically to preponderate very much over the other sect of Mussulmans." (See Correspondence relating to Native Laws in Oudh, p. 3)."

Locally in Oudh, the Shiites are in a preponderating majority over the Sunnis. Even assuming that they are not in a majority but are substantial minority there in Oudh, would it be just or politic to apply the presumption that a Muhammadan will be presumed to be a Sunni? Nor will it be just to hold the contrary presumption that in Oudh a Muhammadan shall be deemed to be a Shiite, because they are in an overwhelming majority over there.

Hamilton in his *Introduction to the Hedaya* (p. 20) says :

"The Mussulman Princes of Hindostan are, in general, Sunnis, as well as most of their chief men, the heads of the law, or the ministers of state, whilst the great body of Mohammedans, being descended from a Persian stock, or from the proselytes of the first Mohammadan conquerors, adhere rigidly to the principles of the Shiites.—The Nizam, one of the most powerful and independent of those princes, cannot attend public worship in the Jama mosque of his capital (Hyderabad) because of the Anathemas weekly uttered there against the usurping Khalifs of the house of Omnia.—At Lucknow, on the tenth of Moharrim, the effigy of Omar (who, as being the first proposer of an elective Khalifat, in prejudice to the right of Alee, is regarded by his adherents with particular abhorrence), is set up, filled with sweetmeats, as a mark to shoot at; and after being used with every species of indignity, is torn to pieces, and its contents devoured by the enthusiastic votaries of Alee."

So in Oudh and Hyderabad the Shiites are in a local majority. The late Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali in his *Mohamedan Law*, Vol. 2, p. 37 makes this pertinent observation with regard to the presumption made in 30 Cal. 683 at p. 686 :

"This dictum must be accepted with some degree of reservation. In some parts of the country the Shiites preponderate in numbers; it would be difficult in those districts to make any such presumption. It is submitted that in every proceeding involving a question of Mahomedan law, the Court should require the parties to state to which school of law, they are subject; and in case of difference to adduce evidence in support of their respective allegations, and then decide by what law the question at issue is to be determined."

Then again the Shiites are not such a hopeless minority in India as the above presumption as to Sunnism would lead us to suppose. William Cantwell Smith in his *Modern Islam in India* says : "Approximately one out of every thirteen Muslims in India is a Shiite." (See p. 328).

We now come to the second objection that 'the principle of providing for the ordinary course of things' or that 'the laws are adapted to those cases which more frequently occur' cannot be applied when it is a question of applying the personal laws to the parties. In India there is no territorial law in regard to certain matters, e.g., succession, marriage, etc. Personal laws of the parties prevail. All the systems of personal law, whether Hindu, Mahomedan or Buddhist, are on the same equal footing. Why then presume one system of personal law to prevail over another? Such principles, are wholly unsuited to the fundamental basic conception which underlie the enforcement of different systems of personal laws within the same territory. Why then make an exception in favour of a particular section or a particular sub-section of the Mahomedans?

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Sun Yat-sen

In order to understand modern China we should fully acquaint ourselves with the life of the Father of new China, a brief but full account of which by Dr. Hu Shih, philosopher and historian, is reproduced here from *Contemporary China*:

Dr. Sun Yat-sen was born in a farming village in Hsiang Shan Hsien, in the Province of Kwangtung, in 1866—two years after the ending of the great Taiping Rebellion (1850-64), 25 years after the Opium War, and 22 years after the Manchus entered China and founded the Ching dynasty (1644).

He once said of himself: "I am a coolie and the son of a coolie. I was born with the poor, and I am still poor. My sympathies have always been with the struggling mass."

When 12 years old, he went to Honolulu in 1879 to visit his emigrant elder brother, and was sent to a boys' school where, at the end of the third year, he was awarded the second prize in English grammar. He returned home in 1883. From 1884 to 1886, he studied at Queen's College, Hongkong. It was in Hongkong that he became a baptized Christian.

In 1886, he took up medicine under the American missionary surgeon, Dr. John A. Kerr, in Canton. When the new Medical School was established in Hongkong in 1887, Sun Yat-sen was the first student to register. Here he studied for five years and was graduated in 1892 with a certificate of Proficiency in Medicine and Surgery.

He practised medicine and surgery in Macao and then in Canton. But his professional career did not last long. For he had become interested in other and more important things. He had already become the leader of a secret movement for the reform and re-making of China.

Dr. Sun tells us that his revolutionary plans dated back to the year 1885 when China fought France and was defeated, resulting in the loss of Annam: "I resolved in that year that the Manchu regime must go and that a Chinese republic must be established." He was then in his nineteenth year. From that time on, says he, "the school was my place of propaganda, and medicine my medium for entrance into the world."

In 1893, on the eve of the first Sino-Japanese War, Dr. Sun made a visit to North China, and presented a memorandum to the Chinese statesman, Li Hung-chang. The memorandum is remarkable as a record of the young revolutionary's early political ideas. In this paper, Dr. Sun formulated the four fundamental objectives of a modern state: (1) to enable man to exert his utmost capability; (2) to utilize land to its utmost fertility; (3) to use material nature to its utmost utility; and (4) to circulate goods with the utmost fluidity.

The next year (1894) war broke out between China and Japan. China was badly defeated; and the weakness of the old regime was clearly

exposed to the whole nation and to the whole world.

Dr. Sun thought this was the best opportunity for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He went to Honolulu and founded the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Restoring of China). He returned to China early in 1895, and began to plot for an armed uprising and seizure of the city of Canton as a base of Revolution. It was an elaborate plot, requiring half a year of preparation and involving hundreds of people. But it failed, and over 70 were arrested. Three were executed, including one of Dr. Sun's intimate comrades. A prize of 1,000 dollars was set on Sun's person. He was only 29. He recorded this as the first of his ten failures.

After his escape from Canton, Dr. Sun went to Japan, whence he proceeded to Honolulu and visited the United States for the first time. In September 1896, Dr. Sun sailed from New York for England, arriving in London on October first.

On October 11, 1896, Dr. Sun was kidnapped by officials of the Chinese Legation. He was imprisoned there for twelve days and it was undoubtedly the intention of the Chinese Government to smuggle him back to China to be executed as the arch-enemy of the Throne.

By winning the sympathy of an English servant in the Legation, Dr. Sun succeeded in sending a message to his English teacher and host, Dr. James Cantlie. Through the efforts of Dr. Cantlie, the story was published in a London newspaper, and the Chinese Legation immediately became the centre of newspaper reporters. The secretary of the Legation had to admit the presence of an involuntary guest at the Legation! At the request of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Sun was released on October 23.

This dramatic episode made his name known throughout the United Kingdom, Europe, and America. It made him a world figure at the age of 30.

For two years (1896-98) he remained in England and Europe. These years were most fruitful in the development of his political and social ideas. "What I saw and heard during those two years," said Dr.

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Sun, "gave me much insight (into the situation in the West). I began to realize that, in spite of great achievements in wealth and military prowess, the great powers of Europe have not yet succeeded in providing the greatest happiness of the vast majority of the people; and that the reforms in these European countries were working hard for a new social revolution. This led my thought toward a more fundamental solution of China's problems. I was, therefore, led to include the principle of the people's livelihood (min-sheng) on the same level as the principles of nationalism and democracy. Thus were formulated my three principles."

It was about this time that he made a study of the socialistic literature of England and continental Europe. He was especially influenced by Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. He never became a Single Taxer; but George's theories on the social origin of the rise of land value and the importance of public control of land left a permanent impression on his own social teachings.

After leaving Europe in 1898, he returned to the East and resided in Japan for two years (1898-1900). He came into contact with the leaders of the popular parties of Japan.

China was then going through turbulent times. Japan, Russia, Germany, Britain, and France had seized important territories from China. The country was being mapped out into "spheres of influence" of imperialistic powers. There was much talk about the "partitioning of China."

The glamorous "one hundred days' reforms" came in 1898 and were swept away by the reactionary forces

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under the leadership of the ignorant Empress-Dowager. Then came the Boxers movement in 1900, which resulted in the armed intervention by the forces of eight foreign powers.

Dr. Sun saw in this situation his opportunity for another attempt to start his anti-monarchical revolution, which was launched in the autumn of 1900 at Canton and Huichow. It was the second of his ten failures.

During the first years of the new century, thousands of Chinese students were flocking to Japan to study at her schools and universities. Dr. Sun found many of these mature students ready to listen to his teachings and follow his leadership. So in 1905, he founded in Tokyo the Chung-kuo Tung-meng Hui (The Chinese Society of Covenanters), with original members representing seventeen of the eighteen provinces of China. Each member must pledge under oath solemnly to carry out the terms of the covenant, to wit : (1) Drive away the Tartars! (2) Recover China for the Chinese! (3) Establish a Republic! (4) Equalize Ownership of Land!

From 1906 to 1911, at least ten uprisings were started. (He counted only nine as under the direction of himself or the Party.) Nine times it failed, each time costing the lives of many heroic martyrs. But the tenth (in total the twelfth) uprising which broke out at Wuchang, opposite Hankow, on October 10, 1911, finally succeeded. In the brief time of a month, thirteen of the eighteen provinces responded to the revolutionary call and declared their independence of the Manchu dynasty.

Dr. Sun was then in America and read the news of the Wuchang success in a morning paper at a small hotel in Denver, Colorado. He quietly travelled eastward to New York and thence to England and Europe,

Studies in Gandhism

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finally sailing from Marseilles in November and arriving in Shanghai on December 24.

On December 29, 1911, the Provisional Senate of the Republic met and, by a vote of 16 to 1, elected Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Republic. On New Year's day, 1912, he was inaugurated President at Nanking.

Meanwhile, negotiations had been going on for a peaceful coming together of the provinces. The dynasty was no longer capable of making any resistance. But a powerful Chinese politician, Yuan Shih-kai, was in command of a formidable army. The objective in the negotiations was to win over Yuan Shih-kai to the support of the Revolution.

On February 12, the Throne abdicated, thus terminating the 267 years of the Manchu rule in China. On the 13th, Dr. Sun presented his resignation to the Provisional Senate. The next day, his resignation was accepted, and Yun Shih-kai was elected Provisional President.

Dr. Sun was Provisional President only 45 days. His resignation was an act of self-sacrifice best symbolizing his great patriotism and his Christian spirit.

Unfortunately, the man on whom Dr. Sun had placed his mantle, turned out to be reactionary and a traitor to the Republic.

In the next few years, a fierce struggle went on between Dr. Sun's newly reorganized party, the Kuomintang (The People's Party) and the reactionary forces under Yuan Shih-kai. The Kuomintang had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the new Parliament elected in 1913. But the reaction had military and financial power on its side. The Kuomintang was dissolved by force, and finally the Parliament was dissolved by force. Dr. Sun went in exile in Japan. And Yuan Shih-kai soon made himself Emperor. All liberal parties united in fighting against this monarchial restoration. Yuan Shih-kai died a disappointed man on June 6, 1916. But the dark forces he had released lived on after him and ran amok for a number of years to come.

For the next decade (1916-25), Dr. Sun sometimes lived in Shanghai, devoting his time to studying and writing, but, on many occasions, he took an active part in revolutionary campaigns against the militaristic reaction. His successes were only intermittent and insignificant.

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In 1924, he undertook a radical reorganization of his party on the model of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. This reorganization, in the light of history, was far more significant than his many political and military campaigns since the founding of the Republic. The important steps taken at that time included (1) the enlargement of party membership by soliciting the enrollment of younger men and women throughout the country; (2) the formal admission of members of the Chinese Communist Party to active membership in the Kuomintang; (3) the employment of a number of Russian political and military advisers; (4) the revival of nationalism as the paramount issue aiming at the freeing of China from the historical shackles of the "unequal treaties" which the imperialistic powers had imposed on China for nearly a century; (5) the founding of the Whampoo Military Academy under the directorship of Chiang Kai-shek, for the training of new and ideologically inspired officers as a nucleus of a new Revolutionary Army.

None of these important measures had shown tangible results when Dr. Sun died in Peking on March 12, 1925. But he had the satisfaction to read on his death-bed the cheering news that, in that very week, his armies under the lead of the young officers of the Whampoo Academy were scoring crushing victories over the reactionary forces.

Two weeks after his death, the province of Kwangtung was entirely free from opponent forces, and thus became the consolidated base for the new Nationalist Revolution which Dr. Sun had dreamed for years, but which did not succeed in unifying the nation until a few years after his death.

In 1918, Dr. Sun planned to write a series of books under the general scheme of "Planning for National Reconstruction". His plan was interrupted by subsequent political activities, and only the following works were published: (1) *The Philosophy of Sun Wen* (1919); (2) *The First Step in Democracy* (which is a translation of an American textbook on parliamentary rules) (1919); (3) *The International Development of China* (1921); (4) *An Outline of National Reconstruction for the National Government* (1924); (5) *Sixteen Lectures on Sam Min Chu I* (1924).

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NOTES

India Debate in the Commons

The incomplete news of the India debate in the House of Commons has reached us at the time of going to the Press. Needless to say, the deliberations of this Parliament which is dominated by a Party that came into power in 1935 over a false and fraudulent issue could not be anything but worse than useless where democracy is concerned. This Parliament helped in the throttling of democracy in Spain and through greed for spoils and through want of courage blinked at Japan's policy of coercion in China. This Parliament again allowed Italy to proceed with the rape of Abyssinia and all but put its seal of approval on that act through the infamous Hoare-Laval pact. It agreed to the sale of Czechoslovakia into slavery through Munich. And only when the British man in the street clearly saw that the name of Britain was being covered for ever with infamy by the vacillatory, reactionary and pusillanimous action of the leaders of the Party it had put into power, that there was a reaction in favour of standing up before fascist aggression. The same party is still in power and as late as 1940 it did not hesitate to throttle China's life line—thereby condemning millions to death and misery—for the sake of a temporary, though completely illusory, respite. Blind selfishness, blind to the extent of utter disregard for the basic principles of democracy where its own subject peoples are concerned, is still the ruling passion and the guiding instinct of British Imperialism which is now in the saddle. There is no hope for the demo-

cracies, of which the British people are a part, unless sanity returns to the hard-pressed and distraught peoples of the British Isles. The British Commonwealth is setting straight for disaster and it is unfortunate that petty-minded persons are still able to obscure the view of the future under the pretence of attending to immediate problems.

League, Congress and Rajaji's Formula

The League, the Congress and Rajaji's formula endorsed by Gandhiji may profitably be compared with each other. The relevant portion of the Muslim League resolution passed at Lahore in 1940 reads :

"Resolved that . . . no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims, unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that *geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority as in the North-Western and Eastern Zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.*"

The resolution of the Congress Working Committee, which met at New Delhi in April 1942, says :

"The Congress has been wedded to Indian freedom and unity and any break in that unity, especially in the modern world when people's minds inevitably think in terms of ever larger federations, would be injurious to all concerned and exceedingly painful to contemplate. Nevertheless the Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any terri-

torial unit to remain in an Indian Union against their declared and established will . . . Each territorial unit should have the fullest possible autonomy within the Union . . .

Finally Rajaji's formula, as endorsed by Gandhiji and forwarded to Mr. Jinnah, says :

"After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state."

Mr. Jinnah—a Dismal Failure

The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* writes :

Amazement is expressed at the unresponsiveness of Mr. Jinnah and his attempt to take shelter behind the League Working Committee. Since the negotiation was private there was no purpose in submitting the proposals to the Working Committee, unless Mr. Jinnah was himself prepared to recommend it. Political quarters feel that Mr. Jinnah has suffered so many rebuffs in the past two months that he has lost control over himself, and that no other explanation can be given for rejecting the very proposals he had been advocating for four years. There will be the north-western zone and eastern zone, and the contiguous districts in these areas, with a majority of Muslim population, will vote in a plebiscite whether to remain in Hindusthan or form sovereign states. It appears that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid of a plebiscite. He has seen the rising tide of discontent against him and the League High Command.

The Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha, which is meeting in New Delhi, has naturally reacted adversely to the offer. It does not believe in appeasing Mr. Jinnah. But the Congress leaders have never attempted to cater to individuals but have approached the problem from the angle of settling a dispute between two brothers. To the extent to which the Muslim brethren have been worked up by interested parties into a feeling of distrust and suspicion, the formula proposed by Mahatma Gandhi should give them all protection they want. Political quarters expect that various Muslim leaders will now demand acceptance of the offer or removal of Mr. Jinnah from the League's leadership. The tide is already turning against the League leader and this blunder will be his undoing. At any rate Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has said good bye to Mr. Jinnah and no further move may be expected from the Congress side towards Mr. Jinnah. The general feeling in the capital is that history will write Mr. Jinnah down as 'dismal failure'.

An unreasonably large concession has been made to the reactionary Muslims' demand for Pakistan through Mr. Rajagopalachariar's formula which is as follows :

(1) Subject to the terms set out below as regards the constitution for Free India, the Muslim League endorses the Indian demand for Independence and will

co-operate with the Congress in the formation of a Provisional Interim Government for the transitional period.

(2) After the termination of the war a commission shall be appointed for demarcating contiguous districts in the north-west and east of India, wherein the Muslim population is in absolute majority. In the areas thus demarcated, a plebiscite of all the inhabitants held on the basis of adult suffrage or other practicable franchise shall ultimately decide the issue of separation from Hindustan. If the majority decide in favour of forming a sovereign state separate from Hindustan, such decision shall be given effect to, without prejudice to the right of districts on the border to choose to join either state.

(3) It will be open to all parties to advocate their points of view before the plebiscite is held.

(4) In the event of separation mutual agreements shall be entered into for safeguarding defence and commerce and communications and for other essential purposes.

(5) Any transfer of population shall only be on an absolutely voluntary basis.

(6) These terms shall be binding only in case of transfer by Britain of full power and responsibility for the governance of India.

Bengal has an inalienable right to criticise Rajaji's formula, mainly from two standpoints, which have been made clear by Mr. Bijay Bhari Mukherjee in a meeting of the Indian Association. He has emphasised firstly that out of a total Muslim population of 79 millions in British India, Bengal has 33 millions, and the entire population of this province is divided almost equally. The communal problem provides the least difficulty in Madras while it is the most sharply pronounced and the most intricate in Bengal. As such, of all persons, Rajaji is the worst suited for tackling the communal problem in any discussion of which Bengal must be given her rightful place. In this case, as in the case of Poona Pact, Bengal has been completely neglected and decisions are sought to be imposed on her. The people of this cinderella of Indian provinces desire Mahatma to take note of this sentiment here. Secondly. Mr. Mukherjee points out that inclusion of Bengal within a Pakistan zone would mean handing over the land of Sri Chaitanya, of Smartha Raghunandan, of the Digvijayi Palas to a party who refuse to recognise the ancient culture of Bengal as their own. Bengal differs from the rest of India in many vital ways. She follows the Dayabhaga School of Law which applies to the Hindus of this province alone. She has her own literature, her own script, her own philosophy and her own way of life. On our side we want to lay stress on one point.

Plebiscites, agreements and all such arrangements are dependent mainly on the good faith between the contracting parties. The parties to

communal settlement are three—the two main communal bodies, Hindus and Muslims, and the third the British Raj. The Congress has through its sacrifices and its actions amply demonstrated its sincerity of purpose though we cannot say as much about the wisdom of some of the decisions it has taken. Now what of the other two parties, specially what of the British Raj? In the game of hide and seek that has been going on in India ever since the flagrant breach of trust and faith which followed the end of the last Great War, it has been a puzzle to all sincere friends of India as to whether the British Raj is hiding behind the communalists or vice versa.

Mr. Casey on Corruption

In a broadcast speech, Mr. Casey, Governor of Bengal, spoke about corruption in the Province. He said :

"It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal and, together with the great mass of decent people in Bengal, I very greatly deplore it. The thing that disturbs me is that such mal-practices are apparently taken for granted by the general public. There is too much complacency and tolerance of corruption. If the people of Bengal—or even the people of Calcutta—would change their attitude in this regard something could be done. If those who have evidence of either the giving or the taking of secret or illegal commissions or bribes would come forward with evidence—and not merely shrug their shoulders—something could be done."

Corruption in administration is not the monopoly of any country or province. It may be found everywhere in varying degrees. Of late, in India, administrative corruption in the provinces under Muslim League influence is the most pronounced. Political jobbery, introduced and encouraged for maintaining League-wallas in power, preceded rank bribery and corruption. Political and administrative corruptions go hand in hand, the former supporting the latter by blocking the way to redress. The two cannot be separated. Corruption under the present Ministers have been so rampant in Bengal that even the Governor had to take public notice of it.

In Sind, the Ghulam Hussain Ministry has incurred the displeasure of the Working Committee of the Provincial League Council itself on the ground of corruption. It has passed a resolution calling upon the Ministers to resign and authorising the President to see that the resolution is implemented. The resolution states, *inter alia*:

"Corruption has become the order of the day. The Working Committee has before it a long list of the misdeeds of some of the Ministers. It is unnecessary to draw a detailed indictment but the committee

cannot help putting on record the unsatisfactory character of the foodgrain policy of this Ministry. After enhancing land assessment by 200 to 300 p.c. and giving no return of the same to the people in shape of nation-building activities, the Ministry has brought into being various syndicates whose operations have robbed the cultivators of their dues".

After criticising the Ministry's land revenue and food policy the resolution asks *what justification the Muslim League will have for its existence if it will not actively and energetically advance the cause of the Sindhi cultivator who is the backbone of the province?* The Ministry have adopted delaying tactics in regard to the tenancy legislation. The only honourable course, therefore, for the Working Committee is to record its definite findings that it is in the interests of the province and the Muslims of Sind that the Council of Ministers as at present composed should resign.

Definite allegations of corruption in Assam under a League Ministry have been made by the *Sylhet Chronicle*. Under the caption "*Hoarder's Raj in Assam*," the Chronicle gives the following instances in its issue for July 18:

"But what is the real state of affairs? Are the real culprits—the biggest hoarders and profiteers—brought to justice at all?

We shall only cite a few instances here :

"... In Dhubri, one Hossen Kasem Dada was reported to be a big hoarder. The supply officer raided his firm; 200 bags were discovered. But Mr. Dada rushed to Shillong and moved skilfully among influential circles." Ultimately the supply officer was transferred and Dada was appointed purchasing agent for the Government". (*Reported in "People's War" of July 2, 1944.*)

"It has been revealed in the course of magisterial enquiry at Balaganj (i) that the purchasing agents of Messrs. East Bengal and Assam Commercial Syndicate (consisting of some influential persons such as M.L.A's) do not issue any receipts to the peasants. The vouchers which they give to the Government are not filled up in presence of sellers. They buy at the low rate of Rs. 10-11-0 and realise Rs. 15 or so from the Government; and (ii) that they buy from the peasants in the weight of 84 tolas (*making a seer*) and effect delivery to the Government in the weight of 80 tolas. But no action seems yet to be taken against those agents or their principal. (*Reported in a joint letter of Umesh Ray and Silendu Bhattacharjee*)

"Without fixing the minimum prices of rice and paddy, a way has been kept open for the agents for cheating the peasants. By stopping purchase, the agents force the poor people to sell at a rate dictated by them. Even of their total purchases, a small fraction goes into the Govt. Store, and the balance into the black market. All these facts were revealed in the magisterial enquiry at Balaganj. But no action has been taken. (*From a Bengali letter of Saradindu Tarkatirtha, Balaganj, in the "Janasakti" of July 6, 1944.*)

"Mr. Waris Ali, D.A., LL.B., the Magistrate who held enquiries into the said *Balaganj Muddle* and proved an honest and conscientious officer has since been transferred from the Supply Department.

"There are several influential shopkeepers at Sylhet who, despite repeated convictions, still continue to enjoy their licenses and permits." (*Reported by a reliable legal practitioner*)

These are all illustrative rather than exhaustive. If these reports be even partially true, we feel bound

to say that there is a most powerful *Hoarders' Raj* in Assam.

Balaganj affairs, to cite a single instance, have produced a decided revulsion of public feeling, and a sense of disgust and detestation is creeping over the public mind. *People seem to have realised to their cost that there is no remedial justice against powerful parties.* And yet tackling of smaller fries cannot even touch the fringe of the colossal problems of the new anti-social crimes created by the War. Is there any truth in romantic stories, now current, about a Minister purchasing a tea garden for Rs. 4 lacs and about some others making fortunes out of "contracts" in the *benami* of brothers, brother-in-laws, cousins, sons and nephews? Is it a fact that there is always an active element of connivance and acquiescence in these matters.

Of these three League Ministries, those in Assam and Bengal owe their existence to the support of the British members in the Legislatures, while the third at Sind continues unabated through the sufferance of a British Governor.

U. K. C. C.

Indian commercial sentiment has been continually hardening against the monopolistic activities of the U. K. C. C. The explanatory Press Note issued by the Government of India in August 1942, which is probably the only one of its kind, has not succeeded in removing the misconceptions of the Indian commercial people. This Corporation is an organisation financed and controlled by the British Government. The Government themselves have admitted that it has a capital subscribed by the British treasury, and that in matters of broad policy it is subject to consultation with H. M. G. This fact alone makes it more influential and powerful and places it in a position of greater advantage in the matter of its purchases and sales. The chief grievance of the commercial bodies of India against the U. K. C. C. have been that a monopolistic organisation of this character has been permitted to intrude in the foreign trade of India, exercise ordinary trade functions in this country and operate in competition with Indian commercial interests. It should be remembered in this connection that no such organisation has been set up in any of the dominions like Canada, Australia or South Africa. During this war, India has been in a particularly advantageous position for supplying raw and manufactured commodities to the Middle East and African countries, the full benefit of which would have accrued to this country had the normal trade channels been allowed to function. But in fact the U.K.C.C. applies controls to this side of the Indian foreign trade and thus saps out a major portion of the profit which was normally

due to India. Government's contention that the U. K. C. C. enjoyed privileges in respect of trading in commodities of essential war importance, has also failed to impress anybody. If this were the real object, the Corporation would have confined itself to the handling of commodities of military importance like arms, ammunitions, railway materials, etc., instead of interesting themselves in the procurement and supply of piece-goods, yarn, jute, sugar, tea and the like. The definition of commodities of war importance is too elastic today, and if the Government desire to take shelter behind this inflated definition, surely no argument can convince them. The position becomes still more objectionable from the Indian view-point when it is remembered that this Corporation utilises all Government, semi-government and transport agencies for its own transactions and carriages while this privilege is denied to Indian shippers and traders in their own country. This Corporation should not be allowed to establish itself in this country. Otherwise the inevitable result will be to enable the British exporters and manufacturers to serve their interests through it by crushing Indian concerns.

Import of Consumers' Goods

Some months ago, the Finance Member of the Government of India expressed the desire to import consumers' goods as a measure for combating inflation. In reply to a question in the Central Legislative Assembly the Commerce Member stated that textile goods had been allowed to be imported although in small quantities. The very recent liberal grants of import licenses for consumers' goods, mostly from England and Empire countries, without regard to the interests of the corresponding indigenous industries, have naturally caused alarm to the manufacturers of consumers' goods. This has been further intensified by the setting up of a Consumers' Council at the instance of the Government, the principle of the selection of whose personnel and the policy of which still remain a mystery.

Large quantities of articles such as toilet requisites, drugs and medicines, chemicals, cycles and parts, electric fans, hurricane lamps, etc., are being imported now with the easing of the shipping position. All these commodities are now manufactured in India and with a very little assistance their production might greatly be stepped up. The country can become self-sufficient in respect of toilet goods provided only a small quantity of raw materials was made

available. The Director-General of the Indian Medical Science had himself stated some time ago that 75 per cent of the medicines, dentifrices and drugs which used to be imported were being manufactured in this country. These like other consumer goods are now being replaced by imported commodities. The chemical industry which had just begun to grow is similarly threatened with extinction.

The handicaps with which these industries had to struggle throughout these vital years were many. It is now becoming apparent that behind these handicaps, a well-planned denial policy had been in operation. The Government had so far pretended their inability to provide transport and coal to the industries, a difficulty which proved to be the most vital. These were particularly in operation against indigenous industries. The control over distribution through the grant of licenses was similarly utilised. Even the price control policy had been operated in favour of the foreign products. Attractive advertisements were published at public cost which mentioned products not of Indian origin. These were published even in the Gazette of India. It was more apparent in the case of products like drugs, medicines, jams, jellies, etc. Signs are quite clear now which leads to only one conclusion, *viz.*, that the Indian consumers' industries today stand face to face with the gravest peril of their life. In no distant future, the Indian market is going to be utilised for the dumping of British and Empire goods which will help Britain to reconstruct after the war with Indian blood and money.

We had anticipated this future of the indigenous industry and had warned the industrialist and commercial people of this country against complacency. We had asked them to combine and prepare for the future. It is not too late yet. Let the entire Indian industrial and commercial people unite and demand that importation of consumers' goods should be undertaken only where such import does not prejudice any indigenous industry engaged in the manufacture of such goods subject, of course, to a general price control and that every possible assistance should be given to such industry for the procurement of raw materials and machinery. The manufacturing interests should immediately make the weight of their opinion felt so that a regular liaison between the Government Department of Industries and their representatives is established.

Scientific Development or Disaster

The urgency of a new approach to Indian problems was stressed by Prof. A. V. Hill in

an address to the East India Association in London. The subject of his address was "Indian Scientific Development or Disaster." He said :

India is a natural geographic and economic unit. But if political discord led to actual strife and upsetting public services tens of millions of people already enfeebled by malnutrition might die and India's progress delayed for many years.

Prof. Hill said, his recent visit to India to advise on scientific and industrial problems had convinced him of the urgency of a new approach to Indian problems both here and in India itself. India's first need was better health. Compared with British standards, India needed of seven times as many doctors as she has now, 20 times as many midwives, and 70 times as many health visitors. He forecast that the report of the Health Survey Committee under Sir Joseph Bhore would be "pretty elastic."

India's next need would be food. Her population would number 730 millions in 30 years. That would require a three-fold increase in food production and involve a very great national effort. Long range planning was required to stave off disaster.

If prejudice, and shortsightedness are allowed to take the place of wisdom, forethought and collaboration then I can see little but misery and *disaster ahead—within 25 years*. India cannot remain as she is in a rapidly changing world. Either she must go forward along the path of modern progress, or else she will certainly go back.

Prof. Hill had made it clear to his audience that the title of his lecture was deliberately provocative but not exaggerated.

Officials' Responsibility in the Past Famine

A scathing comment on Lord Linlithgow's responsibility for the Bengal famine is contained in an editorial article in the *New Statesman and Nation*. It says of the Delhi bureaucracy of which Lord Linlithgow was the head that it was complacent throughout the calamity; it foresaw nothing; it minimised and denied facts; and when at last it was forced to admit something of the truth, it gave out as consolation that only a million had died. The following is its comment on the responsibility of officials in dealing with the famine :

There is little in this record to flatter our racial pride. The civil servants were as much to blame as the Ministers, and perhaps more so for the neglect and inefficiency of the Provincial Administration, and they, in the senior ranks, are still largely British. The police in Calcutta were mainly responsible for the failure to deal in a human and efficient way with the refugees who camped in the streets: *they are Indians under British Officers*.

At the "Centre" the responsibility fell on Lord Linlithgow and the British officials round him. They were very slow to apply to India the lessons learned during two wars in our own country and elsewhere. They allowed the inflation to get out of control before they thought of any steps to cope with it. They were, for example, several years too late in imposing a

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measure of rent restriction in Calcutta; even then it was done in a half-hearted and ineffective way.

This outspoken comment will hardly seem controversial. Indian officials bungled and blundered, but they were allowed and encouraged to do so by their British superiors.

"New Statesman" on Famine Relief

The *New Statesman and Nation* disagreed with the Calcutta *Statesman* which stated that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine. The London paper writes :

It (*Statesman*) also notes that little was done by the voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine.

That was, however, largely a consequence of our relations with Indian public opinion, and more especially with Congress. It is usually prodigal in organising voluntary service in times of emergency due to floods or earthquakes.

The Calcutta paper's allegation is wholly untrue in its material particulars as well. Most of the relief during the famine had come from the people in effort and money. It is a monstrous lie to say that voluntary effort of Indians to combat the famine had not come.

The *New Statesman* makes the following caustic comment on British rule in India :

It is impossible to read this story (of the famine) without sense that this tragedy passes judgment on our rule in India. An empire which cannot cite the consent of the governed as its title to rule has only one possible justification in the eyes of history: it must be able to show a convincing record of good government.

The Government in India lacks in both. It is neither based on the consent of the governed nor is it good.

Famine Commission

The personnel of the Famine Commission has been announced. The members will be in Calcutta by the end of the first week of August. Cynics may argue that it would serve no useful purpose to co-operate with this Commission, specially when it has been demonstrated that recommendations of such Commissions are of little value. The Central Government has failed to implement even the first and foremost recommendation of the Food Grains Policy Committee held under the Chairmanship of their own Economic Adviser. We should, however, warn that such a course will be unwise. The Famine Commission must not go by default. In this connection we would recommend Mr. Kali Charan Ghosh's book *Famine in Bengal 1770-1943*, which provides in a comprehensive manner all relevant information from contem-

porary records available in print. Some of the chapters of the book would supply exceedingly valuable basis for individual as well as collective research for unpublished data for presentation before the Commission.

Mr. Dewey's Aims

Mr. Dewey dwelt on post-war problems in his speech at the Republican Nomination Convention held at Chicago. He said :

For 150 years America was the hope of the world. Here on this great broad continent we had brought into being something for which men had longed throughout all history. Here all men were held to be free and equal. Here government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed. Here men believed passionately in freedom and independence—the God-given right of the individual to be his own master. Yet with all of this freedom—I insist—because of this freedom—ours was a land of plenty in a fashion unequalled anywhere else in the world. America grew and strengthened; our standard of living became the envy of the world. In all lands men and women looked toward America as the pattern of what they themselves desired, and because we were what we were, goodwill flowed toward us from all corners of the earth. An American was welcomed everywhere, and looked upon with admiration and regard. At times we had our own troubles. We made our share of mistakes, but we faltered only to go forward with renewed vigour.

In her international policy, America is no longer looked upon with the same regard as was done before. Asia looks with deepening suspicion at the close alliance growing between the British territorial and the American financial imperialism. The close Anglo-American collaboration in the Bretton Woods Monetary Conference, following the U. S. A.'s silent approval of the declaration of the British Premier's refusal to apply Atlantic Charter in India, cannot have two different meanings for the subject peoples of Asia.

Penalised for Fair Comment

A security of Rs. 3000 has been demanded from the editor and publisher of the *Forum* of Bombay. The demand is stated to be in connection with an article published on May 28 about the death sentences imposed on the 16 accused in the Chimur and Ashti cases. The alleged offending article fails to reveal to any sober reader anything to which objection can be taken legally or morally. The *Free Press* gives the following summary of it :

It begins with a plea for restraint in the execution of the sentences in view of the fact that the authorities themselves were not free from excesses in the Chimur area. Secondly, it refers to the black-out of news throughout the Indian Press at that time. The general reactions on evidence of a black-out sponsored under

bureaucratic pressure cannot be favourable to accused persons, and if irrevocable convictions are given effect to in such a surcharged atmosphere, the article points out that there is grave risk of the innocent being subjected to irreparable injustice. Then follows a comment on the notorious Sholapur convictions which many impartial observers all over the country believe to have been unduly harsh and not fair to the accused. Sir John Beaumont who had something to do with the Sholapur trials in their penultimate stages, left the country, we are next told, a much wiser man as to police prosecution methods than when he entered it. The article rises to a high note of dissent for capital punishment as such, on the ground of the universal liability to error of all human judgments however exemplary the probity and rectitude of the judges. It concludes with the warning that this is not the time for embittering public opinion, as it was bound to be, by the mere fact of so many men being doomed to die at one time.

One fails to understand what led the authorities to take this penal step for a comment which will generally be considered not to have exceeded the limits of sober and fair criticism.

Roosevelt Changed His Mind

The *United Press of America* has cleared the Roosevelt letter mystery. Interest on this subject had been raised in America and India because a Washington newspaper had printed an article by Drew Pearson which said that the British refused to let President Roosevelt deliver a letter to Gandhiji through Mr. Phillips or even through the British hands. The *U. P. of America* reliably understands that more than a year ago while Mr. Phillips was still in India, President Roosevelt had an idea of sending a letter to Gandhiji. Although the contents of the letter are not known, says the message, observers judge from the comments of Mr. Hull and others and the statements made in the meanwhile, that Mr. Roosevelt's attitude in this proposed approach to Gandhiji was most cordial and sympathetic. Nevertheless he wanted to suggest at least the implication that the Nationalists should help the Allies.

The reasons why Mr. Roosevelt never actually transmitted the note to Gandhiji, continues the message, were never known, but it is believed in informed circles that they arose from the decision not to interfere during wartime in Indian affairs.

The message finally states that efforts to obtain official comment or clarification at Washington have not proved successful.

In this connection it may be recalled that in the course of a farewell chat with press correspondents at New Delhi on April 25, 1943, Mr. Phillips had stated in reply to a question, "I should have liked to meet and talk with Mr.

Gandhi. I requested the appropriate authorities for permission to do so and was informed that they were unable to grant necessary facilities."

Irish Concern for Indian Situation

The *U. P. of America* cables that the *Irish Freedom* says in its latest issue (July) that in the economic sense India's situation was positively alarming. The paper refers to the fall in industrial production, the rise in prices, and disastrous effects of the Bengal famine. It writes that the position in India is pregnant with catastrophe, unless the short-sighted and obstinate policy, which Mr. Amery represents, is altered. The continuation of that policy can only produce bitterest fruits. Therefore, the present impasse must be ended. To end it the first thing necessary is to release the imprisoned National Congress leaders. Secondly, negotiations need be opened with the Indian peoples' leaders for establishment of provisional National Government, and, thirdly, the right of India to her own National Government must be conceded.

Louis Fischer on World Peace

The *Bharat Jyoti* reproduces an article by Louis Fischer, in which the celebrated author says :

There are already signs of dissension in the United Nations' camp about the terms of peace. The Atlantic Charter, which professed to give a general idea of Allied policy about post-war Europe, has gone by the board, with Churchill's bland assertion that its terms do not apply to the Axis countries.

If the peace is not to prove another armistice affording breathing space for the nations to prepare for a more disastrous war, the United Nations have to think in terms of general well-being of the world as a whole.

The primary criterion of the peace should not be its good or bad effect on Germany but its effect on the world.

If Germany is remoulded by the victors while the rest of the world remains unchanged, we might as well start preparing for the Third World War.

Clear attempts are being made to defend and perpetuate the existing social and economic systems, based on the exploitation of Asia and Africa. No world peace can be conceived without a free Asia. Freedom of Asia has been raised into a live issue. If the war is to end against totalitarian powers, India and China must emerge as great world nations.

Lay the Foundations of Peace Now

The *New Republic* has drawn attention to the fact that it would be a tragic error to wait till the end of the war to lay the foundations of

peace aims. The argument that winning the battle is the first concern and that there will be enough time to talk about the new world after victory is fallacious. Nothing will come out of this war for which foundations are not laid while the war is being fought.

It is obvious to this journal that the American Government is playing power politics both at home and abroad. The President, according to it, disregards most of the supporters who have three times elected him triumphantly to office, because he is afraid of the power of his one time domestic enemies, who might, if they were not conciliated, sabotage the fighting of the war. Abroad his representatives consort with the most shady characters, regardless of principle, if only military expediency can be said to dictate the choice. Democratic movements are rebuffed again and again, indeed the American Government acts as if it believed there were no reality of power in the peoples of the world.

Criticising Britain, the *New Republic* comments that as victory approaches, it becomes ever clearer that the Government of Britain is the same old Tory Government still bent on imperial domain and strongly influenced by industrial combinations and world cartels.

Pointing out the tragic error the journal concludes :

Perhaps the reason for failure to follow up the Atlantic Charter by concrete peace aims has been Mr. Roosevelt's conviction that everything else must wait while the war is being fought; it will be time enough to talk about the new world when victory is won. People can unite on defeating a common enemy who could not unite on anything else. Winning the battle will take all the energy and attention we have, there is nothing left over for anything beyond. These arguments are attractive, but fallacious. For a dozen reasons, continuing to act on them would be a tragic error.

For one thing, nothing will come out of the war for which the foundations are not laid while the war is being fought. For another, the way to unite people is not to avoid any issue that might be controversial, but to give them such a strong lead that they have something to unite about. If either the domestic or the international scene is an example of unifying leadership at present, then the Tower of Babel was an example of complete harmony. Again, one way to help win the war, and one of the most powerful ways, is to give people a conviction that they are fighting, not just against something, but for something. It is also a way to weaken the enemy's will to revolt.

Moral Victory for American Negroes

A moral victory for American Negroes is reported from the United States. In a test case, the Federal Supreme Court has handed down a

8 to 1 decision that Texas—and, by implication, all Southern States—must allow Negroes to vote in the Democratic Party's primary elections, hitherto a very jealously guarded privilege of the white South. This overrules the claim that the Constitutional Amendment giving Negroes the political privileges of citizenship did not apply to the primary elections at which party candidates are nominated. At this decision, there was consternation among the defenders of white rule.

The American Negroes' handicaps, political, economic and social, are still real and often galling. Lynchings, those blots upon American law and order, which averaged 152 in a year from 1883 to 1903, continue even to this day. There were 3 lynchings even in 1943, while a threatened fourth was stopped by white and coloured citizens together.

A foreign observer, Dr. Gunnar Myrdal, in his two-volume analysis under the title *An American Dilemma : The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, declares : "America is free to choose whether the Negro shall remain her liability or become her opportunity." It is a moral choice and more than local in its implications and in its repercussions "fateful not only for America itself but for all mankind."

M. P.'s View on Wavell's Refusal to Meet Gandhiji

The *Free Press Journal's* representative cables from London that political circles of progressive opinion learnt with profound regret the news that Lord Wavell had refused to meet Gandhiji. They are stupefied by this action of the Viceroy and they describe it as inexplicable, unjustifiable, impolitic, and irreconcilable with Lord Wavell's oft-repeated phrase 'a sincere friend of India.'

Commenting on this news, Mr. James Maxton M. P. and Mr. Fenner Brockway, Secretary of the U.P. and Editor of the *New Leader*, said :

"We feel quite sure that within the period of another five years British statesmanship towards India will be regarded as incredibly bankrupt. The Viceroy's action takes this bankruptcy to its lowest point. It is sheer madness that any Representative of the British Government should refuse to see the man most representative of India."

Sir Richard Aucland, leader of the Commonwealth Party, declared that this refusal was the greatest political blunder. This refusal once again demonstrates that Whitehall and New Delhi are determined to rule India with the sole aid of the D. I. R. in complete disregard of public opinion in the country.

NOTES

American Eyes on India

Eliot Janeway writes in the June number of the magazine *Asia and the Americas*, analysing America's prospects in post-war foreign trade relations :

"The most impressive case of a major potentially important country whose ability to pay has been vastly increased by war is India. India is no longer a debtor nation. As recently as March 1, 1939 the public Indian debt on capital account in London exceeded 350 million pounds. This debt is now non-existent. In addition the sterling reserves of India, which were some 58 million pounds when the war began, had risen above 550 million pounds at the end of the fourth year of war.

According to the *Economist*, India's boom in exports, combined with her inability to import and her revenue from her participation in the war, will increase this reserve at the rate of £300 millions yearly until the end of the war. India's inability to import is not of her own choice, but a result of control measures which benefit the foreign traders at a tremendous cost to her own national life. All her protests have been in vain.

Einstein on World Economic Upheaval

Prof. Albert Einstein, in a recent interview in his American home with B. L. Jacot and James Jarche, touring the U. S. from Britain, said :

There must be a great revolution in Germany after the war for the people have to be re-educated. I do not know how it will be done. It is a vast problem. Not only the leaders but the people.

There will be a great economic upheaval in the world. Politics—the whole system of government must change. As in Russia the intellectuals will emerge from the war on top. They will be the important people, but, of course, scientists will never govern. Their training does not give them power. The economic system of the world is wrong and that is probably one of the causes of the war.

Community control of production must come, even here in America where it will be most difficult to establish. There is the problem of unemployment. Unemployment cannot be separated from capitalism, and with unemployment as a factor to be contented with in any system of economy the problem is insoluble.

An unemployed man means a non-consumer, and a consumer the less means an increase in unemployment. The circle is vicious. The system is wrong.

About Britain's Palestine policy, he said :

"I like the British, but I resent the British policy towards the Jews in Palestine. It is unfair. It is likely to lead to trouble. The Jews have not always worked in closest co-operation with the Arabs, but the British could have done much to make co-operation easier.

I would like to see the English hold a fairer balance. You use appeasement politics to the Arabs. It is like Chamberlain's policy towards Germany, and

it gives the idea of weakness. The Jews, of all people, deserve fairness and this I resent of the British who have done so much for the world.

Basis of Calculation of Paper Quota

The year 1943 and not 1939 has been made the basis of calculating the 30 per cent quota. This makes a world of difference in the available supply of paper as has been pointed out by Mr. Raghunath Dutt, one of the leading paper merchants of India. In 1939, according to Government's own calculations, more than 1 lakh tons were available while in 1943 the available supply was only 79000 tons including 70000 tons of production and 9000 tons of imports. In November 1942, the Paper Control Order reserved 90 per cent of the production for the Government which was subsequently reduced to 70 per cent. Thus in 1939 the available supply to civilians was 1 lakh ton while in 1943 it was only 30 per cent of 70000, i.e., 21000 tons plus the 9000 ton import. Therefore, a 30 per cent quota of the available supply for the public comes to 30000 tons on the basis of 1939 and to only about 14000 tons on a 1943 basis.

Mr. Dutt has drawn attention to another important fact and suggests that a uniform weightage per ream of the paper should be introduced. This has not been done so far and the result of the manufacture of paper of higher weights has been an inflation in total tonnage without any corresponding increase in the available quantity. The Mills manufacturing boards and kraft paper should also be asked now to switch off to the production of printing paper.

Government's calculation about the future production, which has been put at 70000 tons, seems overcautious. Since the peak production of 1,09,000 tons, only the Mysore Mill with a production figure of 4000 tons has closed down for want of coal and the Titaghur Mills have reduced production by 6000 tons. This takes out only about 10,000 tons from internal production, leaving, even at a moderate estimate, at least 90000 tons. We still believe, in spite of all pleadings by Sir Akbar Hydari at Bombay, that the Paper Control Orders were unduly harsh.

Scholarships for Indians in American Universities

We have received a communication from Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, announcing one fellowship and ten scholarships to be offered by the Foundation to graduates of Indian Uni-

versities for advanced study in American Universities and technological institutes.

The Watumull Foundation, established by Mr. Gobindram J. Watumull of Honolulu, Hawaii, and Los Angeles, California, for carrying on philanthropic and educational activities which will help to increase national efficiency of India and further better understanding between the United States and India, offers one Travelling Fellowship for one year, and ten scholarships to Indian men and women to carry on higher studies and research in American universities and institutions for advanced agricultural and technical education for two years.

Only graduate students of the best type, graduate medical students, graduate engineers, and graduates of Agricultural colleges are eligible for these scholarships.

These scholarships are open to men and women students of Indian parentage without any discrimination of class or religion.

Applications for the Travelling Fellowship and for Scholarships should be sent by air mail to : Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation, 937 Malcolm Avenue, Los Angeles 24, California, U. S. A.

Dr. Inge on Britain's Future

In an article to the *Evening Standard*, Sunday, the very Reverend W. R. Inge, D.D., writes with reference to Britain's future :

In my opinion, our episode of prosperous industrialism is coming to an end and will be followed by the kind of civilisation which Plato and Ruskin liked best, a nation of farmers and small traders.

A nation which depends for its existence on foreign trade can never be a working man's paradise. We have only to compare the costs of production at home and in foreign countries. The British workman has been in a highly privileged position. Is there the slightest reason to suppose that this privileged position can be maintained? Our wage-earners seem to think that it can. They will certainly not make the sacrifices which alone, in my opinion, might save them. I believe, therefore, that our foreign trade is lost.

Does this mean that we shall cease to be one of the Great Powers? In a sense, yes. We must give up trying to police the world, and giving moral lectures to our neighbours.

Dr. Inge believes that the future of the British Empire will be that of Spanish Empire, and he does not think that the future belongs to the nation with most wants.

Bombay Corporation's Plan to Combat Malaria

The Bombay Municipality has launched a scheme for combating malaria. Thousands of Gambusia fish which live on the larvae of mosquitoes have been

transferred from the Palton Road and Victoria Gardens fish-farms to closely guarded wells and tanks in Bombay City. The original Gambusia fish were brought from Delhi to be experimented upon at the Bombay Municipality Health Department (Malaria) laboratory and aquarium. About 90 overseers and 200 workmen collected specimens of mosquito larvae from all parts of the city for the Gambusia fish which was found to devour both non-malaria and malaria-carrying larvae. A medium-sized fish may eat as many as 165 larvae in one day and, therefore, it has been decided to breed more of this kind.

The Gambusia adapts itself readily to many natural conditions, inhabiting shallow stagnant water and feeds on larvae of insects. "The species is definitely carnivorous," Dr. Vatve, Assistant Health Officer (Malaria), told the Associated Press, "and it is known to eat its young. I have advised the building of small stone structures to protect its young."

Hand-Made Paper

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Mr. Purshottamdas Tandon draws attention of the authorities concerned to the position of hand-made paper in the face of the new Paper Control Orders. He says :

The Government has attempted by the Order to restrict the use of paper without giving any indication of its intention to make simultaneous effort to increase the production of paper. Such one-sided control is likely to defeat its purpose. The Government should have utilised this opportunity to give an impetus to the paper production of the country, specially the hand-made paper production which cannot be adversely affected by transport and other difficulties and I, therefore, suggest that the Order should be so amended as to exclude the hand-made paper for the purposes of the Order and confine the restriction to mill-made paper only. This would result in increasing the production of paper and relieving thereby to a great extent, the difficulties now being experienced by the consumers due to the restriction in the use of paper.

If there were any vagueness about the inclusion of hand-made paper within the ambit of the Paper Control Orders, Sir Akbar Hydari has removed it. He has definitely stated that hand-made paper is included in the control scheme. In perfect harmony with the general control policies of the Government, drastic cuts will be imposed on the use of hand-made paper with no encouragement to increase production. The reluctance of the Government to create a network of competition centres for imported paper after the war might also provide another explanation for this singularly drastic step which was not wanted by any section of the public.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

THAT the non-official European community has always realised that the excessive representation and the economic safeguards demanded by and accorded to it need some kind of justification becomes evident when we remember the plea it put forward before the Government of India on the eve of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919. The representations it made to the British administration were summarised in the following terms in Paragraph 4 of the First Despatch of the Government of India on Indian Constitutional Reforms dated the 5th March, 1919. It was said there that

They (non-official Europeans) claim a separate electorate and representation in proportion to their importance rather than their numerical strength and they doubt whether even this will sufficiently secure the interests of trade and commerce.

This short and pregnant summary makes three things clear. The first of these is that the non-official European, like his successor a quarter of a century later when the Government of India Act, 1935, was enacted and like most of his Indian fellow-subjects, was out to secure his economic interests by demanding communal seats and that here his democratic heritage and his professed admiration for it as well as his experience of Parliamentary procedure made no difference between him and the politically uneducated and often illiterate Indian. The second fact is that the non-official European to safeguard his interests demanded representation not on the basis of his numerical strength but on the basis of his importance wherein he was in no way different from or superior to the communal-minded Mussalman who claimed weightage on account of his historical importance and the Sikh who stressed his contribution to the Indian Army. The concluding part of the statement makes crystal clear where this importance lay, *viz.*, his trade and commerce.

Be it remembered that all this was said at a time when, under the Montagu-Chelmsford-Reforms, the non-official European was about to be accorded altogether 58 seats in our Central and Provincial legislatures.

The Simon Commission was appointed in November, 1927, under Section 84A of the Government of India Act, 1919, to inquire into

the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and to offer its suggestions as regards the extension, modification or restriction of the degree of responsible government then existing in India.

For the purposes of the present discussion it is sufficient to state here that the Simon Commission recommended that the total number of seats reserved for the non-official European in the Central and Provincial legislatures should be raised from 58 to 81 or 83.

The Simon Commission referred to the importance of the European community temporarily residing in India in two places. In Paragraph 66 of the first volume of its report it said that

The noteworthy fact is that, over areas so vast and amid populations so immense and diverse, the importance of the small European community, by whatever standard it may be measured, is out of all proportion with its size.

In Paragraphs 81, 82 and 88 of the second volume of its report the Simon Commission referred to the important services rendered by non-official Europeans. Drawing attention to the valuable contributions made by British businessmen, it admitted incidentally in Paragraph 81 that the European communal seats were generally occupied by them. In this connection the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following sentence quoted from page 68 of the second volume of the Simon Commission Report where it was stated that

The numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country, or of the influence they exert.

It was probably because the joint authors of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report realised that at that time their countrymen were more interested in commerce and trade than in industries that they drew attention to the benefits derived by India from the commercial activities of Britons. By the time that the Simon Commission Report was signed, that is to say, about twelve years later, Europeans had come to take greater interest in the development of certain types of industries and that for the same reason which had originally attracted them to commerce—the desire of obtaining high or fairly high profits with minimum risk. It is therefore that we find

the Simon Commission saying in Vol. I, Paragraph 66 of its Report signed in May, 1930, that

It is British organisation and leadership which have promoted the modern industrial development of India.

Similarly, Paragraph 13 of the Government of India's Despatch on the proposals for constitutional reforms dated the 20th September, 1930, refers to

the important contribution which this (non-official European) community has made to the economic development of India.

This refers specially to industrial development for in almost the next sentence, mention is made separately of the widespread commercial activities of Britons and the benefits India has derived from them.

The fact that the above two statements were made in the course of discussions regarding the representation to be accorded to non-official Europeans in Indian legislatures is abundant proof that this was regarded as an important factor in determining its amount.

In what follows, it is proposed to make an attempt to assess the nature and the value of the contribution made to the development of our industries by Europeans and then to find out whether these have been of sufficient importance to justify the representation accorded to the members of this community on this ground and the statutory safeguards provided for it under the Act of 1935.

II

It has been shown previously that the Industrial Revolution in England and improved communications in India due to the construction of railways, the establishment of steamer services and improvements in roads promoted the export of our raw products and the import of cheap manufactures, mainly from England. As a consequence of this, there were such large accumulations of capital in England that the openings available for its adventageous investment in its home land failed to absorb them. A. K. Cairncross in "The Victorians and Investment" which appears in *Economic History* has shown how the funded debts in England "went on yielding decreasing incomes due to falling interest rates," the natural consequence of which was the export of capital.

There were certain very good reasons for the influx of British capital into Indian industries. At that time, a British community engaged in banking and commerce had already established itself in the principal ports and centres of trade. Among the Britons who came

to our motherland in connection with the purchase of raw materials, the sale of British products, shipping, etc., a number, generally ambitious and enterprising, stayed on to take advantage of such openings in business as were available here. Most of these people had either capital of their own or could command easy money in the shape of exported British capital.

These men found that India possessed large amounts of inexpensive raw material, an abundant supply of untrained but cheap and tractable labour and a ready market for such goods as her children needed. Further, Indians lacked the necessary leadership, business organisation and capital to exploit all these advantages. Political subjection stood in the way of the development of our resources with borrowed foreign capital and imported technicians.

At the same time, most British business leaders possessed conspicuous ability. The training they had undergone in Britain coupled with the widening of their outlook due to travel and experience abroad enabled them to plan well on a large scale. Indeed, at this particular stage of our economic development, these men had the monopoly of business enterprise in India. There was no fear of competition from indigenous sources nor was there a jealous national government to place impediments in their way if and when they exploited our material resources and man-power primarily for their own benefit.

Indians may be wrong but they believe that one of the attractions India possessed for these men lay in the fact that, as a dependency and on the principle that blood is thicker than water, these businessmen felt, perhaps not always rightly, that they would meet with greater consideration from their countrymen who were ruling India in behalf of Britain than in the Colonies and Dominions where they would have men of their own race and blood as their rivals and where probably the colonials would have the first preference from their governments. So far as the question of protection of life and property was concerned, India as a dependency was in no way inferior to any of these countries.

Even then, the Britons who took up the task of industrialising India were careful to engage in industries where the minimum amount of risk had to be faced. This is clear when we remember the general order in which three different types of industries were developed.

III

Probably disinclination to face the risks involved in power manufacturing on a large scale

the products of which might not find an immediately profitable market in or outside India and which would require the investment of large amounts of capital in somewhat doubtful enterprises, induced the English investors as well as those engaged in the import and export trade of India to direct their attention first of all to what are called plantation industries, such as indigo, tea and coffee, the market of which was assured as Britain herself stood in need of them.

All the above industries with the exception of indigo are engaged in the cultivation of the crops and their preparation for the market and every one of them is organised along the same lines as the factory industries. They have been established by Europeans with European, generally British, capital mainly in areas formerly sparsely populated. Where Indians have appeared, as for instance in the tea industry, they have been late comers who have found to their dismay that all the best land suitable for cultivation has been appropriated by purchase or long lease by European concerns long before their appearance in the field.

As a general rule, the labour required is recruited from considerable distances mainly from the aboriginal tribes and the same workers are engaged in different times in both agricultural and industrial processes which are carried out scientifically. Each plantation is practically a productive unit employing a large number of workers under capitalistic control and therefore falls under the category of industries.

The returns from plantation industries, the high expectations entertained about their future prosperity as well as the increasing amount of English capital seeking investment combined to lead to the development of Indian mining industries which, beginning with the raising of coal, were gradually extended till today the major part of our mining industries is under European control.

IV.

The opening of the Suez Canal which reduced the length of the voyage round the Cape of Good Hope by nearly two months and practically halved the cost of carriage stimulated our foreign trade so much that England which by that time had become "the workshop of the world" was enabled to pour into India and other industrially backward oriental countries an unending stream of her manufactures.

These factories, however, indirectly assisted the establishment of power industries in India for the eminent success achieved by them in England and the facilities for easy communica-

tion brought about by the starting of shipping services between Britain and India and the construction of railways in the latter carried along with them the implication of the easy transplanting of factories to India and the oriental countries. Machinery could be imported, spare parts could be obtained quickly and cheaply, engineers and skilled labour to install, operate and repair them could pass to and fro between England and them at much less sacrifice of time, money and convenience.

Indians believe that Europeans engaged in the gradually increasing import and export business discovered that it would be more profitable for them to start those industries in India the raw products of which were available locally and to export them in a partly or fully manufactured state. There were two factors in their favour the first being that they could use cheap Indian labour thus reducing the manufacturing costs and secondly, that the processes through which the raw materials would pass would reduce their bulk and weight which of course would reduce the cost of carriage.

Still another fact which must have weighed with the more far-sighted among them was that it would be wise for Britons to start industries manufacturing such consumer's goods as had ordinarily to be imported. In addition to the fact that they would have a ready and large market almost next door, the establishment of industries of this type would entitle them to claim the benefits of protection if and when that became the accepted policy of the British administration in India.

These are some of the reasons for the appearance of factory industries in our mother-land though, as was but natural they, at the beginning, were confined to the manufacture of a comparatively few lines of goods.

While it is not maintained that chronologically there were three distinctly marked stages in the development of different types of Indian industries under British leadership, it is none the less correct to assume that, in spite of a certain amount of overlapping, factory industries made large advances after the most important among the mining industries had been stabilised and that they in their turn succeeded in securing a firm position after the plantation industries had been established.

Though many of the plantations, mines and industries were originally started by individual Britons, it was not long before the force of circumstances converted them into joint-stock

companies as for instance when the founder at the time of his retirement thought it necessary to retain some interest in the business and therefore formed a limited liability company in which he retained a large number of shares, the actual management being entrusted to either some individuals or some organisation commanding his confidence.

When India's foreign trade and large-scale industries with their demand for large amounts of capital passed to Britons, it had to be procured from their countrymen and the organisers were therefore compelled to incorporate them in England. Even when such concerns were registered in India with rupee capital, the money had to come from Britons. The capital and influence of these concerns, however, as Dr. Anstey has pointed out

were small in comparison with that of companies registered outside (India).

The organisers, almost always well-known for their integrity and business ability, were able to raise the amount required from their own countrymen without any difficulty and did so because they had not realised the desirability of associating the people of the country where they were earning profits by the exploitation of Indian labour and Indian raw materials, in their activities. Few Indians will agree to the view that any attempts made in this direction would have failed for Indian capitalists are as eager as any other people to invest their savings profitably. There was also the fact that British business enjoyed the confidence of Indians and this would have attracted Indian investors.

Actual experience proved that it was not easy to maintain the requisite continuity of policy and efficient direction and management in these British joint-stock concerns with sterling capital and with their head offices in London because managers with first-hand knowledge of Indian conditions were hard to get and these salaried officers paid frequent visits to England either on leave or for recuperation after illness. There was also the problem of replacing them when they left the concerns they were serving to better their prospects or when they died.

These were the circumstances which called the managing agency system into existence. The firms acting as managing agents not only enjoy an unimpeachable reputation for their integrity and financial soundness but usually have a number of competent and experienced partners able to replace one another thus ensuring continuous expert supervision of the concerns entrusted to their management. As they do business continuously in India, they always

have, in addition to the partners, a European staff familiar with Indian conditions and able to take responsibility thus ensuring efficiency and continuity of supervision for each individual concern under their care.

There are at least three principal reasons for the dominant position occupied by managing agency firms in the industries controlled by them. The first of these is that they invariably hold a certain minimum of shares which, along with those held by their friends, is sufficient to place them in an advantageous position. While theoretically, no one can exercise effective control without holding 51 per cent of the shares, what actually happens is that as they are distributed among people living in different parts of the country the number of whose shares is not large enough to make them take the trouble of organising a movement against the managers so long as they receive satisfactory dividends, the agency firms enjoy perfect freedom to pursue their own policy without any interference.

A method for securing control is through written agreements, terminable and non-terminable. These accord such wide powers that the managing agency firms are, to all intents and purposes, at perfect liberty to carry on their activities without any kind of let or hindrance. The fact that these cannot be revoked or cancelled unless by a 75 per cent majority of the shareholders is sufficient to practically convert terminable into non-terminable agreements.

The financial advances made by the managing agency firms as well as the fact that they are often the largest holders of debentures having a lien on the assets of the company make them the chief creditors and this makes their position almost unassailable.

VI

It would be idle to deny that just as attempts for the attainment of the largest possible measure of commercial and industrial self-sufficiency when they are likely to yield little or no profits or even to involve loss are made only where they are directed by a national government in pursuance of a national policy, similarly all ventures, commercial and industrial, whether undertaken by Indians or non-Indians, can have only one motive—the earning of profits. The British shareholders, directors and the managing agency firms entrusted with the conduct of business enterprises in India constitute no exception to this rule.

It will also be readily admitted that the principal reason why the British managing

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

agency firms have been permitted to enjoy almost unlimited power is that they have succeeded in this task of earning dividends which, on the whole, have satisfied those who have invested their savings in the enterprises controlled by them. Nor can it be doubted that failure on an extensive scale in this their primary task would sooner or later have led to the withdrawal by their financial backers of the powers enjoyed by them and that, taking all things together, the British managing agency firms stand to lose much more than individual share-holders however large their holdings for, as Dr. Nabagopal Das, Ph.D., (Econ.) London, I.C.S., has pointed out on page 85 of his *Industrial Enterprise in India*:

They have generally regarded their earnings from shares (as shareholders) as subordinate to their (generally much larger) earnings in other capacities and in other fields of activity.

From all this it follows that the desire to avoid loss and the profit motive operate more strongly in the case of the agency firms than in that of the shareholders.

These facts have a two-fold significance. The first of these is the minimum profits which would keep the shareholders contented and the second the industries where these could be secured with the minimum risk. So far as the first matter is concerned, we find that the opinion expressed by several leading business men (*Indian Tariff Board : Paper and Pulp Industries, Evidence*, 1925, Vol. I, p. 639) was that the minimum return necessary to draw capital into new fields was 10 to 15 per cent on the investment with of course the implication that not only would larger returns be more welcome to investors as a class but also that aliens would naturally enough prefer to lay out their savings in those enterprises which offer fair prospects of earning them on the principle that investments in foreign countries ordinarily involving larger risks are expected to yield higher returns. Still another implication equally important is that once experience shows that high or fairly large profits can be earned with comparative ease and with minimum risk in certain industrial enterprises, the tendency to concentrate on them would immediately and automatically manifest itself.

Applying these deductions to the industries organised by Britons in India, we find that the

(European) Bengal Chamber of Commerce in its evidence before the Indian Industrial Commission as referred to by the Indian Fiscal Commission (*Evidence*, Vol. II., p. 929) said:

In Calcutta, the sources from which capital is drawn for enterprise with which members of this Chamber are concerned are two-fold: Europeans in India and the United Kingdom.

Even those with limited knowledge of European business in Calcutta are aware that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is the stronghold of British big business that is to say of people engaged in commercial pursuits and of those connected with the various managing agency firms which control jute, tea, coal and inland transport industries.

It is true that of late a certain percentage of jute shares has passed to Marwaris but these, generally used as counters for speculation, are rarely looked on as investments for profits. Excepting these, the bulk of the shares are held by non-Indians.

Dr. Vera Anstey on page 209 of her *Economic Development in India* explains the British concentration on these industries in the following way :

The initiative . . . has lain mainly with Europeans, who also provided the bulk of the capital. Capital is dear, much of the interests and profits earned is payable in England, whilst only those industries have been promoted which appear most desirable in English eyes.

All these industries satisfy the first requirement—fairly high and regular dividend earning capacity while all except inland transport have earned phenomenal profits at certain times as is easily proved by the following quotation from page 221 of H. N. Brailsford's *Property or Peace* :

It is usually estimated that from £600 to £700 millions of British capital are invested in India. Part of this capital is sunk in industries which in favourable years yield fabulous profits. Coal mines have been known to pay 100 and 120 per cent on a daily wage of 8d. Out of 51 jute mills, 32 paid as much as 100 per cent in one or more years between 1918 and 1927 ; 29 never paid less than 20 per cent, and 10 never less than 40 per cent. During the early post-war years the profits of these jute mills ranged from six to eight times their total wages bill. For every £12 that they paid in wages to their Indian workers, they remitted £100 in profits to their shareholders in Scotland.

(To be continued)



ROMESH CHUNDER DUTT

A Champion of the Indian People

By NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A.

THE later half of the 19th century of the Christian era had witnessed a glorious Intellectual Revolution in Bengal. It had been a period of ferment. The Western mind came in contact with the Eastern. The soul of India was stirred. It threw off the shackles of age-worn tradition and convention and sought new light and expression in a new-found-land. The spark of the ignited minds could be seen and felt in almost every sphere of national life—social, political, religious, cultural. And it is the life and activities of this band of worthy sons that have shaped Bengal, and in a way India also, of today. The giants of the 19th century have been makers of an age.

The race of Civilian officials, of whom Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt was a bright specimen, has unfortunately been extinct. Native Civilians have multiplied now-a-days. But where is that unextinguishable fire of patriotism, courage of conviction, bold outspokenness, breadth of vision, depth of wisdom and abiding love for the mass of the people that characterised Mr. Dutt? None among the native officials was more respected and trusted by Government than he for efficiency, reasonableness and moderation. And none at the same time was more feared by Government for the spirited advocacy of the cause of the aggrieved people that he espoused of his own accord. Mr. Dutt was a brilliant scholar. "He was a man amongst men, a prince among his peers (*primus inter pares*)," says Sir Surendranath Banerjea. Romesh Chunder had a clear brain that could grasp hard facts and use them with force in support of his arguments. He wielded a forceful pen and could write English with so much ease and grace as a few Britons of his time could do. Coming as he did, in close touch with the English literature and English society, he imbibed a genuine admiration for the noble traits of English character, namely, freedom of thought, love of independence and of fair-play. But he did not sell his soul and spirit in exchange of high honour and position that Government conferred upon him. A keen student of history, Mr. Dutt was not oblivious of India's past and not without hope for her bright future. In fact, he was proud of his motherland's past glories and exhorted his countrymen to re-build her future by their work and devotion.

Placed in the foremost rank of native officials (Mr. Dutt was the first Indian to rise to the

post of Commissioner of a Division) he was not unaware of the sorry plight of the tillers of the soil, a race of dumb, resourceless humanity that produces wealth only to wallow in perpetual penury. Mr. Dutt with his practical wisdom, mastery of facts and burning sympathy for the oppressed was rightly looked upon as a god-gift by the agricultural people of India. He had the strength of a Hercules and the love of a mother for his suffering countrymen. He initiated the movement for the amelioration of the lot of the peasants. India could not have found a bolder and wortheir fighter for her people's cause.

In course of his presidential address at the 15th meeting of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow (1899) he charged Government with ruining the Indian agriculturists and of throwing them in the jaws of recurring famines by exacting too much as land revenue assessments. This charge roused a controversy over the agrarian problems in India which was echoed in the British Parliament too. In support of his views and to make the controversy more poignant Mr. Dutt published in England *Famines in India* and widely distributed copies of the same among the British public. This was followed by another publication, more exhaustive and thought-provoking in nature, namely, *The Economic History of India*. In these books Mr. Dutt focussed a flood of light on the weak spots of the administrative machinery and exposed the loopholes through which the resources of the country are being drained by the alien rulers. Facts are always incontrovertible. And when a responsible personage like Mr. Dutt upon whom the British Government showered honours and favours like flowers from heaven assailed the authorities, there was much heart-burning amongst some section of the English and Anglo-Indians. They expected Mr. Dutt to be docile and obliging like a royal tiger, made drowsy under the influence of drugs, in a circus show. But when contrary to their wishes, Mr. Dutt held Government responsible for financial ruin and the chronic crushing poverty of the Indian people, they must have exclaimed in their heart, "Thou too Brutus!" The *Civil and Military Gazette* indirectly charged Mr. Dutt of ingratitude and disloyalty when it remarked :

"But for the British rule in India Mr. Dutt, with all his ability, could not have hoped to rise above the position, perhaps, of Amil under some Muhammadan

or Mahratta Sardar. His salary might have been 50 rupees with pickings. To the British Government he owes education, opportunity, high offices, dignity, large pension, and freedom to malign it."

Mr. Dutt claimed that the Government should not ignore the people altogether but give them a real share in the administration of their own affairs and respect their views on matters vitally affecting their material well-being.

ECONOMIC VIEWS

While dealing with the true causes of Indian poverty and Indian famines under the British rule Mr. Dutt remarks :

"The sources of a nation's wealth are Agriculture, Manufacture and Commerce, and these are conserved by a sound financial administration. While British rule in India has brought the manifold blessings of peace and a wider civilisation, it has not widened the sources of national wealth of the country from an Indian point of view, and has therefore not improved the material condition of the mass of the people to any marked extent."

India is pre-eminently an agricultural country. And hence agriculture should have received the widest patronage of the Government if the people were sought to be saved from famines. The Indian Famine Commission of 1888 suggested the adoption of irrigation works on a wide scale. But the pressure put by the British capitalists on the Indian Government for expansion of railways was more weighty than the life-and-death question of the natives of India. 'The railway system does not add one single blade of corn to the food supply of the country, while irrigation works double the food supply, save crops, and prevent famines.' Yet railways, like fowler's mesh of iron, have been flung over the face of the country. Lively rivers have been strangulated and fertility of the soil sapped thereby. Mr. Dutt is full of anguish when he writes :

"During a century and a half of British rule the whole country could have been covered with irrigation works. All the provinces could have been protected against the effect of droughts. The food supply of India could have been increased and made constant. *But by a fatal unwise dom and want of foresight, railways have been fostered and irrigation neglected in India.* Out of 220 million acres of cultivated land in India, not much over 20 millions are protected by irrigation works." (Italics mine).

Since the fall of Burma in Japanese hands the food problem in Bengal has been a distressing factor. Why has the land of "milk and honey" been reduced to a home of half-fed rickets and famished skeletons? Reckless construction of railway lines and bridges in disregard to the importance and utility of the passage of flood waters and the neglect of irrigation are the

main causes of the deterioration of agriculture and the consequent shortage of foodgrains. Dr. Bentley, formerly Director of Public Health, Bengal, observes :

"With adequate irrigation facilities, Bengal could feed the whole of India. If the existing rice-fields of Bengal gave a yield per acre as high as those in Spain, they would suffice for this purpose. If they yielded as well as the rice-fields of Japan, they would feed 200 millions of people."

Bengal soil has been starved. And consequently the country has to pay the heavy penalty in the loss of nearly 20 lakhs of souls as famine casualty in course of a year.

Manufacture and commerce of the country, once renowned for her fine and finished products, extensive trade and fabulous riches have been crippled. This would not have happened had the foreign rulers been mere governors and not traders themselves. India, helpless in the grip of England and with her destinies entrusted to the care of the British people, was looked upon not only as a subject possession but also as a rival in commercial and manufacturing pursuits. She has been patiently and systematically disabled as a competitor and reduced to the status of an ever dependent consumer of finished goods made by the ruling race and carried by the same to our shores. The "wealth of Ind" had once secured a place in the mythical stories of the West. The Indian craftsmen and artisans had been universally praised for their skill. They had once been prosperous and flourishing. But now India is the poorest country in the British empire and her people a race of paupers. Why? Mr. Dutt has diagnosed the malady aright. It is, he says, the drain on the financial resources of India that impoverishes the people. The writer's statement on the subject bears reproduction *in extenso* :

"One-fourth of all revenues derived in India is annually remitted to England as Home Charges. And if we add to this the portion of their salaries which European officers employed in India annually remit to England, the total annual drain out of Indian revenues to England considerably exceeds 20 millions. The richest country on earth stoops to levy this annual contribution from the poorest. Those who earn £42 per head ask for 10s. per head from a nation earning £2 per head. And this 10s. per head which the British people draw from India impoverishes British trade with India. The contribution does not benefit British commerce and trade, while it drains the life-blood of India in a continuous, ceaseless flow."

Again :

"The total Land Revenue of India was 174 millions in 1900-1. The total of Home Charges in the same year came to 17 millions. It will be seen, therefore, that an amount equivalent to all that is raised from the soil, in all the Provinces of India, is annually remitted

out of the country as Home Charges. An additional sum of several millions is sent in the form of private remittances by European officers, drawing their salaries from the Indian revenues."

India has of late been known as a proverbially poor country with heavy, ever-increasing public debts. She is being administered as a deficit concern. Mr. Dutt dispels the erroneous notion of the public about the causes of such debts. He observes :

"A very popular error prevails in this country that the whole Indian debt represents British capital sunk in the development of India. It can be shown that this is not the genesis of the Public Debt of India. When the East India Company ceased to be rulers of India in 1858, they piled up an Indian debt of 70 millions. They had in the meantime drawn a tribute from India, financially an unjust tribute, exceeding 150 millions, not calculating interest. They had also charged India with the cost of Afghan wars, Chinese wars, and other wars outside India. Equitably, therefore, India owed nothing at the close of the Company's rule; her Public Debt was a myth, there was a considerable balance of over 100 millions in her favour out of the money that had been drawn from her." (Italics mine.)

Mr. Dutt appeals to the good sense and impartial judgment of the wider public when he writes.

"The history of Indian Debt is a distressing record of financial unwisdom and injustice; and every impartial reader can reckon for himself how much of this Indian Debt is morally due from him."

Finally he sums up thus the position of India so far as her wealth and resources are concerned :

"These are the plain facts of the economic situation in India. Given these conditions, any fertile, industrious, peaceful country in the world would be what India is to-day. If manufacturers were crippled, agriculture overtaxed, and a third of the revenue remitted out of the country, any nation on earth would suffer from permanent poverty and recurring famines. Economic laws are the same in Asia as in Europe. If India is poor to-day, it is through the operation of economic causes." (Italics mine.)

What Mr. Dutt wrote about half a century ago is applicable today with as much aptitude and poignancy as then. Nothing worth mentioning has been done in these years to revive manufacture and commerce of the people. Bengal with her rich soil and the possibility of surplus crops has deteriorated into a deficit province as regards food supply for her own population. She has of late had to depend upon Burma rice for feeding her children. And the famine of 1943 has served as an eye-opener. Famines with greater or smaller intensity and extensity has been a curse and a blot on British rule in India. Mr. Dutt could recollect horrors of ten such famines in course of forty years. He was pained that no vigorous endeavours were

made to permanently safeguard the people against the ravages of such disasters. The calamities of the people roused his sympathies and put words into his tongue. He spoke warmly and boldly as a spokesman of the dumb suffering humanity. In course of his spirited speech at Madras in 1902, while reviewing the general economic and political conditions of the people, he said :

" . . . Never were greater misfortunes and deaths crowded together within so brief a space. Never did a civilised, fertile, and industrious country present a scene of more widespread poverty and desolation."

In the same speech he feelingly described the miseries of the people which are a perfectly true picture of the calamities of 1943 also. He said :

"If there is one object which should be above the sphere of party controversy and should appeal to the humanity of all, it is the subject of those famines which are desolating the country so frequently in recent years. And if any of you, gentlemen, have visited relief centres as I have recently done, and seen hundreds and thousands of starving and tottering men and women, our brothers and our sisters, crawling along the roads, resting under trees, lying down on the wayside perhaps to die before the hands of relief can reach them, you will have felt, as I felt, that this calamity, this overwhelming scene of human suffering and distress and death cries to Heaven for a permanent redress."

A true friend of the Indian people, Mr. Dutt was a dreamer of bright dreams. He was an indefatigable worker, a robust optimist. He trusted in India's future greatness and instilled that noble rage in all those who came in contact with him. Mr. Dutt was a cosmopolitan. He won the hearts of many by the charm of his character and through his numerous writings. He was a finished epistolier. Among many others he made the acquaintance of the Begum of Janjira. To this lady he addressed a fine poem wherein he suggests how real service to the Motherland may be rendered. The poem has a pointed bearing on the present-day politics. We quote below a stanza and a portion of the other :

Help the son of loom and anvil,
Raise the tiller of the soil,
Trust in duty humbly rendered,
Trust in India's future star,
And our unborn sons and daughters
Shall be higher than we are.

Caste and creed will often wrangle,
Tear apart those who are one,
Greed and selfishness will binder
What by selfless work is won;
But true-hearted men and women
Moslem or of Hindu faith,
Love of men their high religion,
Serve their country until death.

U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA

Unity among the people and sustained efforts for the realisation of the great goal—self-government attained by the people—were the watch-words of Mr. Dutt. He had a shrewd suspicion that greed and selfishness reared and fostered by interested quarters, might hinder the progress of the selfless band of workers. He could prophesy from his fund of political wisdom that division in the rank would weaken motherland's cause. This should not be allowed. Caste and creed should be subservient to the noblest cause of the land of birth.

"This", says Mr. Dutt in course of his speech at Lucknow in 1908, "is Dharma; it is the duty of every nation to strive for progress, as it is the endeavour of the plant to seek for light. If we are true to ourselves

in educational and social reforms, in industrial and political endeavours, our future is assured. Every act of self-seeking and untruth holds us back; every act of self-sacrifice and devotion sees us further on our onward march."

All the political writings of Mr. Dutt were published in English as they were meant as much for the Indian public as for the British. To the larger section of Bengal literates he is known as only a historical novelist of repute who had Sir Walter Scott and Bankim Chunder as his model. It is time that his political aspirations, his sympathies, his unremitting exertions in the cause of his motherland and brother citizens were widely known, evaluated and appraised.

U. N. R. R. A. AND INDIA

By ASHUTOSH DAS

THE present war has set the mightiest machine of destruction in motion. The ruthless and organised exploitation of resources both physical and human, has depleted the material stocks of the world. The whole apparatus of productive forces has been overworked and is to be reconditioned. These will greatly intensify the forces leading to instability in the post-war world. Therefore, it is necessary and wise to devise policies in advance if the risk of economic depression and unemployment is to be mitigated in post-war years. It should be thoughtout beforehand to adopt means and measures by which as smooth a transition as possible can be effected from war to peace economy.

The bitter experience of the reconstruction of Europe after the last Great War of 1914-18, is a sharp pointer in this direction. After the war of 1918, there was terrible difficulty and dislocation in making deliveries to some devastated countries of Europe specially to some parts of Eastern and Central Europe. To avoid any such difficulty in post-war years, this time a comprehensive and well-thought-out plan has to be chalked out. The feeding of Europe after the war will be more than a matter of immediate relief shipments, urgent as these undoubtedly will be. It may well be a sound financial and economic policy for governments in a position to do so to make contributions in order to expedite the revival of economic activity in stricken areas. Nothing is gained by dressing such relief in deceptive financial attire.

Therefore, with a view to give relief to disabled and displaced persons and rehabilitate them to proper spheres and positions, as well as

to reconstruct devasted territories, at the instance of the British Government the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee was formed in London in September, 1941. It consisted in the main of the European exiled governments and the British Government. U. S. A., and Soviet Union were also invited to join the team. The Soviet Government only appointed an observer. The U. S.A., at first, had been an observer, but later on took part in the regular work of the Committee.

After the entry of Japan into the war, the Far Eastern Zone was in a state of ferment. Japan occupied a considerable part of territories in South-East Asia. So, necessity was felt to expand the scope of the Inter-Allied Post-War Requirements Committee, which was mainly concerned with the task of re-establishing production and civilian life in the occupied countries of Europe. Both the Soviet Government and U. S. A. Government, who were more or less outside the Committee, put forward suggestions for the creation of a truly international organisation to restore civilian life and to take up post-war relief work in all warstricken areas in post-war years. The Government of Great Britain, the U. S. A., the Soviet Union and China held discussions for a long time and in June, 1943, the U. S. A. Government put forth for discussion a draft document envisaging a scheme to establish an organisation called the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

To give a final shape to U. N. R. R. A. (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration), representatives of 44 Govern-

ments affiliated to the United Nations, joined a ceremony held at the White House, Washington, on the 9th November, 1943, and signed the agreement implementing the various proposals for U. N. R. R. A. The next day, the representatives of these Nations met at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in the first session of the Council. The Council met continuously for three weeks to frame its plan and programme. The Council is vested with the supreme authority of laying down policies and also general policies of administration. Every country has one representative only to the Council irrespective of her size or population. Under this Council which is the supreme policy-making body, there are four Committees. The first one is the Central Committee composed of the four powers, *viz.* U. S. A., U. K., Soviet Union and China. The Central Committee has got to exercise the power vested in the Council during adjournments of the Council. But on important matters affecting the policy and principles of the Administration, the ratification of the Council will be imperative. There is also a proviso that if any decision is to be taken in which the interests of any particular country or countries are involved, then the country or countries so concerned will be invited to participate in the deliberations of the Central Committee. The second is a Committee of Supplies made up of the principal supply nations, the third is a Committee on European Relief, while the fourth is a committee for the Far East and consists of the representatives of Australia, China, New Zealand, the Philippines, the U. K., the U. S. A., the Netherlands and the French National Committee.

Now the agreement for U. N. R. R. A. contains ten articles incorporated in it. The salient features of the Articles are given below :

Article 1.—The administration shall have power to acquire, hold and convey property, to enter into contracts and undertake obligations, to review the activities of agencies so created, to manage undertakings and in general to perform any legal act appropriate to its objects and proposals. Further, it is to plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of measures for relief of victims of war in any area under the control of any of the United Nations through the provision of food, fuel, clothing, shelter and basic necessities, medical and other essential services, and to facilitate in such areas, so far as is necessary the adequate provision of relief, the production and transportation of these articles and the furnishing of these services.

Article 2.—The members of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be the Governments or authorities as may upon application of membership be admitted thereto by sanction of the Council.

Article 3.—Each member government shall name one representative and such alternates as may be necessary, upon the Council of the U.N.R.R.A., which

shall be the policy-making body of the Administration. The Council shall, for each of its sessions, select one of its members to preside at the session. The Council shall be convened in regular session not less than twice a year by the Central Committee. The Central Committee of the Council shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates of member governments within the European area. The Committee of the Council for the Far East shall consist of all the members of the Council or their alternates, representing member governments of territories within the Far Eastern Area.

Article 4.—The Executive authority of the U.N.R.R.A. shall be in the Director-General who shall be appointed by the Council on the nomination by unanimous vote of the Central Committee.

Article 5.—In so far as is appropriate the Constitutional bodies shall authorise each member government to contribute to the support of the administration.

Article 6.—The Director-General shall submit to the Council an annual budget and from time to time such supplementary budgets as may be required, covering the necessary administrative expenses of the Administration.

Article 7.—While hostilities or other military necessities exist in any area, the Administration and its Director-General shall not undertake activities therein without the consent of the military command.

Article 8.—The provisions of the agreement may be amended by two-thirds votes of the Council.

Article 9.—The agreement shall generally come into force with respect of each signatory on the date when the agreement is signed.

Article 10.—Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of six months from the entry of that Government.

The birth of the U. N. R. R. A. is not due to solely humanitarian motive but to the grim necessities of war. The U. N. R. R. A. will face one of the most formidable tasks that have risen to perplex the nations of the earth. The broad principle of the U. N. R. R. A. is that each nation should endeavour to bear its share of the sacrifice. The liberated people will require 50,000,000 tons of food-stuffs, raw materials and other articles of prime necessity in the first six months after the war. The essence of the scheme is that all should draw upon a common pool of supplies and transport. Relating to the relief to be required for China it is estimated that out of 460 million population of China approximately 200 million have their homes in occupied China and in the war zones. 220 million live in free China and 10 million are displaced persons. Of the 200 million in occupied China about 30 per cent will need relief, *i.e.*, 60 million. Of the 40 million war refugees, about 60 per cent will need relief, that is 24 million. The total population needing relief comes to the figure of 84 million. In Russia also about 10 to 12 million people will have to be rehabilitated. Besides this relief over 20,000,000 people will require to be repatriated when the 'cease fire' order is given.

The repatriation may land the population to the danger of epidemics. Therefore, the medical side of the U. N. R. R. A. will have to discharge important activities. It is surmised that the nine European countries under U. N. R. R. A. will need 45,000,000 tons of supplies for the first six months after liberation. If the various European countries were left to compete for the limited supply of goods when the war ends, the result would lead to competitive buying and forcing up prices in a progressive inflationary spiral. Therefore, failure to organise relief and rehabilitation would postpone indefinitely a return to conditions which will render the resumption of commerce or anything like its pre-war scale possible.

The U. N. R. R. A. has laid it down that supplies made available to small countries should not be limited to their ability to provide foreign exchange in payment of deliveries or shipping for the transport of goods. The main beneficiaries of the scheme will largely be the smaller countries. The powers which will generally make the greatest contribution will be those which will derive the least advantage except in the sense that all of them are interested in the earliest possible resumption of International Trade.

At the first session of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. held in U. S. A., some resolutions were adopted respecting the repatriation of displaced persons. The Council recommended that the member government and the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. should exchange information on all phases of the problem, including such matters as the numbers and places of temporary residence of the nationals of other countries, or stateless persons, with their territories. Its further recommendations are that member governments should consult and give full aid to the Director-General, so that he might in concert with them, plan, co-ordinate, administer or arrange for the administration of orderly and effective measures for the return to their homes, of prisoners, exiles and other displaced persons.

The question of the assistance to be given by the Administration as regards rehabilitation of persons displaced by enemy or ex-enemy intruders in their homes from which nationals of the United Nations had been expelled, should be considered a separate issue. The Committee on Health of the U. N. R. R. A. should co-operate with the Health Authorities of various countries concerned at the initiative of the Director-General and also with such agencies as the

International Red Cross and the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees.

For working the scheme embodied in U. N. R. R. A. a large sum of money is to be raised. So, it was at first settled that financial contributions by the member governments would be based on the principle that each nation whose country had not been occupied by the enemy, should pay a sum equivalent to 1 per cent of its national income for year ending 30th June, 1943. On this basis Britain's contribution will be in the neighbourhood of £80,000,000 while the U. S. A. will be paying \$1,350,000,000, that is, about 65% of the total estimated \$2,000,000,000 of the U. N. R. R. A. funds. Under the agreement India is free to determine the amount and nature of its contribution and also to choose the manner in which supplies should be provided or procured. Later on some modifications were also made by the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. for assessing the amount of the contribution. The Council recognises that there are cases in which the recommendations of the 1 per cent contribution of the national income of each member government may conflict with particular demands arising from the contribution of war or may be excessively burdensome because of special situations. Therefore, the Council has made a provision that the amount and character of the contribution recommended is subject to special conditions.

Considering all these factors it may be said that the U. N. R. R. A. in a sense is the first international organisation to operate in this war. Its constitution providing for regional councils in Europe and Asia and for the exercise of policy and executive power has established a model.

On November 9, 1943, the representative of the Government of India signed the agreement of U. N. R. R. A. On the 4th April, 1944, Sir M. Azizul Haque, Member for Commerce, Industries and Civil Supplies, Government of India, moved the following resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly :

"This Assembly approves of the U.N.R.R.A. Agreement, signed at Washington on November 9, 1943. In expressing its approval this Assembly recommends that any area important for the military operations of the United Nations should be included in the benefits to be made available by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration."

The Assembly after discussions on the proposals passed the resolution.

It is, therefore, a patent fact that India is closely associated with the U. N. R. R. A. and actively interested in its affairs. The estimate of India's share of administrative expenses is roughly Rs. 13 lakhs for the year 1943-44. Sir

Azizul Haque also said in the Assembly that India's general contribution should be Rs. 8 to 10 crores. But some members of the Assembly thought it expedient that India should only contribute 2 per cent of the Government of India's budgetary income, that is, about Rs. 5½ crores. Sir Azizul Haque informed the Assembly that it would be open to the Government of India to settle the terms under which the appropriation should be made either in the field of foreign credit or in the shape of supplies excepting that India would have to pay for American currency or British currency to the extent of 10 per cent of India's total contributions.

The most pertinent question is as to what is the benefit that India would derive from U. N. R. R. A. Regarding this some justified suspicion arose after the formal inauguration of U. N. R. R. A., when the question of Bengal famine was raised before the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. through a letter by Mr. J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, addressed to Mr. Dean Acheson, the Chairman of U. N. R. R. A.; the latter replied to Mr. Singh that the unfortunate situation in Bengal was not within the competence of the Council to discuss at that session.

However, after groping through much technical and legal formulas rather than which was practical and expedient, the U. S. A. House of Representatives passed an amendment of the Congressman Karl Mundt to the U. N. R. R. A. Bill in following terms :

"In expressing its approval of this Act, it is the recommendation of the Congress that, in so far as funds and facilities permit, any area important to the United Nations' military operations which may be stricken by famine or disease shall be included in the benefits available through the U.N.R.R.A."

Another problem of major importance is as to who are the persons to obtain relief from U. N. R. R. A. Now, it is estimated that the number of Indian evacuees to India from territories now under Japanese occupation is not less than 5 lakhs. Moreover, Indian population in the Far East where Japan dominated, will be about 13 to 14 lakhs. Indians born or permanently resident in Burma and Far East, who have sought refuge in India as a result of the war, are expected to have the help of the U. N. R. R. A. in their return home in the liberated territories after the end of the war. Indian nationals who before the war, normally resided in Burma and the Far East in order to earn their livelihood, will come to this category.

As to the question of the representation of

India to U. N. R. R. A., there are also prominent factors to be reckoned with. If India's goods should specially be earmarked for countries, such as Burma, China, Malaya, etc., then it is quite reasonable to demand that as many Indians as possible should be represented on the administrative and technical staffs of the U. N. R. R. A. It is now understood that India will be entitled to the membership of the Far Eastern Regional Committee of U. N. R. R. A., one of whose functions will be to advise the Director-General of the U. N. R. R. A. on the organisation of measures to assist displaced persons. India will also be represented on the Technical Committee on Displaced Persons, which the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. has decided to set up.

But still the position of India in the U. N. R. R. A. organisation is of an inferior status. India has not been taken in the Central Committee of the Council of the U. N. R. R. A. India has legitimate grievances for this. India is now the main supply and defence base of the East Asia war theatre of the United Nations. Therefore, it behoves that Indian representatives should be taken in the Central Committee.

The intents and purposes of U. N. R. R. A., so far adumbrated, seem to be well-meant. But still it must be said that it has not been ushered into being only to show the philanthropic motive of the U. S. A. and U. K., who will contribute the major portion of the expenses of U.N.R.R.A. If the distress of India's mainland has been brought within the scope of the relief of the U. N. R. R. A., it has been done mainly for the interests of the United Nations. It is to the advantage of the war efforts of the United Nations to ensure that another nightmare of famine does not stalk in India again, which is detrimental to the ultimate victory. In spite of this, India cannot wholeheartedly accept U.N.R.R.A. as an unmixed blessing. The reason is that unless and until India attains full status of national independence, India's representation in U. N. R. R. A. will be strictly official and bureaucratic. India's participation in U.N.R.R.A. will fail to create public confidence and enthusiasm. Then again, India can only contribute such consumer's goods and raw materials as she can spare with the least strain on its own economy. So long it is not definitely ensured that India will have an effective and potential voice in guiding the main policy of U.N.R.R.A. for India's benefits, her participation in this huge show will be one of forced and routine duty according to the dictates of the British Government.

PICTURESQUE VARKALA

BY K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE village of Varkala which lies about half-way between Trivandrum and Quilon is famous both as a sanatorium and a great pilgrim centre. Approached from either town by road, rail or canal, Varkala or *Janardanam* is considered as sacred as Benares and Gaya and always there is a rush of pilgrims from far and near to this hallowed spot highly favoured by Nature. The temple is dedicated to God Maha Vishnu, one of whose many names is Janardana. Hence the name of the place, *Janardanam*. Legend and history vie with each other to contribute to the sanctity and importance of this temple. Two interesting stories are current about the origin of this celebrated temple, ideally situated on a piece of cliffy headland and commanding a magnificent view of the neighbouring country.

The great Rishi Narada, whom the *Puranas* describe as the wandering minstrel and master mischief-maker, once visited the abode of Lord Vishnu. After a jovial conversation with the God, Narada peregrinated to the abode of Lord Brahma. Lord Vishnu, enraptured by the soul-entrancing and rapturous melodies from Narada's *veena*, followed the songster quietly and unobserved. Narada soon reached the mansion of God Brahma. To his great delight and astonishment Brahma noticed Lord Vishnu standing behind Narada. Immediately Brahma offered salutations to Vishnu. Maha Vishnu realising his delicate and embarrassing position instantly vanished from there. When Brahma straightened himself after prostrating in front of Maha Vishnu he found to his utter bewilderment that he had fallen at the feet of Narada, his own son and not Lord Maha Vishnu. The attendant gods of Brahma, nine in number, known as the *Navaprajapatis* who were witnessing the strange turn of events burst out into hilarious laughter and cut jokes at the expense of Brahma. This excited Brahma's wrath and he in his boundless anger cursed the *Navapra-*

patis to be translated into mortals and decreed them to suffer the throes of birth and death. Narada consoled the nine attendant gods who were forthwith changed into human beings and counselled them to do penance and propitiate Maha Vishnu at a place which he would select by throwing his *valkalam* (garment made out of the bark of trees). The *valkalam* thrown by Narada fell on a tree now identified with the spot in front of the temple at Janardanam. Hence the name *Varkala*, a corrupt form of *Valkala*. Legend has it that the fallen *Navaprajapatis* built a temple here and consecrated it to Lord Maha Vishnu, the God of Protection in the Hindu Trinity. This temple is said to have been washed away by the sea sometime



A general view of Varkala—showing the sea and the canal

after the *Navaprajapatis* had left the place after regaining their original form.

Many years after, a mighty Pandyan monarch who was haunted by a *Brahma Rakshasa* (ghost of a Brahmin whom the king had accidentally killed) and who had made numerous pilgrimages to holy places throughout India, and performed numberless ceremonies to expiate his sin, but all to no avail, came to Varkala, on hearing about the sanctity of the place. To his great surprise the King found

that no sooner had he set his foot on the soil of Varkala than the demon left his body. The Pandyan Potentate was overjoyed. The people of the locality advised him to build a temple in the place of the one swallowed by the sea. The King ordered a temple to be constructed and he personally supervised its construction. When the work was nearing completion the King had a dream one night. The God who appeared before the King in dream told him that on a certain day there would float on the sea at a particular spot some flowers and that underneath that surface would be found the original image consecrated by the Navaprajapatis. The God also ordained that the Pandyan King should install that image in the temple. Accordingly,



The famous cliffs at Varkala, portions of which rise abruptly from the beach

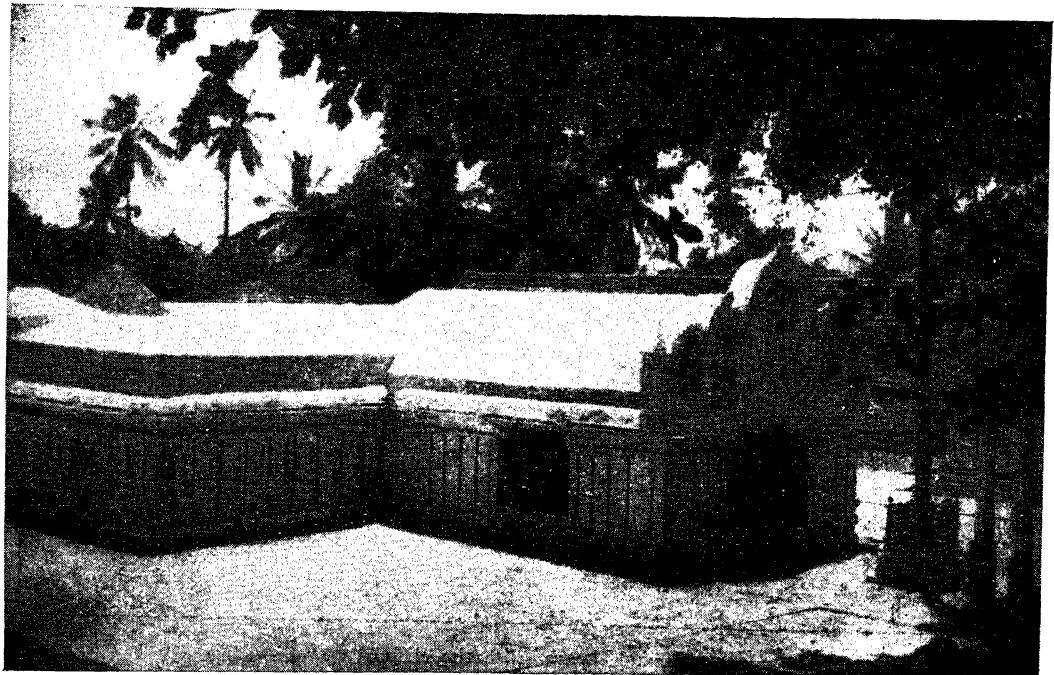
the image was brought up from the bottom of the sea by a fisherman; but the right hand of the image was found broken. The broken arm was however attached to the body. When, on an auspicious hour, the image was to be installed in the new shrine, all persons assembled there fell into a trance. On their recovery from the magic trance they found to their awe and amazement that Lord Brahma himself had come to the spot and disappeared after consecrating the image. The Pandyan King stayed at Varkala for sometime, endowed the temple liberally and left it after entrusting the management to a body of trustees, the chief of whom was Karuthadathu Pazhur Nambudiripad. The Nambudiripad and the other members of the Board of Trustees fell out after a time, and during the reign of Queen

Umayamma Rani (1678-1684 A.D.) the management of the temple was taken over by the State. The deity's right hand is shaped as if holding water. Orthodox folk believe that holy water is slowly dripping from the hand of God Janardana and that when this process of dripping stops the world would reach the end of *Kali Yuga* and be destroyed.

Varkala is a famous pilgrim centre on account of its great antiquity and high sanctity. Orthodox Hindus from far and near flock to Varkala to perform *Sraddhas* (religious rites in honour of departed relations) and worship at this shrine. The shrine is ideally and picturesquely situated on a headland overlooking the sea. A flight of steps leads to the temple. An

inscription dating 1252 A.D. indicates that the shrine was rebuilt that year. The Latin inscription on the huge temple bell reveals that it was made by the Dutch and presented to the temple by them. The bell used in the temple for announcing the daily *pooja* is the gift of the Captain of a Dutch ship. Many years ago, a Dutch vessel which was sailing south was becalmed just off the shore facing the shrine. The ship lay there for many weeks. One day the Captain of the ship who had heard about the prowess of God Janardana told the priest of the temple that he would give away his ship's bell to the shrine as a gift if a wind would blow. The priest offered

prayers to the deity and a wind blew. The Captain kept his promise. The temple contains some of the finest specimens of sculptures and wood carvings. The stone figures of Nataraja, Manmatha and Rati which embellish the front porch of the shrine are masterpieces. The wooden figures on the ceiling of the *namaskara mandapa* are exquisite. The temple, imposing and solitary, stands conspicuous from afar, dominating Varkala. Varkala rose into prominence during the reign of His Highness the Maharaja Martanda Varma, the Maker of Modern Travancore. Aiyappan Martanda Pillai Dalawa who was the Prime Minister of the State from 1758 to 1763 A.D. ordered a number of *matoms* to be constructed close to the shrine at Varkala. These houses, twenty-four



The Temple at Varkala



A general view of Varkala



Varkala beach—with the cliff



The entrance to the longer tunnel at Varkala

in number, were given away by the Maharaja as gifts to worthy Brahmins learned in religious lore. This provided a great impetus to people to come and settle down at Varkala, which till then was too poorly inhabited. Now Varkala is known throughout India as a celebrated pilgrim centre and health resort.



A view of the Varkala canal

At the foot of the sacred hillock the summit of which is adorned by the shrine is a beautiful tank which is separated from the hillock only by the road leading to the surf line. The tank receives its unending supply of crystal clear water from one of the subterranean streams which constitute the pride of Varkala. The stream which feeds the tank flows underneath the temple and the water with which the *abhishekam* (anointing with holy water) of the deity is performed is drawn from this tank. The underground stream falls into the tank in

lovely and lively leap.

Bathers swim to this place to be purified and caressed

cascade of mineral water.

Varkala is very sacred to the Ezhavas, a progressive community in the State numbering more than 8 lakhs. Sivagiri, two miles from the

Janardanam Temple, is a hallowed spot. It was here that Sree Narayana Guru Swami, the spiritual head of the Ezhavas, established a religious centre and consecrated the *Sarāda Pradishta* in 1912 A.D. The Guru Swami gave up his mortal coil at Sivagiri and the place of his *samadhi* is supremely sacred to the Ezhavas. He was a modern Yogi, a great socio-religious reformer, and a Sanskrit scholar, who proclaimed the doctrine "One Caste, One Religion and One God for Mankind." Romain Rolland hailed Sri Narayana Guru as a "Gnani of action and a great religious man." Every year, during Chaitra Pournami in the month of April, devotees from far and near rush to Sivagiri to participate in the grand and spectacular anniversary celebrations of the Sarada Temple consecrated by Acharya Guru Swami. Varkala is then in her high splendour.

Varkala is a splendid sanatorium, pleasant alike to those who seek recreation and



On the water-route to Varkala—a view of the canal

by the cooling invigoration and who long for quiet relaxation and idle dreaming. This first-rate spa and watering place is situated amidst sylvan surroundings of exquisite charm. The balmy and steady sea-breeze which continuously blows is in itself re-

freshing. Varkala is blessed with three holy springs which are famous throughout India for their curative powers. They are popularly known as Chakra Teertham, Papanasa Teertham and Janardana Teertham. Legend and tradition aver that the Chakra Teertham was the result of the supplications of the Navaprajapatis to Maha Vishnu through Narada for good water. Maha Vishnu by the use of his *Sudarsana Chakram* caused the holy Ganges to shoot up from a spring underneath. It is believed by those who are steeped in orthodox faith that God Brahma performed a *yagam* (sacrifice) at Varkala and so the place was purified and turned into a sanatorium. The strata of lignite and the mineral waters bubbling forth from the

in curative properties to the mineral waters bubbling forth from the well-known spas and other watering places of Europe. The water here is wholesome and free from organic impurity. Ailing humanity groaning under pains of various kinds of rheumatism and skin diseases has found the Varkala springs working miraculous cures. The springs are unseen but the mineral waters perpetually gush forth from the solid face of the rocks. The State has harnessed the springs for the convenience of the visitors by collecting the scattered waters into a single spout through galvanised pipes. There are two sets of spouts, the waters of each differing in composition. Baths have been constructed to afford privacy to bathers. Varkala is a natural sanatorium with its perennial springs. It deserves to be called the Brighton of the East.

The red cliffs of Varkala look austere and magnificent. To gaze at these cliffs which rise abruptly from the seashore is to witness a grand sight. Stately coconut palms clothe the crest of the cliffs. A marvellous medley of ferns and bushes cover the flanks. Rugged—the partly strangely folded stratified rocks stand on guard round the cliffs greyish brown in shadow but shimmering in shades of red, yellow and brown when the sun warms them. The jagged and serrated ridges of the red cliffs cut sharply into the deep blue sky. The

crystal clear waters of the ocean wash the foot of the cliffs and bedeck it with silvery foams. The destructive forces of the sea have cut ridges into the flanks of the cliffs. Nature revels at Varkala. The land ends in a dizzy cliff. The beach gleams. The gentle hills round the canal and the towering red cliffs near the seashore rise in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Sixty and more feet above the visitor's head, the feathery leaves of the coconut palms wave; they have no community of action, but bow this way and that at their pleasure, only protesting unanimously if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed vigour. When the air is calm they converse with graceful gestures, beckoning with suavest invitation. Inland the plough cuts furrows. Warm breeze, mild and invigorating, caresses the entire area



Coir yarn making on the banks of the canal—a familiar sight on the way to Varkala

natural springs at Varkala are attributed to this *yagam*. Tradition also relates that Parasurama who reclaimed the West Coast performed a great sacrifice at Varkala to make the land fertile and charming. Popular belief is that the water with which the God is daily anointed falls into the well on the northern side of the temple and shoots up again as several springs. Pious Hindus believe that the sins of those who bathe in the Papanasa Teertham will be washed away and that its waters are composed of the waters of the 66 crores of holy *teerthams* scattered throughout India. The mineral waters of Varkala have contributed to the growing popularity of the place as a sanatorium. A scientific examination of the waters of the Varkala springs has revealed that they are equal

Colour and light enliven the landscape. Richly coloured and liquid sunshine characteristic of the bright tropical sun, renders the landscape and seascape smart and lively.

He who wishes to see and enjoy one of the most charming of marvels created by Nature's magic wand should travel in a canoe through the Varkala canal. Beautiful are the shores with whispering reeds, and cocoanut palms. This region is like a poet's dream and the most vivid imagination cannot conceive of anything more picturesque than the canal route. Both sides of the canal are heavily wooded to the water's edge. Varkala is a high promontory about six miles in breadth, the loftiest portions of which have been tunnelled in two places to a length of nearly one mile, while the remaining portions have been cut into a beautiful canal. A strip of land from seven to one and a half miles wide separates the canal from the sea. The Varkala tunnels, two in number which are standing monuments of engineering skill were completed in 1880. The big tunnel which pierces the Varkala cliffs is 2364 ft. long. The small tunnel is 924 ft. long. The maximum

height of the tunnel is 17 ft., and the maximum width 16 ft. The lovely sight of the glistening fresh water stream from the interior emptying itself languorously into the sea after a tough fight with the fury of the breakers which seem to resent its entry into the ocean, is a thrilling sight. The battle between the stream and the surf fills the visitor with awe and wonder. Two hundred yards to the north of the Varkala beach is hidden a precious secret of Nature. There a bubbling stream shooting up from a subterranean source embraces the sea. This strange phenomenon has baffled geologists who endeavour to unveil this guarded mystery.

Mahatma Gandhi paid a fitting tribute to the charms of Varkala when he, in the course of a reply to an Address presented to him by the people of Varkala, spoke thus:—"You have tickled me by inviting me to come and settle down here. The temptation is really great. This is one of the pleasantest spots in India and the weather here is magnificent." This epitomises in a masterly manner the impressions of a visitor to Varkala, a Paradise on Earth.

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

INDIA and China are the two oldest centres of sericulture and silk manufacture; but it was from India that silk was first introduced into Europe. The earliest varieties of silk were undoubtedly the product of the non-domesticated worm. No mention of the mulberry-eating silk worm has yet been discovered in the early Indian literature. There is one opinion that the domesticated silk worm is not an indigenous product of India, it has come from China. The Imperial Gazetteer of India¹ writes on the history of the silk industry in India:

It is probably correct that the most ancient references to silk by Sanskrit authors denote one or other of the non-domesticated worms and not the true silk worm of modern commerce. All the passages that speak of the mulberry-worm in early Hindu literature refer to an imported and not a locally produced silk. Neither this worm nor the plant on which it feeds has ever been found in indigenous condition in India—certainly never in the parts of India where seri-culture exists.

Mention of silk garments is found in the contemporary literatures of India and China about 5000 years ago. In our Vedic and Epic literatures, mention is made of *Kausheya*, *Kshauma* and *Patta* cloths. From time immemorial "the natives (of Bengal and adjoining provinces) have manufactured this (Tussar) silk into cloth called *Tusseh-doot'hées*."²

Kautilya³ mentions four varieties of textile commodities which were produced in Bengal in his time, viz., *kshauma*, *dukula*, *patrona* and *karpasika*. Of these *kshauma* and *patrona* were silk. "*Patrona* appears to be wild silk. Amara (II. vi, 3, 14) defines it as 'a bleached or white *kausheya*', while the commentator says that it was "a fibre produced by the saliva of a worm on the leaves of certain trees."⁴ In the

2. Thomas Wardle, *Paris Industrial Exhibition 1878. A Monograph*.

3. *Arthashastra*, Bk. II, Ch. II.

4. *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 655.

Sabhaparva of the Mahabharata we find Sakas or Scythians from the northern Himalayas bring silk cloths as presents to Yudhisthira. Mention of Chinangshuk in Kalidasa's dramas does not prove that silk was not manufactured in this country. Even if there were indigenous produces, Chinese silk of different qualities might have been imported.

Earliest mention of silk in China is found in ancient Chinese literature where it has been stated that Tsi Ling Tsi, Queen of Emperor Hwang Ti, was the first to spin silk thread from the silk worm and weave silk cloth.⁵ This was about 4600 years ago. It is, however, not at all clear whether these worms were wild or of the mulberry-eating variety.

The current belief that China was the first to cultivate and manufacture the mulberry-eating silk and that India imported them from China, needs close examination. It has been claimed that the Seres were the earliest people who knew silk. Ptolemy, Pomponius Mela, Pliny and Pausanias, all mention the Seres as celebrated for their silk. Arrian calls the country of the Seres, Thinae. Se is the name of silk in China and it is supposed that from this word the name of Seres is derived. "It was conjured by an ancient author, that the name, by which the silk worm was designated, was the origin of the term Seres."⁶ Taylor has proved that the name of Seres occurred before it was known that silk was the production of an insect. Virgil, Dionysius and Pliny mention the Seres, but describe the silk as a substance that is obtained from the flowers or leaves of certain trees. It has been thought probable that the name of Seres was derived from a city of Sera. There is a place of this name, the site of a monastery, in the vicinity of Lhasa, which had been supposed by Malte Brun to be the Sera of the ancients. According to information supplied by Csoma de Koros, this monastery was built only in the 8th century, and it is obvious therefore that it is not the Sera of Ptolemy.⁷ Taylor believes that the city of Sera stood near the sacred fountain of the Brahmaputra, and he identifies Seres with Assam. Taylor also regards the *Scythic* Seres as the Thinae or Sinc who occupied Upper Assam and the region extending to the Gulf of Siam, opposite to which was island of Abosa or Sacaria, which is apparently Java.⁸ Pliny mentions the

Seres as celebrated for silk which their woods produced. Taylor thinks that Pliny in describing the Seres, seems to allude to the aboriginal tribes of Rungpore bordering on Assam. The forests of their country produced silk (*tassar*) which was bartered on the banks of a river described as the first in their territory and which was perhaps the frontier between Bengal and Assam.⁹ This barter has also been described by Arrian and Pomponius Mela. Pliny mentions that the first river in the country of the Seres was called Psitaras which may be taken to have been the Teesta in Rungpore. He said that in carrying on traffic with them, the merchants placed their merchandise on the further side of the river.

As regards the variety of silk manufactured by the Seres, the following statement of Dionysius needs examination:¹⁰

He describes the Seres as possessing neither flocks nor herds, but as employed in gathering from the flowers of the desert, a substance that was carded and woven into precious or costly fabrics, which surpassed in the variety and richness of their colours the mingled beauties of the enameled mead, and which rivalled in their delicate texture, even the fineness of the spider's web. Taylor thinks that the material here referred to is *tassar* or *moonga* silk, which abounds in the forests or jungles of Assam (the desert *Arvai* mentioned in the text), and the rich and varied colours that are mentioned were no doubt, imparted to it by the indigenous dyes of Assam, namely, *lac*, *room*, *manjiti*, and *mismee-tita*, which gave the beautiful red and blue colours with which the silks of that country are prepared in the present day.¹¹

Which was the original home of the mulberry worm? No definite answer has yet been returned to this query, but Taylor thinks that it was Bengal. He says:¹²

The substance, the produce of the trees of these forests, which, after being sprinkled with water, is described as being spun out into the finest threads, is evidently the indigenous silk of Assam. There are six species of silk worms found in that country, namely, the mulberry worm, the *eria*, the *muga* or *moonga*, the *kontkuri*, the *deo mooga* and the *naumpottanee*. The mulberry worm is supposed to have been originally introduced into Assam from Bengal, but the other five are indigenous to that country.

It may now be stated almost definitely, that country of the Seres, the ancient home of sericulture, was Assam which might have included some portion of Northern Bengal within its boundary. It was from these Seres that knowledge of sericulture spread to Europe.

5. Rajendralal Mitra, *Silpik Darsan*, p. 33.

6. Taylor, *Remarks on the Sequel to the Peri-*
of the Erythrian Sea, J.A.S.B. Jan. 1847, p. 64.

7. *Ibid*, p. 64.

8. *Ibid*, p. 45.

9. *Ibid*, p. 45.

10. *Ibid*, p. 45-46.

11. *Ibid*, p. 46.

12. *Ibid*, p. 68.

Dionysius, the geographer, whom Augustus had sent to compile an account of the Oriental regions, 14 A.D., informed the people of Europe that precious garments were manufactured by the Seres, from threads finer than those of the spider which they combed from flowers.¹³ This precious manufacture found its way to Rome, where it was sold at a most enormous price, so that the use of it was restricted to a few women of the greatest fortunes. What its price was on its first appearance, we are not informed; but it must have been extremely high: for even in the latter part of the third century, the Emperor Aurelian, when his wife begged of him to let her have but one single gown of purple silk, refused it, saying he could not buy it at the price of gold.

By 527 A.D. silk had come into general use among the Romans; and notwithstanding the very high price of it, it was sought after with astonishing eagerness by the inhabitants of Constantinople. The manufacture of silk goods from raw silk imported from the east, had long been carried on in the ancient Phoenician cities of Tyre and Berytus, whence the western world used to be supplied. But the enhanced prices the manufacturers were obliged to pay to the Persians, in whose hands the trade in raw silk was at that period, made it impossible for them to furnish their goods at the former prices, especially in the Roman territories, where they were subject to a duty of 10 per cent. The Emperor Justinian, however, ordered that the silk should be sold at the rate of eight pieces of gold per lb. (12 ozs. av.), on penalty of forfeiture of the whole property of the offender. This price control measure made it necessary that the trade in raw silk should be taken out of the hands of the Persians. Justinian himself endeavoured, by means of his ally the Christian Prince of Abyssinia, to wrest some portion of the silk trade from the Persians. In this attempt he failed; but he obtained, in some measure, the object he had in view, in an extraordinary and unexpected manner. Two Persian monks, inspired by their religious zeal, or curiosity, had penetrated into the country of the Seres, and lived in it long enough to make themselves masters of the whole process of silk manufacture. On their return to the westward, instead of communicating the knowledge to their own countrymen, they proceeded to Constantinople, and imparted to the Emperor the secret, hitherto so well-preserved by the Seres, that silk was produced by a species of worm, the eggs of which

might be transported with safety, and propagated in his dominions. By the promise of a great reward, they were engaged to return, whence they actually brought off a quantity of the silk worms' eggs concealed in a hollow cane, and conveyed them safely to Constantinople in 552 A.D.¹⁴ The eggs were hatched in the proper season by the warmth of a dunghill; and the worms produced from them were fed with the leaves of the mulberry-tree, spun their silk, and propagated their race, under the care of the monks, who also taught the Romans the whole mystery of the manufacture. The important insects, so happily produced, were the progenitors of all the silk worms in Europe and the western parts of Asia; and the cane-full of the eggs of an Oriental insect became the means of establishing a manufacture, which luxury and fashion rendered important, and of saving immense sums of money to Europe. These were the mulberry-eating worms, and it is, therefore, definitely established that the Seres cultivated this species of silk worm at least as early as the 5th century A.D.

By the time of the crusades, 1096 to 1186 A.D., scarfs and mantles of silk, velvet and satin were in use amongst the nobility who had embarked in these religious wars. Ebn Haukul, an Arabian traveller, stated in 947 A.D., that the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea produced great quantities of silk, whereof that of Meru in Khorasan, was most esteemed, the eggs of the silk worms being carried from there to other places. But the seats of silk manufacture were extended to Rome and Sicily through Greece, and it was carried to Spain by the Saracens. This was by the end of twelfth century.

England at this time, i.e., when India attained the zenith of silk manufacture, imported large quantities of silk but did not know how to manufacture it. The earliest account of silk manufacture in England is found in a petition from the silk women of London to the Parliament, in 1454 A.D., when they complained that "the Lombards and other foreigners seeking to deprive women of their honest employments, imported the articles made by them, instead of bringing unwrought silk, as formerly." At this period, the silk manufactures of England were confined merely to ribands, laces and other trifling articles of haberdashery which shows that silk manufacture then had just begun. The desired protection was granted, by the enactment 33rd Henry VI, Cap. 5 which provided

13. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, II, p. 244.

14. Milburn—*Ibid.* p. 245.

that during the five ensuing years no person whatever should import any wrought silk, twined ribands or chains, girdles, or any other articles interfering with the manufactures of the silk women, except girdles of Genoa. This Act was afterwards prolonged. In 1481 A.D., when this Act was no longer in force, such an inundation of corsets, ribands, laces, call-silk and coleyn silk poured into the country that all the English markets of such goods were thrown idle. Again protection was granted by prohibiting the import of all such goods under 22d. Edw. IV, Cap 3. but only for four years.

Bengal's silk manufacture about this time was well known to the foreigners. The Chinese traveller, Ma Huan, who visited Bengal about 1406 A.D., during the reign of Ghiasuddin Azam Shah, found silk handkerchiefs and caps embroidered with gold.¹⁵ About the same time, two other travellers, Varthema and Barbosa, mention silk manufactures in Bengal. Barbosa observed that a kind of sash named *sirband*, made in Bengal, was much esteemed by Europeans for the head dress of ladies, and by Persians and Arab merchants for use as turbans.¹⁶ By the 16th century, dhoties and saris of silk were manufactured in large quantities for internal consumption. Various accounts refer to saris with dyed borders and to other silks with many coloured stripes.¹⁷ During the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, silk industry of Bengal was in a very flourishing state. There were Royal factories at Delhi and

these factories sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk alone.¹⁸

While the Bengal industry thrived, England was frantically trying to build her own behind tariff walls. In 1504, an Act, 19 Henry VII, Cap. 21, for the advancement of smaller silk manufactures in England, prohibited the importation of any manner of silk, wrought either by itself, or with any other stuff, in ribands, laces, girdles, corsets, upon pain of forfeiture of the same. It was, on the other hand, made lawful for all persons, foreigners as well as English to import all other kinds of silk, as well wrought as raw and unwrought; by which it appears that at this time there was no broad manufacture of silk made in England.

By the first quarter of the sixteenth century, the French laid the foundation for the establishment of silk manufacture at Lyons and other places in the southern part of France. They obtained workmen from Milan and made great progress, supplying many parts of Europe with silk goods; yet it was long after this time when France acquired the method of rearing silk worms. England obtained a large number of silk artisans. The persecution of protestants in France drove a large number of silk workmen to England who had escaped the massacre of St Bartholomew in 1572. These men were kindly received in London and were protected by Queen Elizabeth. It were these men who developed the art of silk weaving in England. Silk industry continued to thrive in England under Royal patronage, although, previous to the commencement of the trade between England and the East Indies. She was dependent on Turkey for the silk consumed in her manufactures.

(To be continued)

15. J.R.A.S. 1895, p. 532.

16. Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, p. 145.

17. K. M. Ashraf, *Life and Condition of the People of Hindustan (1200-1550)*, J.A.S.B., 1935, p. 209.

18. Ashraf, *Ibid.* p. 206.

RIGHT TO EDUCATION

BY ACADEMICIAN VLADIMIR POTEMKIN,

*People's Commissar of Education and President of the recently organised
Pedagogical Academy*

THE Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees to Soviet citizens a right to education. A wide use of this right is made in Russia, the country with a fully literate population and the country where general compulsory education is in force. In the twenty-six years of the Soviet power, the

higher schools of the country have trained an army of almost half a million teachers.

A great work has been carried out in liquidating illiteracy and raising the cultural and the technical level of the adult population. In the past twenty-six years over forty million people

have become literate. In addition, a wide network of secondary schools for adults has grown up in the country.

The last five years preceding the war were marked by construction of schools on a wide scale; ten thousand new schools were opened in the cities and the villages of the country. A whole new branch of industry—manufacture, technical study-aids have been developed. The factories annually produce visual aids worth one hundred and fifty million roubles; the total number of text-books published in the last five pre-war years amounts to 440 million copies.

Notwithstanding the war, the Soviet Government is continually improving the material conditions of the teachers. A considerable increase in salary has been given to school teachers, pedagogues in children's homes, teachers in universities and institutes, and the museum workers. In many cities special dining rooms have been opened for workers in the field of education, while the scientific research workers receive special supplementary food rations.

In the years of the war, when the country is struggling to expedite the final defeat of the Hitlerites, public education in the U.S.S.R. is continuing its uninterrupted development and approaching solution of the task of general compulsory education.

Work of lecturing has attained a wide development in Russia. In 1942 there were over five hundred scientific workers and specialists in various fields engaged in such activity.

According to rough calculations, over 25 thousand lectures were held in 1942, and over 35 thousand in 1943. The Sunday universities, organized in large cities of the country in wartime, are attended by tens of thousands of people.

The schools have greatly helped the collective-farms in the years of the war. In the summer of 1943 about four million pupils and teachers worked in collective-farm fields. The school children collected hundreds of thousands of tons of scrapmetal and medicinal herbs. Many uppergrade pupils of the Soviet Union are partaking in political and educational work among the population.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

WITH still one month left of summer, the Russian campaign is now rapidly mounting to a climax. The German defence-line has now become unstable all the way from the Baltic zone down to the foothills of the Carpathians near the Polish-Czechoslovakian border. The Baltic corridor has been further constricted in Latvia and Estonia by the forward thrust of the Soviets' forces west of Dvinsk, in the course of which Schaulen has been captured. The evacuation of Kovno which has followed this thrust, now brings East Prussia within the orbit of the Russian campaign. South of this zone the Soviets' forces are now advancing along a line that will gradually tend to form a bulge, outflanking the defences of East Prussia, as it progresses beyond Bialystok towards the north-west of Warsaw. Further south the Russian forces are now fast approaching the foothills of the Carpathians where the German line will have natural barriers to reinforce their defence organization. Whether these will compensate for the loss of

the great fortress cities of Przemysl and Lvov is yet to be seen.

The Russian campaign that started with an "all-out" character has not only kept up its intensity but has enlarged its scope and enhanced its tempo very fast. At no time during last year's Russian campaigns did the Soviets' forces move over such great zones of enemy defence in such mass and with such speed. The continuous evacuation of great defence centres by the Germans indicate that the defenders are not in a position to organise large-scale "hedge-hog" defences without incurring the serious risk of being outflanked and cut off by the great waves of mechanized and armoured forces of the Soviets, surging forward on widely extended fronts with immense momentum. These movements have so far been of such a character that the defenders have been denied any chance for stabilization at set points, the Soviets' advance having the tendency to bye-pass such concentration points and to

develop into a wide enveloping movement with great masses of mechanized and armoured forces thrusting forward on the flanks. All this means that not only are the Germans outnumbered by far within these battle-zones but in addition the advancing Russian forces are employing immense concentrations of fast-moving mechanized forces, with great panzer spear-heads in front and massed self-propelled artillery in support, on a scale that has surpassed even that of the Russian campaigns of 1942 and 1943.

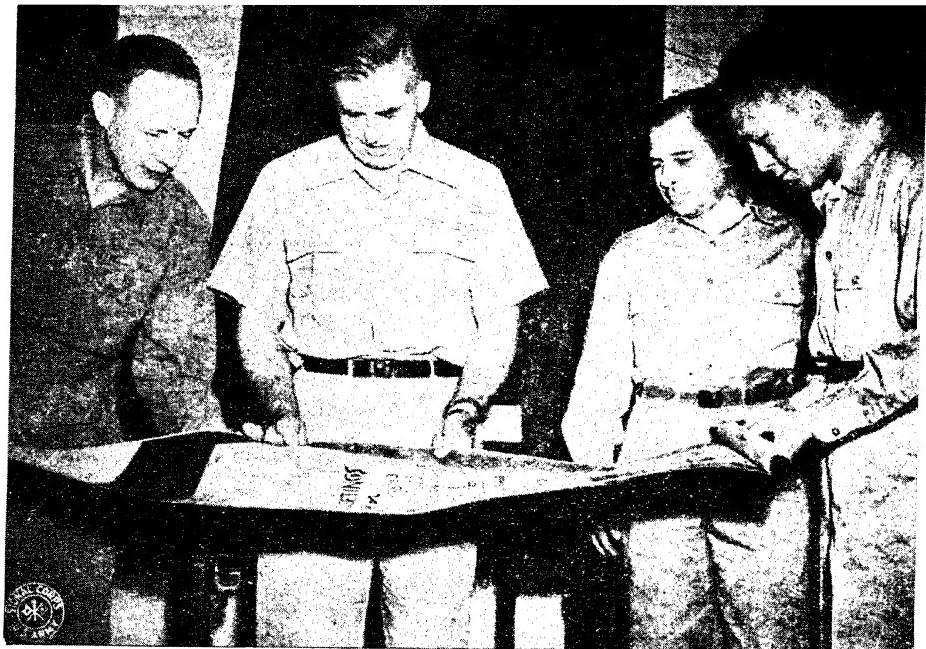
In short, the Soviets' campaign is fast approaching the climax. It is evident that the Russian High Command is now rapidly throwing into the battle the maximum force that can be mobilized, in an effort to obtain a decision before the autumn is over and winter clamps down restrictions on mechanized movements. Up till now the Germans have not been able to fight this forward movement to a standstill in any sector between the Baltic and Southern Polish battle-zones. But, on the other hand, the German defence has been able so far to maintain a continuous and organised front against the Russian advance, filling breaches and keeping contact by means of orderly retreats. They have so far "traded space for time." But soon that space will be very near the home-land and the shortening of the line would soon cease to make up for the heavy losses incurred in this ceaseless battering that is being delivered with increasing force by the Soviets. There is talk about the "East-wall" defences and there are the Carpathians. It remains to be seen whether they can help the Germans to stem the flood-tide of the Russian campaign which will reach its peak within a very few weeks from now.

Compared to the Russian advance the Battle for France is going very slowly indeed, but very recently there have been signs of a major assault developing in that area as well. It is too early as yet to gauge the extent of the effort but the latest reports tend to indicate that the battle for positions is climbing to a new intensity. It is time that this hold-up was terminated as summer is now two-thirds over and the peak of the Russian effort not very far off. There is no doubt that the Invasion of France has already substantially aided the Russian effort as it is hardly likely that the Soviets would have plunged into this "all-out" attempt at smashing up the Eastern defences of Germany, had they not been sure that a very large portion of the German reserves would be pinned down in the

West to meet the Allied assault on France, but that is not by any means the sum-total of Allied aims in the West.

In Asia the Japanese attempt at developing decisive offensives is slowly diminishing down into minor engagements. The Chinese defenders of the Canton-Hankow railway are proving to be as tough as ever and the pace of the Japanese advance has been slowed down considerably. But the position of China is still serious and as such the intensification of the American offensive in the Pacific is very welcome. The Allies have yet a very long way to go in Asia, however, and therefore over-optimism may well be a source of danger. Japan's attempt at the staging of a major diversion in the Manipur and Naga Hills area is petering out now, no doubt, but what she did manage to do in that area should dispel all ideas that Japan is now gone into a rapid decline, and that one good push is all that is needed to overthrow Nippon for well and good.

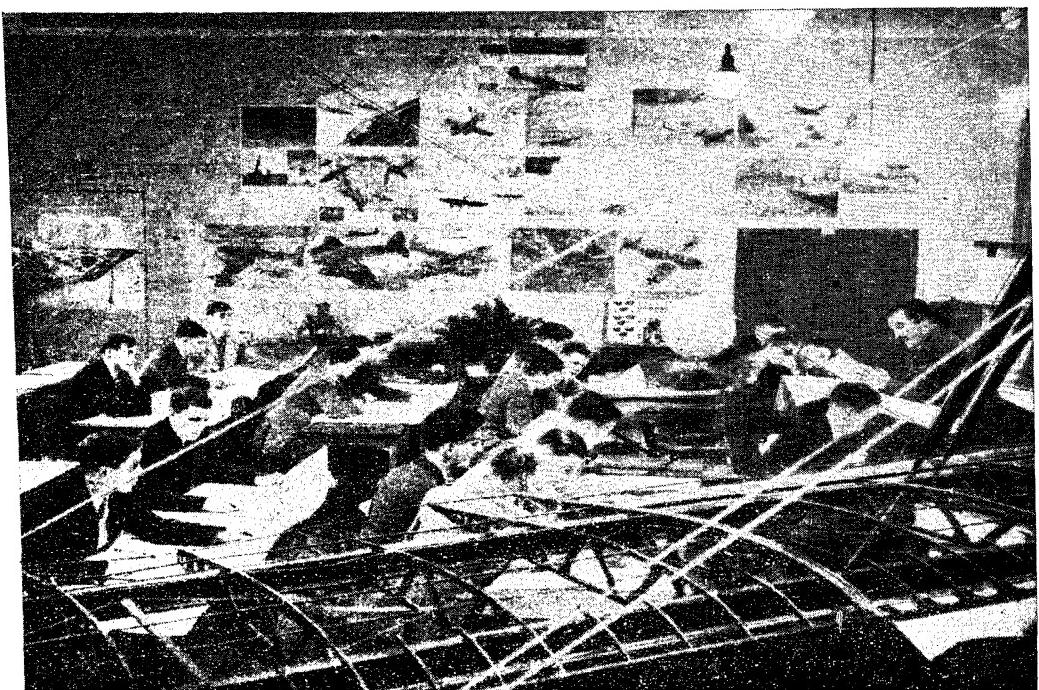
Latterly it has been the practice to lay emphasis on the Japanese losses in men and material and on the inability of Japan to make good her losses. There is no doubt some justifiable grounds for such assumptions and the fall of the Tojo Cabinet goes a long way to strengthen the hands of optimists. But too little is being said about the other side of the picture. What is the condition of China and what are the conditions prevailing in India? We cannot help thinking that the reason behind all this flood-lighting of Japanese losses and defeats rests, at least in part, on an attempt to persuade the peoples of the United Nations that the failures and shortcomings of the Democracies in Asiatic areas would not materially affect the course of the war against Japan. We may be wrong but we cannot forget the shocks we received at the news of the Japanese thrusts in the Arakans, the Manipur and Naga Hills areas, and later on in China, after being fed for the whole of 1943 and the early part of 1944 with facts and figures showing how Japan was going downgrade at an increasing speed. The fact remains that India and China had ample resources in men, material and basic industrial resources for the destruction of Japanese aggression in Asia, if only there had been efficient organisation and augmentation along truly democratic lines. And in this complex organisation of modern total warfare failure in one sphere means greatly enhanced costs elsewhere.



General Stilwell's Headquarters men in Chungking greet Vice-President Wallace



Three Red Cross girls serve Vice-President Wallace coffee and pie in enlisted men's American Red Cross Club, Hqs. U.S.A.A.F., Chungking



In this picture the R.A.F. undergraduates are being instructed in navigation



Seventy per cent of workers employed in making the Sabre engine—the power plant for Britain's latest fighters and fighter-bombers—are women



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LETTERS OF RT. HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., C.H., LL.D., D.LITT: Edited by T. N. Jagadisan. Published by Rochouse & Sons, Ltd., Madras, 1944. Pp. 392. Rs. 6.

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri has been a public man of varied career and outstanding importance. From the head-master of a high school in Triplicane to the leadership of an important political organisation, with the status of a political ambassador to other continents, a statesman trying in his own way to steer India's course to independence, the confidante of Indian princes, Viceroys and Gandhi, a brilliant speaker, a stickler for correct English, a loving husband and father, a warm-hearted friend, his has been a life eventful and with many facets.

The letters of public men have an abiding interest in that they often help us to interpret events of public importance in a new light, by affording to us inside glimpses and lighting up hidden nooks and corners. These letters of Sastriji describe and comment. They present a sample of his activities and at the same time make out a picture of the times.

Three groups of letters rivet attention, those to Gokhale to whom he felt drawn almost by a parental tie, to Gandhiji whom he loves and respects in spite of fundamental differences in political aim and technique, to his daughter, friends and other relations. In the letters to Gokhale we have evidence of the writer's affection and respect for the senior statesman; incidentally there is an account of the political activity in East Bengal in the Swadeshi days when Sastriji visited the country; it makes interesting reading across the interval of time. The letters to Gandhiji (whose letters are also included in the volume, carefully edited by Mahadev Dessai) reveal affection, humour and understanding on both sides. Sastriji's estimate of Gandhiji will bear scrutiny and it will be enjoyed in the reading and cause occasional amusement. Those to his daughter are a father's intimate, personal talk, the record of his impressions of the world at large, England, New Zealand, etc., as also his reactions to the homage of the world which he has so richly deserved. But why did the father and the daughter—specially such a father—write to each other in English, and not in Tamil? The non-Tamilian reader is grateful, though, for the medium.

There are many passages which have more than a passing interest for us to-day. One will suffice: he wrote to Ramsay Macdonald in 1932, "To quench demonstration of discontent is neither to cure nor to disable it permanently. In the second place, it brutalises both police and public, and is calculated to poison the conditions of life for many years. . . . I am

not one of those who would deny to the Government extraordinary powers in extraordinary circumstances. But I cannot approve of a body like the Indian police being authorized to strike respectable people like *lathis* in the streets as though they were cattle and dogs and their persons entitled to no respect. The use of physical violence in human relations is being confined within the narrowest possible limits, and the sentiment of civilised society revolts against barbarous usage even of animals. The Government of a great and ancient people must, even in the worst extremity, hold themselves precluded from certain modes of punishing their criminals, let alone political demonstrators."

The reading public will be thankful to the editor and publishers for this opportunity of sharing Sastriji's reminiscences.

P. R. SEN

STUDIES IN LATER MUGHAL HISTORY OF THE PANJAB, 1707-1793: By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, Ph.D., Minerva Bk. Shop, Lahore, 1944. Pp. xvi + 348, one map. Rs. 10.

This is a very important and interesting addition to the growing literature of the critical history of the Panjab. The volume does not consist of a number of detached essays merely united by being bound within the same covers, but there is a string of organic connection running through it, and it gives a good and necessary conspectus of the Panjab land and people. In addition to a geographical survey of the province and a detailed tracing of the route from Kabul to Delhi, we have a picturesque survey of the conditions in this province (which then included the Cis-Sailaj country) during the dissolution of the Mughal Empire and the consequent rise of the Sikhs into political power in the land. Then comes much new information in the form of life-sketches of the makers of Panjab history, such as Adina Beg Khan, Mughlani Begam (the widow of Governor Muin-ul-mulk who died in 1753), Ahmad Shah Durrani (d. 1772) and his son Timur Shah (d. 1793). The administration of the Panjab under the Durranis of Kabul, after the province had been severed from the Delhi Government and before the rise of Sikh royalty is treated in detail and this chapter has much to teach us. The critical bibliography of 20 pages will be very helpful to other workers in the field.

In short, it is a volume which serious students of Indian history will find indispensable and the author deserves our praise for the high quality of his research and his admirable method of presenting the results. The printing and get-up are a pleasing revelation of the great improvement made in book production in Lahore.

OLD PERSIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ACHAEMENIAN EMPERORS : By Dr. Sukumar Sen, Ph.D. Calcutta University, 1941. Pp. xii + 290, 2 plates of cuneiform deciphered. Rs. 6.

This is a *Corpus* of the ancient Persian inscriptions of the kings of the Achaemenian dynasty (from Cyrus, 559 B.C.). First comes the text in the old Persian-Aryan language as transcribed from the cuneiform alphabet to the Roman according to the system known to European scholars as normalisation; this is followed by a word for word translation into what is popularly called Vedic (rather post-Vedic) Sanskrit, an English translation and philological notes (embracing comments on grammar). From this the importance of the volume to students of Indo-Aryan comparative philology will be at once understood. The advanced student will be further helped by Dr. Sen's Old Persian Glossary (56 pages) and Outline of Old Persian Grammar (30 pages) at the end.

This is the first attempt on an exhaustive scale in this branch of Oriental study by a Sanskritist, and though the translation from old Persian into Vedic Sanskrit must often be a *tour de force*, Dr. Sen deserves high praise for his courage, persistence and accuracy. Details of his work will no doubt be criticised by specialists working in the same field and such criticism cannot be expected in a general review like this. But it can be said in support of him that the extant Vedic vocabulary is so meagre that some of his translations from Old Persian must from the nature of things be conjectural; or in other words, if the rules of grammar were strictly followed in old usage, the Sanskrit equivalents of Persian words coined by him would have been found in our old Sanskrit, as certainly as an algebraic equation is correct. Scholars, of course, know that languages do not grow within the iron bounds of logic and grammar and that every language has cases of what used to be called its *idiosyncrasy* as distinct from *idiom*. But this cannot be a disparagement of Dr. Sen's scholarship. He has presented a very sound basis for further work, for possible improvement of details and not for scrapping up altogether.

A note in the author's preface excites our curiosity: he thanks Professor Kshetresh C. Chatterji of the Allahabad University for lending him his copy of Herzfeld's *Alt-persische-Inschriften* (in 1940). All the inscriptions brought to light by Herzfeld are printed at the end of the volume, whereas in point of chronology they should have come first. Are we to conclude from this that the Calcutta University did not care to buy Herzfeld's monumental work as soon as issued, or to make it available to its teacher of Avestan studies?

H. B.

THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM : By Forrest Davis. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. 1943. Pages 328. Price 15 shillings.

The Atlantic System, as opposed to the Continental System, is old, rational and pragmatic, having grown organically out of strategic and political realities in congenitally free climate and its roots running deep and strong into the American tradition. The co-operation of England and America at sea for the protection of the Atlantic world and the preservation of its political institutions and economic interests is the foundation of the Atlantic System. Forrest Davis, who is steeped in the writings of the great naval theorist Mahan, has written nothing less than an historical brief for the Atlantic Charter. The history

of the Atlantic System is the story of Anglo-American relations during the last half-century: the quarrels and misunderstandings, the forces operating both to attract and to repel; the "broad entente" existing between these strong-headed and individualized peoples. The author repudiates the isolationist contention that America has been "dragged" into the war in defence of Britain, and observes: "Twice within this generation, after vowing neutrality it has gravitated into the support of a beleaguered Britain from motives strictly American and in defence of the Atlantic System. In neither case did its Government have any option if it wished to preserve the true security afforded by its oceans."

The author's analysis of Anglo-American relations during the last 150 years is extremely illuminating, and proves once more that the foreign policy of a country is fundamentally simple because it is always governed by national interest. This book is interpretative historical writing at its best and provides admirable insight into the labyrinths of Eur-American diplomacy during the last two centuries, with particular reference to naval politics. But some of his conclusions regarding the functioning of the New Order, assuming Allied victory and survival of the Atlantic System, will provoke sceptical questionings in certain quarters. Typical instances are the author's references to China that should be "helped to unity and strength", and to the Soviet Union which should be "encouraged and tutored by the Powers committed to political liberty and progress by evolution." This provides an interesting sidelight to the Atlantic Charter.

MANINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

SOME EMINENT BEHAR CONTEMPORARIES : By Lt.-Col. Dr. Sachidananda Sinha, D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University and Editor of the "Hindusthan Review". Himalaya Publications, Patna. Pp. 4+xxviii+218. Rs. 3. With a foreword by Lt.-Col. Dr. Amarnath Jha, an illuminating introduction by the author himself—giving the story of the constitution of Bihar into a separate province, and an appendix on Dyarchy Minister's Powers.

This is a collection of pen-portraits of men halowed in the history of modern Bihar, written in a charming style by one who himself is one of the makers of modern Bihar. Dr. Sinha's biases and sentiments are well known; but his outspokenness, as well as his appreciation of other people's merit are to be admired.

Minus the jacket, everything of this book is excellent.

M. C. SAMADDAR

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLAND : By Dr. R. N. Dubey, M.A., D.Litt. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Price Rs. 5.

The book seeks to give the story of the economic progress of England to the eve of the present war, tracing the development of British agriculture, industry and commerce. As such, it has been a poor imitation of Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. It appears that the author's main objective is to prove that only the English people, and nobody else in this world, has got any national character. He declares: "Germany, France, U. S. A., Japan and Russia all vied with one another to introduce as quickly as possible the economic system that England had evolved

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for herself. The race is not yet over; even the "backward countries like India and China are joining it." Then he says: "There is no other country in the world where, in normal times, the public opinion is so unfettered as in England. In other countries vested interests try to corrupt public opinion by bribes or intimidation of one sort or the other. In England such an attempt is found to be greatly resented by the public. The strength of the Englishman lies in his character. The result is that the English economic system that has been reproduced in other countries of the world differs from the original in essential features." Then again he says: "The key to the English economic development lies in the English character. It is true that the factor that brought this character into play was the developing commerce. But the other nations of Europe, the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards or the Portuguese had also similar opportunities of developing commerce. None but the English succeeded."

The author deserves congratulation for his daring statement that the keynote for the development of capitalism was character which only the English, and nobody else, had. Here he has treaded on grounds not his own. The main reasons for the development of English commerce were, amongst others, the crushing of the Spanish and Dutch Navies, the acquisition of vast colonial empires, adoption of a policy of protection whenever it was needed for the development of any of her industries and the exploitation of Africa and Asia, backed whenever necessary by force. With the growth of U. S. A., Germany and Japan as great rival industrial countries, she had begun to contract her market within her Empire. In this respect, specially with reference to India, the English industrial policy pursued a course which at any rate, did not evoke much respect for English character. Industrialisation of England was prompted by the acute need for her livelihood and she was clever enough to develop her trade and industry through diplomacy and force. Character might have some relation with this development, but it was certainly not the keynote. Her rivals were not altogether devoid of it.

D. BURMAN

KASTURBA GANDHI: By Miss Dhan Chandra. —Free India Publications, The Mall, Lahore. Pages 44, Price annas twelve.

This small life-sketch of Kasturba Gandhi has been written by a young girl fresh from school. Kasturba as wife and disciple of the greatest man of India is adored by all and her life of sacrifice will remain ever an ideal to emulate by the womanhood of India. This little book has been written in simple and chaste language which even a school boy will read and understand without any difficulty.

The book is recommended for the young and it is also suitable as a prize book.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT-HINDI

ATHARVAVEDIYA CIKITSASA STRA: By Priyaratna Arsha, Vedic Research Scholar, Vedanu-sandhan Sadan, Jualapur Road, Hardwar. Published by Sarvadesik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Delhi. Royal octavo, 14 + 287 + 12. Price Rs. 2.

This is an interesting book which seeks to give a new interpretation to a selected number of hymns of the Atharvaveda. According to the learned author, the hymns are not incantations or magical formula as is generally supposed, but refer to different aspects of Ayurveda or medical science. He is of opinion that the

hymns really deal with topics belonging to one or other of the sections of Ayurveda, e.g., *sutrasthana*, *sarirasthana*, *nidanasthana* and *cikitsasthana*. Under each section he gives the interpretation of a number of hymns so that we have a vivid picture of Ayurveda on the basis of the hymns of the Atharvaveda. As examples of his interpretations reference may be made to a few words occurring in *Atharva v. 22* (p. 272-3 of the book under review). *Dasi* and *Sudra* are here names of herbs while *Bahluk* is a covered place and *Mujbat* is a place covered with *munja* grass. In the first two cases authorities are cited in support of the interpretation, but nothing is said to substantiate the explanation of the remaining two words as of many more throughout the work. Reference is seldom made to traditional meanings and there is no glossary of words for which new senses are suggested. In spite of these defects, the book reflects the ingenuity and diligence of the learned writer and may be commended to the notice of specialists in Veda and Ayurveda for thorough study and proper evaluation.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

BIHAR-VIBHAKAR: By Tarkeshwar Prasad Varma. Published by Pustak Bhandar, Laheriasarai and Patna. Price Rs. 4.

Bihar can vie in the glory of her past with any other part of ancient India. Her contribution to the new era of renaissance and national awakening in modern India is also by no means mean or insignificant. This 445-page volume, under review, contains biographical sketches of some notable personalities of Bihar, who have made valuable contributions, in their own way, in different fields of life and activities of the Province. The publication can well serve the purpose of a handy reference-book.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

YUVAJANODYAMAMU: By K. V. Rama-krishna, Advocate, Anantpur. Pp. 32. Price annas two.

It is a small, orderly pamphlet dealing with "Youth Movement". The author, who is of Communistic leaning, seems to have a fairly good grasp of youth organisations functioning all over the world; and as such his comparative study of them bears the label of earnest research. His suggestions with regard to national reconstruction sound quite feasible. They will surely attract a good deal of attention.

A. K. Row

GUJARATI

KABARAJI SMARAK ANK: Edited by K. C. Desai and Miss Jer Kabaraji. Published by the Street-bohra Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Thick Cardboard. Pp. 912, Illustrated.

Streebudh, a monthly journal started eighty-seven years ago, by the late Mr. K. N. Kabaraji and after his death continued by his son's wife, the late Mrs. Putalibai Jehangir Kabaraji, has been consistently devoting itself to the cause of the uplift of Indian womanhood—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian. This Memorial Issue (of May 1943) contains numerous contributions on the subject dear to the hearts of the late Editors, describing their activities. A short introduction by Mr. K. C. Desai describes realistically the state of the women of Gujarat at the time when the Kabrajis worked and a short memorandum by Lady Nilkanth gives a sketch of Mrs. Putalibai's life.

K. M. J.

FREUD'S THEORY OF RELIGION*

BY PROFESSOR PARESNATH BHATTACHARYYA, M.A.

FREUD is generally recognised as the founder of psychoanalysis merely. But the far-reaching consequences deduced by Freud from psychoanalysis are hardly recognized. Psychoanalysis can no longer be narrowed down to one of the branches of applied psychology. In the vindication of its claims it has gradually evolved an enormous structure of theoretical psychology. No present treatise on psychology can afford to ignore the contributions of psychoanalysis to the solution of many a vexed problem of mental life. The matter has been admirably discussed in a symposium opened by Dr. S. C. Mitra and participated by many eminent psychologists (*Contributions of Abnormal Psychology to Normal Psychology*).

The later phases of the development of Freud's psychoanalytical theory synchronise with an increasingly extensive application of psychoanalysis to cultural subjects. He applied the method of psychoanalysis in the interpretation of art and literature, folklore, myths, legends and fairy-tales. He did not exclude sociology, ethics, religion and even philosophy from the domain of psychoanalysis. All these cultural manifestations are attributed to the same mechanism of the human mind as underlies the varied forms of mental disorders. Freud says, "In one way the neuroses show a striking and far-reaching correspondence with the great social productions of art, religion and philosophy; while again they seem like distortions of them." (*Totem and Taboo*). All arise from the same intrapsychical conflict of opposite desires leading to repression which forms the basis of the unconscious—the storehouse of man's phylogenetic and ontogenetic past. There goes on a ceaseless conflict between the repressing and the repressed forces making it impossible for the unconscious to burst upon the conscious except in an indirect and disguised manner. The distortion of the unconscious desire sometimes goes to the extent of making it unrecognisable and its intrinsic nature can be laid bare only through psychoanalysis. The motivation behind the process of distortion is to escape the censure of the conscious, to facilitate the indirect fulfilment of a wish which cannot be directly satisfied.

* A word of caution should be interposed. Freud is concerned with the psychological aspect of religion—with the determination of the psychic mechanism behind religious manifestations. The question as to whether religion represents any truth or not in any metaphysical sense, is outside Freud's province.

The devices adopted for this motive are sublimation, replacement and reaction:

"Sublimation is the diversion of the trends of a complex into useful, social, moral and ethical directions. The maternal complex may be diverted into attendance at a creche, interest in societies for infant welfare, or taking up the nursing or teaching professions" (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*)

Replacement differs from sublimation in that it does not subserve, like the latter, any useful function. For example, repressed maternal instinct may be displaced in an interest in dolls. Reaction formations are those devices in which the conscious activities are the very contrary of the unconscious desires. For example, persons who have repressed a desire to steal may be scrupulously honest.

In normal life the repressed desires or complexes are kept down by the conscious and are expressed through the abovementioned mechanisms. Should a complex fail to express itself in any of the above ways, it manifests itself as a neurotic or psychotic symptom, such as (1) somatic manifestation in the form of motor and sensory disturbance, i.e., Conversion Hysteria, (2) transference of the affect belonging to the complex to some related but less repugnant conscious idea, i.e., substitution as in Compulsion Neurosis and (3) the ascription of the complex unacknowledged by the patient to other people, or projection as in Paranoia (Stoddart : *Mind and its Disorders*). Ethics, religion, art and philosophy are the manifestations of repressed complexes through one or other of these psychotic and neurotic symptoms. In Freud's language,

"We may say that hysteria is a caricature of an artistic creation, a compulsion neurosis a caricature of religion and paranoid delusion a caricature of a philosophic system." (*Totem and Taboo*)

Freud did not develop any systematic doctrine of religion. He suggested a theory as early as 1912 in his *Totem and Taboo*. This fundamental position was adhered to and developed in his subsequent writings, mainly in *The Future of an Illusion*, *Civilization and its Discontents*, *Moses and Monotheism*, and incidentally in many other works like *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, *The Ego and the Id*, *New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, *Leonardo Da Vinci* and numerous papers on psychoanalysis. An exhaustive survey of Freud's attitude towards religion is too ambitious a programme for this paper. We shall content ourselves with attempting here a general outline of Freud's views on religion

depending mainly upon deductions made on the basis of what Freud left as the brief statement of premises. From the manner how Freud proceeded step by step beginning with his earliest remarks on religion in *Totem and Taboo* to the latest position advanced in his last work, *Moses and Monotheism*, it appears that Freud might have the intention to work up a whole system of religious theory which could not be materialised for some reason or other.

Freud traces the genesis of religion to man's ontogenetic and phylogenetic past. It is associated with the Oedipus wish which constitutes the strongest among the repressed contents of the unconscious. The desire to kill the parent of the same sex and possess the parent of the opposite sex forms the most inveterate desire of man's early childhood. "The beginning of religion, ethics, society and art meet in the Oedipus complex" (*Totem and Taboo*). Freud seeks to establish the Oedipus complex by availing himself of the story of Oedipus as depicted by Sophocles and more effectively as a historically established fact by appropriating the Darwinian conception of the primal horde. A violent and jealous father drives away the growing sons and keeps all the females for himself. The expelled brothers one day unite and put an end to the father. Considering this as an inadequate basis for totemism, Freud adds, "One day the expelled brothers joined forces, slew and ate the father, and thus put an end to the father horde" (*ibid*). So, totemism, the first religio-social institution of mankind, is based upon the gratification of the repressed Oedipus wish. The son's wish for father-identification could be satisfied only by murder and the subsequent assimilation of the father's being with that of the son through cannibalism. The band of brothers, Freud continues, not only hated their father, but loved and admired him too. So "after they had satisfied their hate by his removal and carried out their wish for identification with him the suppressed tender impulses had to assert themselves" (*ibid*). The conflict between love and hate constitutes the ambivalence of all Oedipus desires and this ambivalence, according to Freud, lies "at the root of important cultural formations." The brothers tabooed the murder of their father-substitute and denied themselves the liberated women. "Thus they created the two fundamental taboos of totemism," viz., patricide and incest. The antagonism of the ambivalent components of the Oedipus complex, viz., love and hate, gives rise to the sense of guilt. "Totem religion issued from the sense of guilt of the sons as an

attempt to palliate this feeling and to conciliate the injured father through subsequent obedience" (*ibid*).

Freud regards totemism as the prototype of all religion. All the advanced types of religion repeat the same story of totemism merely in different forms of language. For example, the sense of guilt found in its unsophisticated form in totemism is theorized into the "Doctrine of Original Sin" in Christianity. "The unmentionable crime was replaced by the tenet of the somewhat shadowy conception of Original Sin" (*Moses and Monotheism*). But this sense of guilt may not be acknowledged.

"The Jews do not admit that they killed God, whereas the Christians do. Through this they have shouldered a tragic guilt. They have been made to suffer dearly for it" (*ibid*).

So, according to Freud, men suffer the pangs of remorse for the sin of patricide committed by their ancestors. For the expiation of this crime men replace their father by God, or some religious ideal and address all their prayers and solicitations to him. The parent who was hated and killed is now idolised, worshipped and adorned. The sense of guilt seeks revenge through the sufferings inflicted upon the ego by the punishing conscience in the form of penance, self-mortification, rituals and other formalities of a painful type. God is nothing but a surrogate of the father or a father-substitute. "God is nothing but an exalted father" (*Totem and Taboo*). "The situation created by the removal of the father contained an element which brought about an extraordinary increase of longing for the father. So the deification of the murdered father is an expiation" (*ibid*). Freud's view of God as the father-substitute can be substantiated by quotations from his other writings too. The "derivation of a need for religion...from the longing....for a father seems to me incontrovertible" (*Civilisation and its Discontents*). In *The Future of an Illusion* also Freud regards the "primal father" as the prototype of God. "Men's helplessness remains and with it their father-longing and the Gods" (*The Future of an Illusion*). "Longing for a father contains the germ of all religious" (*The Ego and the Id*). The spirit expressed in *Totem and Taboo*, *The Ego and the Id* and *Moses and Monotheism* differs from that maintained in *The Future of an Illusion* and *Civilisation and its Discontents* in that the emphasis of the former upon the father complex is transferred in the latter to the feeling of helplessness. He says: "The connecting link between the father complex and man's helplessness is not difficult to find" (*The Future of an Illusion*).

. So the "derivation of the need for religion from the child's feeling of helplessness" (*Civilization and its Discontents*) becomes well-grounded and a short step is needed to arrive at the conclusion :

"The whole thing is so patently infantile, so incongruous with reality, that to one whose attitude to humanity is friendly it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life." (*Ibid*)

So religion is a regression to childhood—the abnormal manifestation of the repressed long-forgotten and unconscious Oedipus wish. Of course, the Oedipus wish need not pertain exclusively to the individual but also to his racial inheritance. This infantile regression accounts for the characteristic attitude of religion comprising the feelings of admiration, awe and gratitude.

"The first effect of the reunion with what men had long missed and yearned for was overwhelming. There was admiration, awe and gratitude." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

Freud continues :

"Infantile feelings are more intense and inexhaustibly deep than are those of adults; only religious ecstasy can bring back that intensity. Thus a transport of devotion to God is the first response to the return of the Gleat Father." (*Ibid*)

This is how Freud reduces religion to an infantile attitude and man's relation to God to the child-father relationship in every detail. But why this regression ? This return to childhood ? Freud says that life is too hard to bear and we cannot do without palliative remedies. Man suffers defeat at the ruthless hands of reality. So he retreats and takes shelter in some fortress of his childhood left behind in the onward march of life. The buffets and misfortunes of the present drive him back to the past of his forgotten childhood which he has not been able to outgrow on account of fixation. This fixated past serves as a substitute gratification of the ungratified desire due to the impact of reality. Religion, thus, becomes the resource of the coward, the misfit in life who has admitted defeat. It is a *res peurilis*, a childish affair due to the stunning of growth caused by the failure to attain maturity. Freud says :

"Even the grown man is just as helpless and unprotected as he was in childhood and in relation to the external world he is still a child. Even now, therefore, he cannot give up the protection which he has enjoyed as a child." (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

But why this return to the father-child relationship ? Does not the religious man know that his father is as weak as himself ? Does he

not know that the protection sought from the father cannot be given by him who himself seeks protection ? Freud, in anticipation of this possible objection, says, "Though his real father might be weak, the over-rated father image of his childhood is exalted into a Deity" (*ibid*).

Religion is an illusion just because it is a regression to childhood. The religious ideas are "fulfilments of the oldest, strongest and the most insistent wishes of mankind; the secret of their strength is the strength of these wishes" (*Future of an Illusion*). The estimation of the value of religion as a truth is not Freud's enquiry. Psychologically considered religion is an illusion—that is enough for his purpose. It is a mockery, an illusion as deceptive as will-o'-the-wisp—it defeats itself.

"Religion is an attempt to get control over the sensory world, in which we are placed, by means of the wish world, which we have developed inside us as a result of biological and psychological necessities. But it cannot achieve its end. Its doctrines carry with them the stamp of the times in which they originate, the ignorant childhood days of the human race. Its consolations deserve no trust." (*New Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*)

Religion is comparable to compulsion neurosis and its accompanying projection.

"As a matter of fact, I believe that a large portion of the psychological conception of the world which reaches far into the most modern religions is nothing but psychology projected into the outer-world." (*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*)

It is obvious that Freud does not distinguish religion from superstition and magic.

"To it, as to magic", says Dalbiez, "he applies the projection interpretation". (Dalbiez: *Psychoanalytical Method and the Doctrine of Freud*, Vol. I)

It follows that Freud understands religious phenomena "only on the model of the neurotic symptoms of the individual, as a return of long-forgotten important happenings in the primeval history of the human family. They owe their obsessive character to that very origin and therefore derive their effect on mankind from the historical truth they contain" (*Moses and Monotheism*). Again, the neurotic form of religion is exposed in the most extreme manner in the following :

"It is said, that each one of us behaves in some respect like the paranoiac substituting a wish fulfilment for some aspect of the world which is unbearable to him and carrying this delusion through into reality. The religion of humanity must be classified as a mass delusion." (*Civilization and its Discontents*)

Religion is a device adopted for the achievement of happiness. It is a defence mechanism for guarding ourselves against pain. When happiness cannot be achieved for the frustra-

tions and privations imposed by reality, the help of God is implored and when we have to forget the pains resulting therefrom, God becomes the solace and consolation of our troubled mind. But this dependence upon God turns out fruitless.

"Its method consists in decrying the value of life and promulgating a view of the real world that is distorted like a delusion and both of these imply a preliminary intimidating influence upon intelligence. At such a cost by the forcible imposition of mental infantilism and inducing a mass delusion—religion succeeds in saving many people from individual neuroses." (*Ibid*)

But religion cannot keep her promise of achieving happiness. Unconditional submission to 'God's inscrutable decree' becomes the last-remaining consolation and source of happiness. In what then does religion culminate? It intimidates the intelligence, arrests its normal growth by the imposition of mental infantilism for consolation. But this consolation even it cannot give. What do we gain by this sacrifice?—simply nothing except unmitigated retrogression. Freud concludes, "and if man is willing to come to this, he could probably have arrived here by a shorter road" (*ibid*).

The view that religion is a mass delusion, a universal neurosis of humanity is also expressed in the *Future of an Illusion*. "Thus religion would be the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity." In explaining the emergence of the conception of one Great God, Freud says:

"It has an obsessive quality; it simply must be believed. As far as its delusion goes, it is a delusion; in so far as it brings to light something from the past it must be called a truth." (*Moses and Monotheism*)

This view is worked out by drawing the close parallels in the development of the neurosis and the evolution of the Jewish doctrine of Monotheism. Freud finds in the evolutionary process of the Jewish religion an analogy to the genesis of neurosis in two points, *viz.*, (1) both the genesis of neurosis and religion go back to very early impressions of childhood and (2) there are cases which we single out as "traumatic" ones. (The impression we experienced at an early age and forgot later are called *traumata*). Freud also reminds us that the three points, *viz.*, early happening within the first five years of life, the forgetting, the characteristic of sexuality and aggressivity belong closely together. In this way Freud proceeds to develop the parallels in the formation of neurotic symptoms and the manifestation of religious phenomena.

The consequence which follows from leveling down religion to neurosis is that the origin of religion becomes no less sexual than the neurotic and psychotic symptoms. Repressed

sexuality attaching to the Oedipus wish is the determining factor of religion. The attitude towards God is a substitute for the repressed attitude towards the parents, so that one's religious attitude can be predicted from an analysis of the parental attitude. The feeling of the sublime or the vast or what Freud describes as the 'oceanic' feeling of the religious man can be fully explained as the feeling of oneness with the love-object—for love obliterates the distinction between the lover and the loved and produces a vague feeling of oneness or vastness. Moreover, that God is the father-substitute is also established on the ground that all of the major religions worship God as the Father. The worship of God as the Mother is a variant of the triangular nature of the Oedipus situation. This point is explained in *The Ego and the Id*.

The chief lesson inculcated by psychoanalysis is "education to reality." Man is retarded when he relies on religious delusions. He must be enlightened and convinced that the objects of religion are projections of his own mind and not realities. The antidote against his delusion is science, for "Science is no illusion," whereas religion is nescience, an illusion. The psychoanalyst takes upon himself the task of re-educating humanity by disillusionising them. He must undo the misdeeds done throughout the generations. Freud makes these interrogative and persuasive appeals:

"Why should not man be able to do without the consolation of the religious illusion? Is it not the destiny of childhood to be overcome? Man cannot remain a child for ever; he must venture at last into the hostile world. This may be called 'education to reality'." (*The Future of an Illusion*)

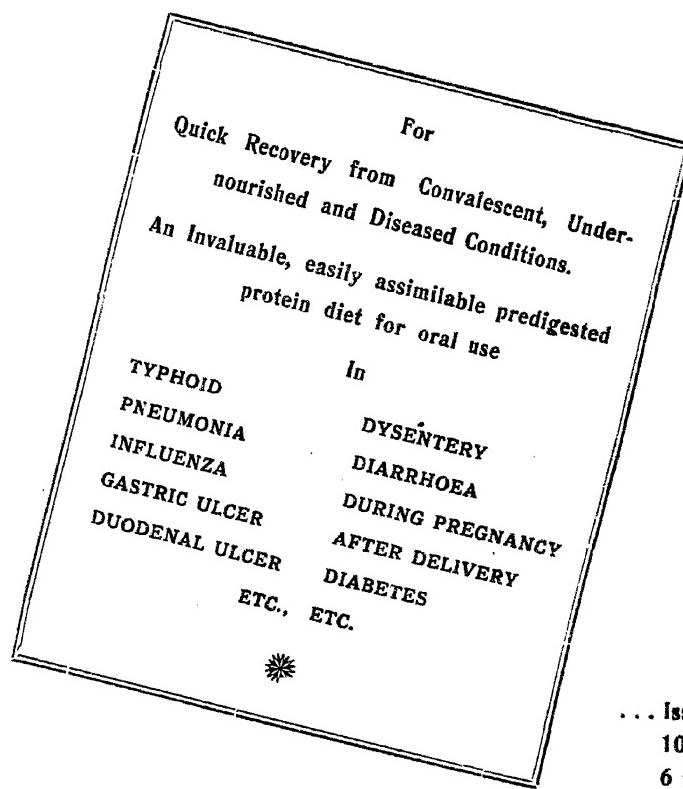
Freud suggests a revision of the whole system of education which is mainly based upon the retardation of sexual development and the early application of religious influence. But religious training stuns intellectual growth.

"When the child's mind awakens, the doctrines of religion are already unassailable." (*Ibid*)

But it is not at all conducive to the strengthening of the mental function that so important a sphere should be closed to the child's mind by the menace of hell pains. The result is the enfeeblement of mentality and incapacitating it from detecting the absurd contradictions besetting religious doctrines. Freud's final conclusion is :

"So long as a man's early years are influenced by the religious thought-inhibition and by the loyal one derived from it, as well as by the sexual one, one cannot really say what he is actually like." (*Ibid*)

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Surendranath Banerjee

1848-1925

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

For over fifty years Surendranath's supremacy as the most eloquent Indian orator, in English, remained unchallenged. Though some other athletes with more sinewy arms rudely wrested from him, towards the close of his life, the leadership in political assemblages, and tried to belittle his remarkable services to the country, posing as more skilful pilots, he held till the end of his great career the proud position of being the foremost orator in the country. In the earlier days "clouds of incense rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers." His implacable energy, the heroic strength of ideas, a Spartan sense of duty, the extraordinary compass of his mind, amazing vivacity, and variety of appropriate gesture, "the vibrating voice now rising to an organ peal of triumph, now sinking to a whisper of entreaty", swayed vast masses of his fellow-countrymen, thrilling their imagination and holding it spell-bound.

It has been said by a great authority that neither purple patches, nor epigrams, nor aphorisms, nor overwrought rhetorical imageries, are the test of oratory.

There must be dignity, elevation, lucid exposition of complicated facts, sustained and fiery declamations, impassioned apostrophes, the power to touch the emotions—making the hearers laugh and weep as occasion may demand—while there must also be rallying battlecries and the thunderbolt of invective, and not merely meek-spirited, dull, prosy sermons. Let me quote Surendranath's own remarks on the subject.—"The qualifications of an orator are moral rather than intellectual. It is the emotions that inspire the noblest thoughts and invest them with their colour and their distinctive character. Let no one aspire to be an orator who does not love his country, love her indeed with a true and soul-absorbing love. Country first, all other things next, is the creed of the orator. Unless he has been indoctrinated in it, baptized with the holy fire of the love of country, the highest intellectual gifts will not qualify him to be an orator. Aided by them, he may indeed be a fluent debater, an expert in the presentment of his case, a fascinating speaker, able to please, amuse, and even to instruct; but without the higher patriotic or religious emotions he will not possess the supreme power of moving men, inspiring them with lofty ideals and passion for the worship of the good, the true, and the beautiful. The equipment of the orator is thus moral, and nothing will help him so much as constant association with the master-minds of humanity, of those who have worked and suffered; who have taught and preached great things, who have lived dedicated lives—consecrated to the service of their country or their God." No one could have put it better.

There is a good deal of truth in the saying that an orator is born and not made.

Nevertheless study and preparation go a long way, and Surendranath's own record and the method pursued by him systematically, confirm the soundness of this view.

There can be no doubt that almost all Surendranath's greatest orations were set speeches—very carefully prepared, written out word for word, committed to memory, and then faultlessly produced, making the audience marvel as much at his oratorical powers as his mnemonic feat. Even Gokhale—who never aspired to be an orator, but was content to be regarded as the most skilful debator of his time—had acquired mastery, and his great hold on the public mind, by adopting the same method as Surendranath.

Negro Literature

The Negro creative imagination has encompassed all literary forms. V. M. Inamdar observes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is an interesting item of history that the first Negro poet should have been writing even when slaves were still being imported and that the second Negro poet should have been a lady. Jupiter Hammon, a Long Island slave who published his poem in 1760, was the first Negro poet, and Phyllis Wheatley (1753-1784) the second. Both were greatly influenced by the religious movements of their time. Hammon died in 1800 and twenty-nine years later appeared *The Hope of Liberty* by George Horton, who was the first slave poet openly to protest against his status and treatment. From 1840 up to the Civil War anti-slavery propaganda was at its height and the Negro poets used poetry more or less as a vehicle for propaganda. A number of poets sprang to fame, the prominent among whom are Daniel Payne, Charles L. Reason, George B. Vashon, Elymas Payson Rogers, E. W. Harper, James Bell and James Whitfield. In their protest against slavery they wrote with genuine passion though in their anxiety to refute the accusation of intrinsic difference and inferiority they followed their American and English models rather too closely. Yet with scorn and denunciation they demanded democracy.

Negro poetry of the Reconstruction Period and of the closing years of the last century shows interesting developments.

The poet was confronted with the false picture of his people presented by his white fellow poets, whose creations were more or less analogues of the contemporary "stage Irishmen" of the English writers about Ireland and the "Babus" of the Anglo-Indian literary tradition. In order to undo this literary mischief the Negro poets followed a twofold course: (1) They denied the stereotype by creating its antithesis and (2) they deepened the delineation of the

Negro character by a detailed, careful and sympathetic portrayal. Albery Whitman and Paul Laurence Dunbar represent these two tendencies. While the former in his *Not a Man and Yet a Man* swung the pendulum to the opposite extreme the latter substituted for the pathetic and comic postures intimate and sympathetic portrayals. Dunbar's is a great name in the Negro poetic tradition, not merely for his close insight into Negro life but for his dialect pastoral poetry which earned for him the recognition that he was the first Negro poet "to feel the Negro life aesthetically and express it lyrically". Dunbar had many imitators and his subtle protest against the unjust treatment of his race gradually deepened into bitterness in poets who followed, particularly after the wide-spread disenfranchisement and the increasing violence the Negroes met with during the first decades of this century. W. E. B. DuBois, though not primarily a poet, expresses his burning hatred of racial injustice in such well-known pieces as "A Litany at Atlanta."

The Negro achievement in the field of the novel is not less remarkable.

The same general features of motive and the same variations of tone and tendency are observable here also. William Wells Brown's *Clootie* published in 1853 was the first Negro novel. It was franker than *Uncle Tom's Cabin* on the subject of miscegenation in the South. It was followed six years later by Delany's *Blake or The Huts of America*. But it was not till 1892, when Frances Harper's *Iola Leroy or Shadows Uplifted* was published, that the Negro novel started on its triumphant career. The complications due to miscegenation and the suffering which it meant to the victims form the central theme in a very large number of novels which followed until Charles Chesnutt opened the field of social analysis and criticism in such of his best known novels as *The Marrow of Tradition* (1901) and *The Colonel's Dream* (1906). Chesnutt's insight into social realities and his capacity to combine criticism with an interesting narrative were equalled by W. E. B. DuBois, whose trenchant discussion of the many political, economic and educational problems of the South won immediate recognition for his novels like *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911) and *The Dark Princess* (1928). DuBois is an unsparing critic and his mordant attacks are levelled impartially against the American treatment of the Negroes and the Negroes' own weaknesses. James Weldon Johnson's *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912) heralded the portrayal of Southern rural life just as Walter White's *Fire in the Flint* is symptomatic of a type of novel that could do without lynching as a dominant feature. Yet the latter depicted ambitious and successful lives leading gradually and indirectly towards a more sympathetic delineation of the Negro middle classes. Miss Faustet's *Comedy, American Style* (1933) is a tragic story of colour prejudice. Nella Larcen's *Passing* pictures upper-class Negroes while Rudolph Fisher's *The Walls of Jericho*, a pioneer social comedy, provides an intimate, intelligent, but satirical account of Harlem. *The Conjure Man Dies* (1932) is the first Negro detective novel. Langston Hughes's *Not Without Laughter* is only less remarkable than Richard Wright's *Native Son* (1940). Both, most discussed Negro novels, are specimens of social realism. The story of the frustration of the human personality under the pressure of a cramping social environment is here told with great power.

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The American Character

Many Europeans have tried to describe and appraise the American character, and the composite portrait that emerges deserves thoughtful consideration. Arthur M. Schlesinger writes in *The Indian Review*:

An American is the product of the interplay of his Old World heritage and New World conditions. The Old World heritage consists merely of that part of European culture which was shared by the people who settled in America. They and their ancestors were artisans, small tradesmen, farmers, day-labourers—the firm foundation upon which rested the superstructure of European cultivation. Shut out from a life of wealth, leisure, and aesthetic enjoyment, they tended to regard the ways of their social superiors with misgiving, if not resentment, and, by the same token, they magnified virtues of sobriety, diligence, and thrift.

The act of quitting a familiar life for a strange and perilous one demanded uncommon qualities of hardihood, self-reliance, and imagination.

The conditions thus offered by an undeveloped continent fixed the frame within which the American character took form. Farming was the primary occupation. At first resorted to by the settlers to keep from starvation, it quickly became the mainstay of their existence. This apprenticeship to the soil made an indelible impression on the developing American character, with the following results:

First and foremost is the habit of work. For the colonial farmer, ceaseless exertion was the price of survival. Probably no legacy has entered more deeply into the national psychology. If an American has no

purposeful work on hand, the fever in his blood impels him nevertheless to some form of visible activity. As one traveller put it: "America is the only country in the world where one is ashamed of having nothing to do."

This worship of work made it difficult for the early Americans to learn to play and left them indifferent to aesthetic considerations.

On the other hand, the complicated nature of the farmer's job, especially during the first two and a half centuries of American history, provided an unexcelled training in mechanical ingenuity.

The early American farmer's success in coping with his multitudinous tasks aroused a pride of accomplishment that made him scorn the specialist or expert.

He was content to do many things well enough rather than anything supremely well. This was a marked contrast to the European custom of following permanent occupations which often descended from father to son. This versatility became an outstanding American attribute.

Foreign commentators have found it difficult to reconcile worship of the Almighty Dollar with the equally universal tendency to spend freely and give money away. The fact is that for a people who recall how poor their ancestors were, the chance to make money is like sunlight at the end of a tunnel. It is the means of living a life of human dignity; a symbol of idealism rather than materialism. Hence the American has had an instinctive sympathy for the underdog, and even persons of moderate wealth have gratefully shared it with the less fortunate, helping to endow charities, schools, hospitals, and art galleries.

The American character, as we at present know it, is thus a mixture of long-persistent traits and newly acquired characteristics.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS



East and West—"The Twain Shall Meet"

In an article under the above caption in *The Month*, H. Van Straelen appeals to the Western youth for a better understanding of the Far East:

Not the least among the many changes that are taking place to-day is the fact that the Far East has come nearer to us than ever before in history. Everywhere we meet with a lively interest in things oriental. In the United States all kinds of educators recognize that vital need for information about the peoples and countries of Asia. Educational agencies are concerning themselves with the problem, working out various programmes suited to the needs of special groups, ranging from highly trained specialists who will go to the Far East immediately the war is over to school-children whose education will no longer be considered up-to-date, if they have not been given a peep into the culture and history of peoples of the East. In so far as the United States are concerned, an intensive study of a large group of adults, especially in the armed forces and Government bureaus—this being a more immediate need—started with the pace we expect from the New World.

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upon the fronts scattered all over the world and when the soothing hands of time and nature which heal all wounds and the swift repair of peaceful industry have effected the bomb and mine craters and the demolished towns, and the ruins have been replaced by new buildings, when only cemeteries, monuments and ruins preserved here and there for history's sake remind the lonely traveller of the fact that tens of millions fought and millions perished in this by far the greatest of all human conflicts, when—I say—a new youth has come forth for whom merciful oblivion has drawn its veils, and who have no bitter memories or severe judgments and who are free from resentful, angry and revengeful thoughts and who keep alive no "sacred hatred" nor a narrow patriotism which limits its interest to those only who are of the same race as itself, then the West will be disposed to accept and digest the cultural products of other Eastern lands also. Then the beautiful symphonies and oratorios—to mention only music—of Yamada Kosaku, Moroi Saburo, besides the works of Akiyosi Motosaku and Go Tajiro, the delightful suites and dances of Oki Masao, Hayasaka Fumio and Otaka Hisatada, will make themselves heard on our concert programmes and will get a worthy place besides the music of Sir Edward Elgar, William Walton, John Ireland, Benjamin Britten, Arthur Bliss and other masters of contemporary Western music. Then besides the periods of Norman Kings, Plantagenets, Merovingians, Carolingians, Tudors, Capets or Hohenstaufen will be mentioned in our schools on an equal footing not only T'ang, Sung or Ming, but also Nara, Heian, Kamakura or whatever these cultural periods in Japanese history may be called.

I appeal therefore to the youth of the world for a better understanding of the Far East. They will throw overboard all haughtiness and racial pride and

hold aloft the principle of the absolute equality of human nature before its Creator. Then the wide eyes of the idealistic Western youth will look with deep understanding into the slanting eyes of his yellow brother.

Then indeed will "the twain" have met.

Assam

From the paper on "Assain," read by Sir Robert Reid, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Governor of Assam (1937-1942) and published in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* we reproduce below that portion only which deals with the physical aspects of the province, called the North-East Frontier of India :

The province of Assam covers an area of 67,000 square miles and has a population of 11 millions—a population which is just about the same as that of Canada with its area of 3,700,000 square miles. The province falls into two main divisions, the hills and the plains. The plains consist of the basins of two rivers, the Brahmaputra and the Surma, and it is in them that the bulk of Assam's inhabitants are to be found, for out of her 11 millions, some 9½ millions are in the plains and only 1½ millions in the hills.

The Assam Valley averages a width of about 50 miles, and is a fertile tract which has been reclaimed from jungle and brought under cultivation at a steadily growing rate during the last hundred years. The process is still going on, and the indigenous Assamese tribes who originally populated the area have been largely reinforced, not to say overrun, by a

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stream of vigorous Mohammedan immigrants from Mymensingh in Bengal. This gives satisfaction to the Moslem, but not the Hindu, community, for the more Mohammedans you have in Assam, the stronger the case for Pakistan. On general grounds, however, these immigrants deserve to be welcomed, for they are good cultivators.

The Surma Valley, which contains two districts, Cachar and Sylhet, has its natural affinities with Bengal; and the rivalry between the two valleys is intense, pervading every aspect of political life.

Tea is grown in large quantities in both valleys, and it may interest you to have a few facts about that great industry. Of the 841,000 acres under tea in India, 440,000 are in Assam, and of the 500,000,000 lbs. of tea that were produced in 1941, 289,000,000 lbs. were produced in Assam. A daily average of 540,000 labourers were employed in this industry in the same year, and it can be reckoned that at least twice that number in addition were dependent on it.

Assam's second great industry, oil, takes its origin from 1888, when the first well was sunk at Digboi, in the north-east corner of the province, by the Assam Railways and Trading Company. From 1921 onwards there was a great expansion in production which, in 1931, was ten times what it was in 1921.

Coal is mined in the proper sense of the term, as opposed to the surface working carried on in the Khasi Hills, at Margherita in Lakhimpur district and at Borjan on the edge of the Naga Hills. The name Margherita, by the way, that of the then Queen of Italy, points to the fact that the leading spirits in this enterprise were Italians.

Communications on this, our present land frontier with Japan, are of particular interest just now and are worth looking at for a moment. Compared with the North-West Frontier, where millions of pounds have been spent on strategic roads, railways and aerodromes, the North-East Frontier was poorly equipped as a base for military operations. There was a single-line narrow-gauge railway running throughout the province, with one serious bottle-neck, the unbridged Brahmaputra river, at its western end near Gauhati. The road system was a good one for peace-time purposes, but quite inadequate for heavy and continuous military traffic. Aerodromes there were none. On the great rivers was a good system of river steamers and flats, which have done magnificent service, albeit much of their craft had been carried off before the outbreak of war with Japan to other theatres of war.

There was only one road leading towards Burma,

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the Manipur road, 134 miles in length from railhead at Dimapur to the capital of Manipur State, Imphal. It was a metalled road, not surfaced, and wide enough only for one-way traffic. In December, 1941, the Civil Government of Assam were asked if they could turn their Public Works Department engineers on to drive it through to Tammu on the Burma frontier. I should explain that beyond Imphal to Tammu was a distance of about 60 miles of very hilly forest-clad country, along half of which was a fair-weather earth road only fit for very light traffic and along the other half a 6-foot bridle path fit for pack transport only. It was a stupendous task to attempt to drive a road through with half the working season gone, but the Assam engineers threw themselves into it and made good progress until the Military Engineers took it over. By May, 1942, the road was through, just in time to allow the retreating Burma Army to pass down it. Not only was it through to Tammu, but the work of widening the original road throughout was also undertaken, so that now it carried four lines of fast and heavy traffic. The successful accomplishment of this work is largely due to the ungrudging and efficient service rendered by the great Tea Industry in providing the labour force.

Not only did the Burma Army pass down this road, but also the bulk of the Indian refugees from Burma, a continuous stream of whom had been moving along this route since February. And all the time in the opposite direction was a steady flow of men, vehicles and munitions of war on their way up to reinforce the defence of the Burma Front against the invading Japanese.

Existing facilities have, of course, been improved, extended and supplemented. We know for instance that a second land route into Burma has been opened, a long way north of the Manipur road, by way of the Hukawng Valley. The newspaper accounts show that this work has been carried on through the year, regardless of the immense physical and climatic obstacles and at great speed. It would have been impossible to carry it on through the rainy season, which is a very long one, if the engineers had had to rely on normal methods of road-making and it had been necessary to house, feed and attend to the welfare of thousands of coolies from all over India. Success, I imagine, was only rendered possible by the use of such modern mechanical appliances for road-making as enabled the Americans to construct the Alaska Highway, and of every modern device for the welfare of the men working on it.

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NOTES

The Russian Lesson

Rajaji has ably confused the issues by drawing a parallel between India of the present day with the emergence of the Soviets from the Tsarist regime of Russia. Historically there are many differences. Firstly, *the Tsarist regime was not overthrown by the Bolsheviks*, an outside force disrupted it. The Peace of Brest Litovsk was negotiated between Kerensky's government and the Germans who delegated Von Kohlmann to it. Kerensky's government was overthrown in the civil war and chaos that followed when the Kerensky government failed to obtain honourable terms from the Germans. *So there was civil war and chaos at the beginning of Bolshevism.* Next followed the impact of internal disrupting forces aided by outside foreign interests which tended to cut up the whole Russian territories into numberless small groups. The "White" Russians under Denikin, Kolchuk and others, Winston Churchill's expedition to Archangel, the Rumanian thrust into Bessarabia and the Polish filibuster's attack on the Russian territories beyond the Curzon line, these were the real factors that tended to weld together the many republics that coalesced into the U. S. S. R. The German puppet regime in Ukraine and the virtual control of large tracts by the released Czechoslovak war-prisoners helped in driving the smaller groups into the arms of the bigger units for protection. This is what history tells us about the emergence of the U. S. S. R. out of the chaos that followed the collapse of Tsarist Russia at the end of the last war. So where is the parallel with India of to-day?

It may be argued that when all these troubles were overcome the minorities did not exercise their right to secede although they had

no fear of aggression if they did so. But that is not true either. Japan was slowly eating her way through Manchuria and the Mongolias, and the Western European powers were hostile in the extreme, while waiting beyond the *cordon sanitaire* to recoup and regroup before they started on the hunt for the Russian bear's skin. Later came Hitler and *with him the anti-comintern Axis* which was the greatest factor in keeping the U. S. S. R. household in unity.

Then let us take the case of those who were separated from Tsarist Russia in order to form the Cordon Sanitaire separating the U. S. S. R. and the rest of Europe. Look at the uneasy time they have had ever since they were separated from the Russian Empire. It was not the democratic concept of self-determination that had brought them into independent existence, it was merely the exigency of creating a barrier between the "Semi-Asiatic" Russians and the rest of Europe.

Now let us get to the fundamentals of the self-determination principle enunciated in the constitution of the Soviets. Sir N. N. Sircar has shown that equal rights for the citizens of the U. S. S. R. irrespective of their nationalities or race, in all spheres of economic, cultural, social or political life was the irrevocable law, and that the Russian constitution has not a word about the protection of minorities. But India of to-day should be referred to the Russian constitution of 1918 and not to the constitution of 1937 which alone granted the right to secede. The Soviet Government started unification of the country from the very day it came into power by overthrowing the Mensheviks. The 1918 constitution abolished private property, established socialisation of land carrying with it only the right of use, nationalisation of all

mines, factories, railways and every other means of production and transport. Economic life of the country was organised on the same principle throughout the whole of the country and work useful to the community was made obligatory upon all. This unification led to very strong opposition from vested interests and the great Russian famine was the direct result of it. The opposition of the Kulaki was subdued with the utmost ruthlessness and bloodshed. The result of this stern measure proved beneficial to the people, collective farming finally proved a boon. Till 1936, the Soviet Government refused to entertain any claim for self-determination and never took any plebiscite within the country to bear racial or cultural claims. Only when the forcible unification was complete, when all the units of the country had been forged into one coherent and complete whole, when the people were themselves convinced of the results of unification with a common social and economic interest, that there was any discussion about the right to secede.

The next important point we should not lose sight of is that the Russian constitution was drawn up and the boundaries of the units were demarcated without taking religious claims into account. The Bolshevik Party had declared war on religion, many churches had been destroyed and the rest converted into museums. The 1918 constitution declared that the church was separated from the State and the school from the church. Freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda was granted to ensure liberty of conscience. Religion was not taken into consideration in the settlement of racial and cultural problems. Persons like Rajaji distort modern history when they put forward religion as a basis of political settlement. Even Turkey, the last of the Caliphate, separated Church and State and gave a go-by to the medieval doctrine of a unification between the two. Britain has retained the remnants of this pernicious medieval polities, her king is still the Defender of the Faith, and she, since 1905, has been persistently trying to plant this exploded medieval myth on the Indian soil with the help of reactionary Muslim careerists and self-styled realists. Russia successfully resisted the perpetuation of this dangerous and retrograde policy under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party.

Rajaji has calmly dismissed the example of the U. S. A. and the American Civil War both as being undesirable and impossible. We agree that Civil War is extremely undesirable, but we are not so convinced that even the third party will be able to prevent it unless there is substantial unity attained right at the start on fair and equitable terms. We have very hazy

ideas indeed about the Post-War World and as such we are prone to think about our own country in relation to the outside world on the same terms as obtain to-day. The Russian Lesson is truly wonderful but that of the U. S. A. is no less important to us. We are not in a position to ignore either example, especially so because *neither of these examples sets a pattern that fits the case of India.*

Noon to Torpedo Bombay Talks?

The *Sunday Indian Nation* of Patna reports that simultaneously with the publication of Gandhi-Wavell correspondence and the postponement of Gandhi-Jinnah meeting, many Congressmen in Bombay believe that the real reason for the postponement of the talks is that Sir Firoze Khan Noon has brought with him a counter-offer to the Muslim League from Downing Street so that in the event of Gandhiji not conceding enough, Mr. Jinnah may turn to Britain. It was perhaps for this very purpose that Sir Firoze was despatched hurriedly from London to be in time for the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. Although Sir Firoze himself addressing a press conference in August 14 pooh-poohed any political significance being attached to his return to India at this juncture, rumours still persist in Delhi to the effect that he has already contacted Mr. Jinnah on the subject of Gandhiji's proposals.

The *Leader* throws a sidelight on this problem from another angle of vision. The Allahabad journal reports that political circles in New Delhi are asking the question, "Are New Delhi and its agents provocateurs doing all they can to see that the Gandhi-Jinnah meeting ends in disagreement?" The reason for this suspicion is that the Muslim Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council seem to have decided to exercise a discreet silence prior to and during the Gandhi-Jinnah pourparlers. On the contrary, Sir Sultan Ahmed talked of communal peace at Bombay. Two Hindu Members of the Council have let themselves go. Sir J. P. Srivastava stated at Cawnpore and Dr. Khare at Bombay that there shall be no division of India. The Bombay organ of Anglo-Indians attempted to provoke Mr. Jinnah to withdraw from his promise to talk to Gandhiji because the latter chose Bombay for symbolic assertion of individual civil liberty. A conclusive proof of this strategy has been furnished in the administrative report of the United Provinces for 1943. Throughout the report the Muslim League has been boosted and the Congress depicted as having been crushed and the Hindu Mahasabha as wholly inactive. The report asserts gleefully that there were no polities and therefore little religious bitterness.

This observation is another way of saying that if only undiluted British rule were to prevail, there would be peace and good Government in India.

The country will watch with interest Mr. Jinnah's reaction to any counter-proposal from London, particularly after his own declaration in a Press Conference at Lahore on August 5 last, where he said, "The Third party is there and it has been trying and will try to sabotage our efforts. But we have seen through their game rather too well and they cannot continue dividing us."

Phillips' Appraisal of Indian Situation

Mr. William Phillips, President Roosevelt's Representative in India, in the course of his report to the President, says :

"Assuming that India is known to be an important base in our Eastern operations against Burma and Japan, it would seem of the highest importance that we have around us a sympathetic India rather than an indifferent and possibly a hostile India. There is no evidence that Britain intends to give more than token assistance. So conditions surrounding our base in India become vital.

"The Indian people are at war only in a legal sense. The Indians feel that they have no voice in the Government and no responsibility; that they have nothing to fight for. They are convinced that the professed war aims of the United Nations do not apply to them.

"The British Prime Minister has stated that the Atlantic Charter is not applicable to India. The Indian army is mercenary. Gen. Stilwell has expressed concern in particular, over the poor morale of the Indian officer. Public attitude to war is even worse. Lassitude, indifference and bitterness have increased by famine and the growing cost of living. But all have one object—eventual freedom and independence. There seems only one remedy to this situation, wherein we unfortunately are seriously involved—to change the attitude of the people towards the war; make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities and are prepared to give them facilities. Political conditions forbid improvement.

"It is high time they made efforts to re-establish confidence in their future independence. If you accept a British point of view that conditions in India are not our business, we must be prepared for serious internal consequences of despair, misery and anti-White sentiments of hundreds of millions of subject peoples who cynically regard the war as between fascism and imperialism. A generous British gesture would change this atmosphere. India might positively support us against the Japanese. The Chinese who regard the Anglo-American bloc with mistrust might be assured that they are fighting for a better world."—(*The Free Press*).

Britain's work in India today forms a subject of international suspicion. British Imperialism may seem at the moment to be tremendously powerful but even British Imperialism cannot fight history. Already there is enough scepticism as to the role of Britain in the liberation of Europe if the suppression of the freedom movement continued in India.

Happenings in India "Degrading"

Publishing the Gandhi-Wavell correspondence, the American magazine *Commonsense* editorially writes :

"The key to all India's most immediate problems is in Downing Street. The problems are so overwhelmingly simple and answers to them so embarrassingly obvious that we almost dare not mention them. It makes us uncomfortable to think that there is such an urgent matter of elementary justice to be adjusted by our own friends. It puts a strain on the oneness of the world in which we live. . . . What is happening in India is degrading. It is degrading to the people of India who lack the elementary human rights which Americans take for granted as the air they breathe. It is degrading to the intelligent Englishmen, who feel called upon to assert that the Indian issue is not obvious but obscure. . . . It is degrading to Americans, who are told that because Britain is our ally, the problem of India is none of their business and who are called on to stifle their sympathies and stultify their intelligences at the behest of Churchill and Amery."

India's One Voice

India has 170 languages, 544 dialects, and one "voice"—Mohandas K. Gandhi, thus writes Josephine Ripley in *Christian Science Monitor*. The writer continues :

India has 170 languages, 544 dialects, and one "voice"—Mohandas K. Gandhi.

Others have spoken. Mohammed Ali Jinnah of the Muslim League, Jawaharlal Nehru, Congress Party leader, Viceroys and diplomats. But Gandhi's voice carries around the world.

Now that voice may speak again, Gandhi has been freed from his palace-prison. India's role in the war is no minor one. It is an Allied base against Japan. It is a war-production centre; it is an enemy objective: it is the last Allied air link with China. Its co-operation is essential. Its full participation in the war would be even better.

British interest in India goes back to 1600. It began commercially, with the East India Company. The Dutch, French, and Portuguese had similar interests in India. British arms finally routed the competition. In 1857, the British Government finally stepped in and assumed official control. That is the control India protests today.

A public appeal, signed by 110 eminent Americans, has been addressed to Lord Halifax, British Ambassador in America. It asks for the release of imprisoned Indian leaders and says :

"Since his release Mr. Gandhi has made a number of far-reaching suggestions looking towards a solution of the political deadlock. It would seem of the utmost importance that these suggestions be explored as fully as possible. These explorations would be facilitated by making it possible for Mr. Gandhi to confer with leaders and members of the Working Committee of the Congress Party, who are now in gaol. We believe the release of these leaders would be a definite sign of Britain's good faith in desiring a settlement of the deadlock. The settlement would be of direct benefit to the United Nations not only in the prosecution of war, but also in the conclusion of lasting peace. We, therefore, urge you to transmit to your Government this request for the immediate release of the Indian leaders."

But all this sage counsel falls on plugged ears at Downing Street. The opinion of Horace Alexander, who certainly cannot be accused of having any anti-British bias, may be noted with interest in this connection. In a recently published Penguin special, *India Since Cripps*, Mr. Alexander writes :

The difficulty that Mr. Gandhi is up against in India is this. The Government starts out from an assumption that he and his Congress colleagues cannot accept. The Government claims that it is the only lawful authority and, therefore, it has the right in the last resort to enforce obedience. If it cannot either convince or be convinced it will enforce the law against objectors, however "conscientious" they may be. Nor can it admit that a third party should be called in to arbitrate.

But Mr. Gandhi and the Congress deny all this. They do not admit the legitimacy of the Government; they do not consider themselves bound by any social compact, even a tacit one. The present Government is to them a usurpation. They have, therefore, not only the right but even the duty to resist it. But Mr. Gandhi has insisted that such resistance is to be confined to non-violent actions. And the most perfect weapon of all, in his view, is the pressure that can be exercised through fasting. This is, in his opinion, an appeal to the "Highest Tribunal," which may mean both the conscience of mankind and God.

Amazing Propaganda

The contempt with which anti-Indian British propaganda in America is viewed there, may be illustrated by a comment of the New York magazine *Nation*. Describing a pamphlet issued by the Smithsonian Institution, *Peoples of India* by William Gilbert, the magazine calls it an "extraordinary document" following "the typical line of propaganda in India which has been so overworked." The *Nation* says, "When one learns that Indian poverty is due to overcrowding and Indian malnutrition to ignorance, while poverty and famine in turn are cited as evidence for overcrowding, both the logic and the propaganda seems equally amazing." Concluding it asserts that the booklet will "not help Americans to understand either the Indian people or the vital issues at stake in India."

Roosevelt on British Possessions

Although the desire for a sympathetic understanding of Indian aspirations for freedom is gradually gaining ground in America in spite of sinister British propaganda, it should not mislead Indians to believe that American help in India's struggle for freedom would be forthcoming. The American official mind about India has been made quite clear on a number of occasions, the last of which was the Bretton Woods Conference. There is no doubt that British and American capital would combine after the war for a joint exploitation of this country. President Roosevelt's broadcast from Washington on August 12 would continue this apprehension. He said:

"Everybody in Siberia and China knows that we have no ambition to acquire land on the continent of Asia. We, as a people, are utterly opposed to aggression or sneak attacks but we, as a people, are insistent that other nations must not, under any circumstances, through a foreseeable future, commit such attacks against us."

"There are hundreds of islands in the South Pacific which are important to us commercially and from the defence point of view. These islands are possessions of the British Empire and the French."

"We have no desire to ask for any possessions of the United Nations. But the United Nations who are working so well with us in the winning of the war, will, I am confident, agree with us completely and collaborate with us."

The President, the main signatory to the Atlantic Charter, had not a word for India. He told the world in plain language that British and French Empires will continue as before.

Russian Interest in Indian Freedom

The New Delhi representative of the *Leader* reports that "there is a feeling in New Delhi that Moscow's silence will not last long and that as soon as Stalin has won his final military victory over Hitler he will throw his whole weight on the side of freedom for all the subject races." In anticipation of this danger, the Government of India have made a plan to open an Information centre at Moscow.

Moscow has however broken the silence earlier than was anticipated. A London cable to the *Hindustan Times* states that "for the first time since the war began Soviet Press has featured India on front page," and that *Pravda* and other Moscow newspapers prominently published a U. S. report that important discussions on India between Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt are about to take place." The report adds that "the American President acting on the advice of his personal envoy in India made a definite suggestion to the British Premier that the time had come for the application of the Atlantic Charter to India."

Soviet Russia is interested in Indian freedom from the viewpoint of world peace and security. The simple, brief and direct way in which proposals on future world security were submitted by Russia at the International Security Conference at Dumbarton Oaks, surprised the British and American delegates, but confirmed the popular view that Russia wants to solve world security problem in its fundamentals, i.e., on the basis of human rights and liberties. In the case of America, the *Leader's* correspondent believes that she probably holds the view that "unless India is a strong self-governing power the Asiatic main land will lack balance of power to insure security in this zone." This development proves Gandhiji's wisdom in going over the head of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in his appeal to British, American and world opinion.

The correspondent finally adds that "although official quarters at New Delhi are reticent on Moscow's sudden interest in Indian situation it can be presumed that the development has caused considerable nervousness and it will no be surprising if propaganda guns are turned on Moscow in an attempt to cloud the Indian issue by raising the racial and communal bogey."

Government's Duty to Save Lives in a Famine

Referring to the Indian Famine, the *New Republic*, an American Magazine, says:—

The Government says about a million died; a London weekly thinks the total will be closer to three millions, as cholera, malaria and smallpox follow in the wake of starvation. Whole areas are almost depopulated; sometimes the survivors are too weak to bury the dead, and leave them to the competition of dogs and vultures.

The *New Statesman* makes the interesting point that *the Indians might have pulled themselves together and done better, except that nearly all their best leaders were in jail*. All in all it is a tragic record.

The Calcutta *Statesman* seem to have been primarily responsible for propagating the idea that the Indians did not do what they could. The *New Statesman* gathered this queer notion from this Calcutta paper. In our last issue, this portion of the London paper's comment has been quoted.

In any discussion of this problem, the foremost question that comes to one's mind is, "Whose duty it was to save human lives during the famine?" Some of the ex-Viceroy of India have their answers to this question on permanent record, from which some extracts are given below:

In the famine of the Bundelkhand and Upper Hindustan in 1868-69, Lord Lawrence laid down the principle that the officers of the Government would be held personally responsible for taking every possible means to avert death by starvation.

In his despatch to the British Government dated Nov. 7, 1873, Lord Northbrooke wrote: "Her Majesty's Government may rely upon the Government of India not shrinking from using every available means, at whatever cost, to prevent, so far as they can, any loss of lives of Her Majesty's subjects in consequence of the calamity which now threatens Bengal."

To Lord Northbrooke belongs the unique credit having averted a great calamity by a generous organisation of State relief. He had proved to the hilt that human lives can be saved by an honest and efficient relief organisation.

Sir Richard Temple wrote in his *Men and Events of my Time*:

The officers of Government began to feel that they would be impeached if any failure were to occur, or if life should be lost through any shortcoming of theirs.

In the Madras famine of 1876-8, Lord Lytton made the memorable declaration that "we say that human life shall be saved at any cost and effort" and that "there are no circumstances in which aid can be refused."

Lord Curzon had to face one of the greatest famines which India has endured in modern times. The total area affected amounted to 475,000 sq. miles with a population of 60 millions. In July 1900 the number of people in receipt of relief reached the total of 6 millions. The amount spent by the Government in relief exceeded 9 crores of rupees (£6 million). Lord Curzon threw himself with characteristic energy into the task of coping with this calamitous affliction. He not only supervised the details of the campaign, but also personally visited the smitten areas in the midst of the pouring rains of the monsoon; and afterwards, at the instance of Sir Anthony MacDonell conducted enquiries which finally settled the principles upon which famines were in future to be fought. Lord Curzon declared in the Legislative Council on Jan. 12, 1900:

"I am the last person in the world to prefer the mere interests of economy to those of humanity, and I acknowledge to the utmost the obligation of Government to spend the last rupee in the saving of human life and in the mitigation of extreme human suffering."

Private charity was always invited, but its scope was clearly explained by Lord Curzon in a meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on Jan. 16, 1900. Summing up, Lovat Fraser says:

Perhaps it may not be understood why private charity is needed to supplement the efforts of the Government in time of famine. The reason is that there are many things which the Government, engrossed with the single task of saving life, are unable to do.

All these go to show that the responsibility for providing food for the people belonged entirely to the Government. The callous apathy of Lord Linlithgow, Sir John Herbert and Mr. Amery to the last famine, particularly some of the latter's utterances, has created a deep impression that there has been an attempt at evasion of such responsibility on the part of Government.

What Did the People Do During the Last Famine?

It is a deliberate lie to say that the people of Bengal or of the other provinces "did not pull themselves together and work better." They did pull themselves together and public charity accounted for 90 per cent of the relief.

The Government of Bengal have admitted, in a circular letter to the District Magistrates, that the whole province was in distress and that even a help of Rs. 10 per head for 3 months to 10 per cent of the population would mean a cost of Rs. 18 crores which was much more than the annual income of the Bengal Government. We have shown before that Lord Curzon spent more than 9 crores of rupees on Famine Relief on one occasion alone. He secured that amount because he was conscious of his responsibility

and was determined to discharge it. The Bengal Government sanctioned Rs. 3,50 lakhs only for gratuitous relief while Rs. 5 crores were provided for wastage in foodgrain transactions. It is not yet known what portion of this sanctioned amount has actually been spent. Assuming that all of this sum had been spent on gratuitous relief, and that salaries and travelling allowances of relief officers were not included in this amount, it accounts for the relief of only 7 lakhs of people at the rate of half a pound of foodstuffs a day for 100 days from mid-August to November, if we assume that the cost of a maund of foodstuff, including rice, wheat products and other ingredients of the gruel amounted to a figure as low as Rs. 20 per maund. There was no control price of rice for that period. The sanctioned quantity of rice per head of adult population was 4 chhataks, or half a pound. In addition to this, there were other ingredients of the gruel. Similarly, relief organisations pulled together a total of about Rs. 55 lakhs which, in the same way, accounted for the relief of about one lakh people. Thus the Government and organised public charity relieved only about 8 lakhs of people, while at least 60 lakhs, even accepting the exceedingly low figure of 10 per cent given by the Government, were badly affected. Thus 52 out of 60 lakhs of victims, i.e., 90 per cent, were thrown upon private charity.

Private charity had to be given amidst inconceivable difficulties. The denial policy of Sir John Herbert snatched away the means of livelihood of lakhs of boatmen, fishermen, and cultivators in the riverine areas where access to the field is obtained only by means of boat. These people who could earn their livelihood were thus thrown on the charity of an already overburdened society. An overall shortage of foodstuffs was finally revealed. People had no control over the procurement or movement of foodgrains as shipping and railway space would be allotted only by the Government. If the normal channels of trade and transport had been left open, there would have remained some chance of procuring food grains by means of organised public effort. But neither did the Government themselves do anything, nor did they allow the public to import food into Bengal. At the beginning of the famine, the Editor of *Janmabhumi* from Bombay came to Calcutta and he was met in a meeting of the Indian Chamber of Commerce. When the Editor offered to collect money for famine relief, the then President of the Chamber declared that he could raise a crore of rupees in two days, but no food was procurable. It was food which was needed and not money. Mention may also be made of the letter from a responsible government official

to a leader of public opinion in connection with the opening of a relief kitchen in his native village :

"The sufferings of the people specially the landless labourers and professional beggars are indescribable. Rice and paddy are scarcely to be found in the market. We have been straining our nerves to find out hidden stocks and place it in the markets but the available stuff scarcely suffices to meet even 25 per cent of the demand. Kindly try your best to procure for the Sub-Division enough foodstuff in whatever form it may be."

A glance at the accounts published by the Relief organisations would show that almost everywhere a surplus has been left, for all the money could not be spent.

The private relief organisations had to work against all sorts of obstacles put in their way. They were not permitted to work in certain areas, and in some places they were discouraged in every possible way. In Calcutta the Government went so far as to ask the people to stop private charity.

The overall shortage was further aggravated by huge purchases by employers of labour in Calcutta. The mill hands, mostly people from outside Bengal, were fed full meals out of whatever slender stocks there were in this province.

If we accept the Government's mortality figure of 6,88 thousand, and their estimate that at least Rs. 10 was needed for 60 lakhs of people for 3 months, it must be admitted that 53 lakhs of survivors did get Rs. 10 per head for 3 months, i.e., a total of Rs. 15 crores 90 lakhs have been spent on famine relief. Out of this, Government gave 3 crores and 50 lakhs, and about 30 lakhs came from outside the province. The rest was provided through private charity by the people of Bengal themselves.

What Linlithgow Did Not Do

Lovat Fraser has recorded graphic description of how Lord Curzon had personally exerted himself in grappling with the famine of 1900. He quoted the following report from the *Pioneer*:

Lord Curzon did not merely content himself with halting at this or that station and summoning the famine staff to his carriage. With his characteristic energy and desire to know everything in detail, he went conscientiously into the camps and hospitals, seeing with his own eyes how the people fared and how the operations for the relief were carried out. If he had to ride through pelting rain and wade deep in mud, any feeling of personal discomfort was outweighed by the thought that the long continued drought had come to an end, and that his presence was hailed by that of a god who had commanded the rain to fall.

Lord Linlithgow did not consider it his duty even to come down to Calcutta during the last famine. Much has been made about the fixation of responsibility for the last famine. The constitutional question has been raised that

famine being a provincial responsibility, how could the Centre step in? But this attitude does not bear scrutiny. The foremost relief operation during a famine is to rush foodstuff to the affected areas. This can be done only by means of railways and ships, both of which are completely under Central control. Under Sec. 126 of the Government of India Act, the Centre can and did intervene in provincial spheres on more than one occasion. During the last famine, when the Centre found that it was impossible further to permit Bengal Government to have free control over railways and ships for the import of foodgrains into the Province, it was their moral and legal duty to assume full control over famine relief themselves. This the Linlithgow Government did not even attempt to do, and the Wavell Administration did only partially.

Again, in the matter of the procurement of foodgrains complete reliance was laid on middle-men who were out to make fortunes out of the people's blood. The Government never tried to revive the co-operative organisations for the procurement and distribution of foodstuff. According to the latest available figure, there are about 37,000 agricultural and non-agricultural co-operative societies in Bengal.

Lord Linlithgow as Director of I.C.I.

Lord Linlithgow has joined the Imperial Chemical Industries as one of its Directors. This British company holds a monopoly in the manufacture and trade of heavy chemicals, fertilisers, explosives, dyes, etc. The small industries and agriculturists of this country are at the mercy of this foreign company for the supply of their basic chemicals and fertilisers. For some time past, during the Linlithgow regime, the I.C.I. set its mind towards the establishment of basic chemical factories in India, and in this endeavour obtained special facilities from the Linlithgow Government. The special treatment enjoyed by the I.C.I. in priorities and facilities during Lord Linlithgow's regime is common knowledge to-day. It acquired important concessions from the Linlithgow Government in the Khewra Salt Mines of the Panjab and also in the neighbouring areas containing good gypsum. If cheap electricity is supplied by the Panjab Government, which owns in that province all the hydro-electric power stations, it will not be long before the industries included in the salt group are started on a large scale, which seems quite possible now with Linlithgow to move the Whitehall in London. The concessions in the Khewra Salt Mines were granted to the I.C.I. without giving any opportunity to any Indian enterpriser to apply for a license. The manner in which the Fertiliser Plant Scheme is being

proceeded with lends support to the view that this important industry, which should have been a national one, will also be completely under the grip of this British monopolistic corporation.

Banking Legislation for India

Considerable interest has been roused by the disclosure made at the Reserve Bank Board meeting that the Government of India has agreed to a comprehensive legislation on banking in India. Those who remember Sir James Taylor's Banking Bill and the opposition it met with all over the country and in the Central Assembly, may believe that this decision is due to the Government's feeling that in the Assembly as at present constituted and weakened by Congress boycott they will get through a conservative one on the lines of the Taylor Bill, which aimed at the strengthening of the foreign Banks in India at the cost of the Indian small and medium banks.

Commercial quarters demand that the Reserve Bank Act itself should be amended. The Bank can at present hold only sterling securities as foreign assets and cannot open its branch in any foreign country without the Government's permission. Since New York will be the financial capital of the world after the war, Reserve Bank Act should be amended to enable it to open a dollar portfolio and a branch in New York. The Reserve Bank has served during the war more as an instrument of British finance than a guardian of India's financial interests. Otherwise the huge accumulation of sterling securities could have been prevented by the Bank if it had acted independently. The profits of the Reserve Bank are now running into several crores every year and are credited to the general revenue. This is objectionable. Reserve Bank's profits should not go to the general revenues but should be credited to a separate fund, as is done in France, to finance agricultural research and development. The Government of India is finding legal difficulty in setting up central committees on rice and oil seeds because taxation needed for the purpose is a provincial subject. If the Bank's profits were earmarked for research and development, the various central organisations could be financed easily.

Misuse of Viceregal Veto

The *Free Press* reports that in reply to a question Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League Party in the Central Legislative Assembly, said: "I have found a great misuse of the powers which are vested in the Governor-General for his individual judgment. The Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly will never allow misuse of the power

of veto in the name of emergency after the experience we have gained. It is the misuse of this power which has opened our eyes."

Tagore Anniversary in London

London, August 11.—George Bernard Shaw and others have sent messages to the Secretary of the Tagore Society, London, in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the death of Tagore. In his message, Bernard Shaw says that as he knew Tagore and regarded him as a fellow missionary and as the world at present is violently engaged in doing the opposite to what they taught, this is hardly the moment for them to blow one another's trumpets. Tagore is happy in being beyond earshot of his (Shaw's).

Professor A. V. Hill, M.P., Secretary, Royal Society, says: "Had learning, science and medicine had no other gifts at all to offer mankind, their habit of transcending language, nationality and prejudice would have made them more perhaps than anything else worth while."

Pearl S. Buck from America sent a message to the Indian students in London, in which she referred to Tagore's "greatness of spirit, which transcends all boundaries, nationality and race."—Reuter.

How England Came Under Rationing

Sir Henry French, Permanent Secretary to the Food Ministry in London, who is now touring India, narrated his own experience on rationing in a press interview at Karachi. He said that in 1936 he was appointed head of a department which was to deal with food matters in the event of war. The preparatory work done by this department for three years, until 1939, had stood the country in very good stead. Thus on the declaration of war, orders which had been kept in readiness were enforced and within a few hours the Government became the sole owner of all the foodstuffs in the country as well as of all the imports that would come to it thereafter. The advantages of this were many. It fixed prices at reasonable levels by eliminating speculation and created confidence among the growers and consumers alike. Sir Henry pointed out that the poorer people in Britain are at present better fed than they were before the war.

This may be compared to conditions in India. The department of food here was created about two years after the Japanese war, and more than four years after the beginning of the present conflagration. Rationing was introduced in Calcutta after the last year's devastating famine, and that too, under orders of the Central Government. Even after 29 weeks of rationing, the most fundamental defects as to the bad quality of foodgrains supplied have not been removed. Rationing in Calcutta may generally be called unsuccessful; people have submitted to it simply because they have been compelled to do so.

Rationing in a free country and that in a dependency have a gulf of difference between them. In the latter it tends to become a source of unmitigated evil for the rich and the poor alike. Calcutta has the experience that even metal and saw dust can be thrust down human throats in the name of rationing. Even women, children and the sick are not spared.

Cloth Famine in Bengal

Indian Finance reports :

In his report at a recent meeting of the Board at Bombay, Mr. Thackersey claimed not only a reduction in the price of cloth by about 60 per cent from the pre-control level, but also an increase in Indian cotton mill production to 4,800 million yards last year, as against the average mill production of 3,500 million yards prior to the War. Handloom production, too, has increased considerably and is expected soon to reach 2,000 million yards. Out of about 6,800 million yards of domestic production 1,200 million yards were earmarked for export and the defence services, leaving approximately 5,600 million yards for domestic consumption. That, Mr. Thackersey emphasised, "must clearly prick the bubble of cloth scarcity". For the period ahead, the Chairman of the Textile Control Board emphasised the importance of some provinces getting abreast of Bombay in the stiffening of control measures through prompt action against infringement of the rules. Some of the Indian States are notorious for serving as "a fertile field for fictitious transactions and benami sales by many traders and illicit exports." Not only should these loopholes be plugged, but care should also be taken against production being reduced by worsening of the coal position or by more serious scarcity of fuel.

In spite of this huge production, cloth famine in Bengal continues. The position has not improved to any visible extent even after the visit of the Textile Commissioner Mr. Vellodi. Excuses for inefficiency know no limit.

Europeanisation of Services

The Leader writes editorially :

Lieut.-Gen. J. B. Hance, Director-General of the Indian Medical Service, is going to England to make inquiries on behalf of the Bhore Committee. In his absence Col. Paton, Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Bengal, will officiate for him. Sir Leonard Wilson, Chief Commissioner of Railways, proceeds on leave preparatory to retirement. Sir Arthur Griffin, General Manager of the N. W. Railway, will succeed Sir Leonard Wilson as Chief Commissioner of Railways.

The authorities will contend that they choose the best person available. But in respect of qualifications the Indian members of the I.M.S. do not suffer by comparison with the European members. In fact, while the quality of the European members has been deteriorating that of the Indian members has been improving. It was Sir Fardey Lukis who in 1913 referring to the 'steady deterioration' of the quality of European candidates for the I.M.S. said, 'This had culminated in the fiasco of July last when only 22 men had competed for 12 vacancies, and of these only 16 obtained the qualifying marks of 50 per cent.'

A second line of argument has sometimes been that the claims of senior men cannot be ignored. But these and similar posts are not necessarily given to

the seniormost men in the service, Sir Guthrie Russell was not the seniormost officer in the state railways when he became a member of the Railway Board. The present Home Member of the Governor-General's Council is not the seniormost member of the I.C.S. The conclusion is irresistible that in the selection of candidates for key posts in the public services those in authority are influenced by racial considerations. The two concrete examples mentioned above show how much truth there is in the statements of Mr. Amery and other spokesmen of the British ruling class that they want to transfer power to Indians. Those who are not willing to Indianize even two posts, will surely not transfer the entire Government of India to Indians.

There is another circumstance which deserves attention. One of the causes of unrest in Egypt has been the increase in the number of British officials. In India there has been large multiplication of British officials during the last four years. The process still continues.

Sir Nlratan Memorial Lecture

The Calcutta Medical Club has decided to perpetuate the memory of Sir Nlratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., its founder and first president, by instituting a Fund of Rs. 25,000 from the interest of which, as a first step, will be created an Annual Oration called Sir Nlratan Sircar Memorial Oration, which will be delivered annually, at the Calcutta Medical Club, by a medical man of outstanding abilities from any part of India. The Committee appeal to the public to donate to the above Fund, which should be sent to the Hon'y. Secretaries, Calcutta Medical Club, C.M.C. House, 91B, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta.

Weldon Prize for Prof. Mahalanobis

The University of Oxford has awarded the Weldon Prize for the first time to an Indian scientist, Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis, (the Calcutta Statistical Laboratory), "on account of his contributions to biometric science during the preceding six years." The prize was instituted in 1907 in memory of W. F. R. Weldon, Professor of Biology at Oxford. He and Karl Pearson under the leadership of Sir Francis Galton were the great pioneers of the new science of biometry or the application of mathematical and statistical methods to biology.

Creation of a Reptile Press in India

The special representative of the *Hindusthan Times* writes:

A chain of Government-financed newspapers in principal political centres in India and a chain of so-called Information Bureaus in Washington, London, Moscow and Chungking, arrangements for which are already under way, will soon begin to function collectively. The object is, of course, to dope the public in India and abroad with anti-nationalist, anti-Congress and anti-Gandhi propaganda so that when the war is over it may facilitate the British Government shelving the question of Indian self-government.

The Ordinances must be so administered as not to permit accession of strength to nationalist journalism (vide refusal to let Pandit Jawaharlal's *National Herald* re-appear). The 'friendly' Press, such as the Anglo-Indian journals, should be given extra quota on the plea that they are sold among the troops. The Government should encourage its supporters to group themselves as minority or special interests, form parties and demand opportunities for voicing their views through their own newspapers.

Anti-Congress Muslims, depressed class leaders, pro-Government zamindars and careerists should be encouraged to start journals and promised adequate financial support besides war-inflated Government advertisements. But care must be taken to create the smoke-screen that it is an organized party or group that wants to start an organ of its own.

The war controls give the Government a unique opportunity to build up its own Press, and it must be fully exploited so that the Government may emerge from the war with a sufficiently vocal Press whose opinion can be widely broadcast in India and cabled abroad to counteract the voice of the nationalist Press.

Ordinary commercial competition makes it difficult for any newspaper enterprise to turn the corner without at least a decade's struggles. But the papers created and maintained by the Government do not have to work on commercial lines. Indian taxpayers' money are spent lavishly on them both by granting cash subsidies and by giving advertisements at high rates. The Government's backdoor entry into private enterprise will prove ruinous to honest journalism in their commercial career as well. The real danger, however, is not from the subsidised paper as such, but from its ability to masquerade as an independent paper.

Britain to Take Second Place

Bertrand Russell writes in *Asia*:

National arrogance, which used to be a British characteristic, is always an accompaniment of world power. So long as Britannia ruled the waves, the English were inclined to despise other nations, and were not always careful to hide their contempt. But now the American Navy is larger than the British, Washington is the governmental centre of the world, and New York is the financial centre.

The English, after being dominant for 200 years, have got to learn to take second place, and to do it as gracefully as possible. The arrogance which formerly was theirs is now rapidly crossing the Atlantic along with sea power. Oddly enough, it takes the same moralistic form.

The English used to boast of being more virtuous than Continental nations; now the Americans boast of being more virtuous than Europeans. And as the narrow barrier of the Channel makes the English appear insular to Continental nations so the Americans seem insular to Europeans, in proportion as the Atlantic is wider than the Channel.

Russell however believes that both this arrogance and insularity can be cured through right type of education and international association. He has noticed that Americans who have lived for some time abroad, have developed quite a different bend of mind. He there-

fore concludes that "if it were customary for young people to receive part of their education abroad it is to be hoped that this insularity might be diminished on both sides of the ocean."

Danger of Malnutrition

A pamphlet on Nutrition by Dr. W. R. Aykroyd, at present a member of the Famine Commission, has recently been published. In it the author discusses Indian nutritional problems, the relation between public health and nutrition, and the developments and changes in agricultural production which are needed to make the food supply more satisfactory from nutritional standpoint. He is of opinion that an increase of 15 to 20 per cent. in cereal production, 15 to 23 per cent in pulse production, 10 to 20 per cent in sugar supplies, 100 per cent in vegetables, 200 per cent in the production of vegetable fats, 100 per cent in milk supply and 100 per cent in fish supply, are needed to meet the nutritional requirements of the country. He observes that it is along these lines that the problem of adjusting agricultural production to nutritional requirements should be approached. He has pointed out how malnutrition leads to the deterioration of public health and that "an attack on malnutrition is an essential part of the broader campaign to ameliorate conditions of life in India." Unless this is done malnutrition and the danger of starvation will continue to increase.

An interesting discovery made by Dr. Aykroyd is that the first faint beginnings of the decline in fertility are discernible in India. If this process develops along lines similar to that in Europe, which is faced with the problem of declining population, then the danger of indefinite growth of Indian population will be eliminated.

Proselytisation in C. P.

Mr. Ram Bharose Agarwal, Vakil of Mandla, C. P., toured in the interior of the Mandla district in order to see for himself how far the recent statements of Dr. Verrier Elwin in the missionaries' activities in the district were true. What Mr. Agarwal saw only confirmed Dr. Elwin's statement, which has already been published in *The Modern Review*. Mr. Agarwal's statement is given below:

The most sensational incident in Mandla recently was the fast of a Dutch Roman Catholic priest to force scores of Baigas to become Christians. The Father had called many Gonds for the Christmas to a great feast of liquor and mutton. He asked them to remove their sacred threads, but they refused and would not accept the feast. The Father, being angry, increased the interest on the debts they owed him four times and then turned his attention to the Baigas. One large village was converted to Christianity and when a neighbouring village refused to eat with the Christian

Baigas, the Father went to the place and fasted for 12 days with the result that the Tahsildar went to the spot and made the Baigas become Christians and thus saved the Father's life. Many Baigas now take the Pavitra-pani (holy water blessed by the priest), take Param-prasad or Maha-prasad as they now call it (which is blessed bread), and attend the Church on Sundays. *Nearly all the Fathers are registered money-lenders. They only relax their efforts to recover their money if the debtor attends Church every Sunday.* If he does not attend, he is terrorized to pay back the money and the poor fellow has to submit. The Fathers use liquor freely to get the aborigines into their control. The Munshis hold a drinking bout to get documents thumb-marked. The Father give liquor at the opening of schools and on other occasions. The teachers are given increments only when they pass in the examination of the Dharam-pustak (laying down Catholic feasts and customs). They must arrive for their salaries on Saturday days, must attend Girja-puja (Church prayers) on Sundays and then only they are paid their salaries. One of their teachers told me that in his presence on Sunday Girja-puja, about 8/10 very young children were given Param-prasad.

In villages where there are churches, young children are given Param-prasad to swallow, and are taught to greet each other by saying 'Jai Jesu.' Some may regard such schools as educational centres. I differ. I say they are simply proselytizing centres. It will be for the Educational Department whether to recognize them or not, or whether to continue grants or recognition. As tax-payer, every Hindu at least should oppose their grants, and their recognition. I express my opposition with all emphasis at my command. I do not forget the fact that the head of the Education Department in C. P. is a Roman Catholic, nor do I forget the fact that the Governor of C. P. told Mr. Savarkar that the Government was giving no support at all to the missionaries. Under the circumstances, only one remedy appears feasible, that not only all grants be withdrawn, but that none of the mission schools be recognized by Government, and that where recognition has been given, it should be withdrawn.

Need for an Institute of Agriculture and Rural Economics in Bengal

The Bengal famine has demonstrated once for all the thoroughly unsound position of the cultivators in rural areas, the complete inefficiency of the administrative machinery to grapple with the chronic problem and at the same time the helpless unpreparedness of intellectual leadership to contribute any well-thought-out constructive programme. The Agricultural Education Committee of the Calcutta University has seriously taken up this problem and is considering proposals to expand its Agricultural Institute at Barrackpore. The signal failure of the Government Agricultural Department has made it imperative for the University to step in. We have received the proposal submitted to the Committee by Mr. Bijay Bihari Mukherjee, retired Director of Land Records, Bengal, and Examiner for M.A. in Agricultural Economics of the Calcutta University. His proposal in concrete shape is given below:

I would suggest that the University should plan out for a First Class Institute for Agriculture and Rural Economics. Its scope and objective should be to study, research, teach, and educate its own pupils in particular

and the people of the country in general to tackle the problems of rural areas in as satisfactory a manner as has been done in America, Denmark and last but pre-eminently to the fore in Russia in recent times. It must be an institute with virility to grow and develop. It should start with such resources as can be got together but with definite potentialities to include not only Agriculture, Horticulture, Pisciculture, Cattle-breeding and rearing and Dairy and Poultry, but also Forestry, Electric power uses, the cottage industry and the application of power to the development of cottage factories and even as adjunct to large-scale industrial undertakings. It should not only teach Botany, Chemistry but also Agricultural Engineering, Agricultural bacteriology and Entomology. It should carry out soil analysis for the various zonic areas of Bengal and suggest methods to remedy the deficiency and better the possibilities. The most up-to-date scientific researches should be possible to be carried out in it. Rural finance, rural co-operative credit banks as well as rural health should be within its scope.

Lack of funds should not prove a hindrance to the acceptance of such proposals. Sj. Manilal B. Nanavati, ex-Deputy Governor of the Reserve Bank and President of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, suggested a way out in his Memorandum on allocation of Reserve Bank's profits to agricultural reconstruction, addressed to the Central Government. He said:

"The problem of finding funds for agricultural development is one of the most stupendous which the country shall have to face in the post-war period....We suggest that half the profits of the Reserve Bank of India should be set apart for financing and setting up of an organisation for the development of rural life preferably under the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, whose functions should be expanded to make plans, promote research and sanction grants for agricultural reconstructions."

If this principle of allocating Reserve Bank's profits be accepted, any University having an Agricultural Institute under it should not feel any want of funds. Sir Manilal further points out that "the principle that a portion of the profits of a Central Bank be utilised for agricultural development has been recognised in Australia, where 25 per cent of the profits of the Commonwealth Bank in the Note Issue Department are paid to the Rural Credit Department, until a total of 2 million has been reached."

The profits of the Reserve Bank of India are large enough to provide sufficient funds for agricultural development. There is already a limitation of the dividends that can be paid to shareholders and the remainder goes to the Central Exchequer. The position is:

Year	Profits of the Reserve Bank	Amount set aside for dividends	Surplus payable to Central Govt.	Total
1940-41	Rs. 17,50,000	Rs. 2,61,75,000	Rs. 2,79,25,000	
1941-42	17,50,000	3,24,04,000	3,41,54,000	
1942-43	20,00,000	7,49,81,000	7,69,81,000	

Kasturba Memorial Fund

The collection for the Kasturba Memorial Fund is almost complete, Bengal having donated Rs. 10 lakhs. In his instructions as to manner in which funds should be collected, Gandhiji had emphasised that the collection should not be confined to capitalists, it ought to be as broad-based as possible. We understand that this principle has been adhered to in Bengal; apart from big donations, small contributions, even after the last year's devastating famine, have been fairly large.

Gandhiji has accepted the chairmanship of the Board of Trustees of the Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Fund. Explaining the object, he said:

The object of the fund was the welfare of the village women and children. It was well that the Trustees and the donors should know the whole of his mind on the question of the welfare of women and children in the numerous villages of India. The welfare of his conception encompassed the whole life of the women and children in the villages. It, therefore, included maternity, hygiene and the treatment of diseases and education. The scope of the fund therefore excluded its use in towns and cities or in education abroad or even in the Universities of India.

We should request the Trustees to see that the funds are applied for the education of village women in maternity and child welfare, and not for the creation of an additional maternity hospital in a city or town.

Idea of Dominance Worse in British Empire

George Bernard Shaw, in an interview to the *Sunday Pictorial*, London, in reply to a question if he agreed to the common belief that the Germans as a people are so imbued with the idea of dominance that they must be crushed, said: "There is no power in the world more imbued with the idea of its own dominance than the British Empire. Even the word commonwealth as a substitute for the word Empire sticks in Mr. Churchill's throat every time he tries to utter it."

The world at present is being fed on many weird notions. Both sides are invoking the heavens in the name of justice, peace and freedom, and hence come such questions and like answers from cynics.

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THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

We wrote in the last issue of this journal, "the Russian campaign is now rapidly mounting to a climax". Great changes have taken place within the month that has elapsed since the above was written. In the southern extremity the Rumanian line is in a state of flux due to the acceptance of the Russian terms for a truce by the king of the Rumanians and the partial laying down of arms by the Rumanian armies in consequence. The situation in that region is complex and up till now the news that has been released has not cleared up the haze that seems to have enveloped that front since the first news came through. Some sections of the Rumanian army seem to be still fighting against the Russians, whereas others have laid down arms. Whatever the situation, the German High Command can no longer count on the Rumanians as being a rigid and coherent part of its defence scheme as armies in a state of flux are undependable in the extreme to say the least. With Rumania in chaos, the frontiers of Hungary are threatened, which state of affairs mean an added strain on the Hungarian defence forces. If Rumania goes the German defence will be faced with a serious shortage of petroleum, since the 6 or 7 million tons of petroleum from the Rumanian oil fields formed a substantial portion of the oil supplies of the German forces. The capture of Focsani and Ramnicu Sarat on the Cernauti-Ploesti-Bucharest Rail-way makes this danger imminent.

From the purely military point of view the Germanic forces had attained a position of partial stabilisation on the Eastern front after fighting fierce defensive battles and launching large-scale counter-attack during the six weeks following Russian halt at the approaches to East Prussian and Warsaw sectors, which took place about the beginning of July. In the battles for the East Prussian border and the drive for the Baltic States the Russian armies made hardly any advance till very recently when a fresh assault in great force resulted in the occupation of Tartu, some 25 miles west of Lake Peipus. In the Polish sectors of Warsaw and the upper Vistula—near the approaches to Cracow—the Soviet forces have not been able to advance in any appreciable measure up till now. But this latest political breach in the defence-lines has altered matters very seriously and with dramatic suddenness. Unless the German High Command can devise some means of defence which would be even more rigid than that in Italy, the Balkan situation may well develop into a major debacle even surpassing that of the Stalingrad offensive in its serious consequences.

The Rumanian army has begun to disintegrate and it would be surprising indeed if that process of dissolution can be halted by any outside force, if all the reports we have been receiving are even substantially true. This development will give major relief to the forces of the Soviets who up till now seemed to have been almost fought to a standstill by the German defenders.

This new disaster to the German defence plans in the East would be of the greatest value to the Allied forces operating in France. The situation in the Balkans has created most urgent demands on the resources of the German fighting machine. Large tracts of the defence zones in the south are now open to the invading Russian forces and large groups of the German armies in the southern sectors are in imminent danger of being wiped out. Under these circumstances, substantial portions of the reserves of the Germanic forces must now be in the process of being rushed to that sector of the Eastern Front. If the estimate that Mr. Churchill gave the world a very few months back of the present condition of the German army be anywhere near accuracy, then the German armies in France and Italy cannot expect any further reinforcements in quantity either in men or in material. Which in its turn means that if the Allied commanders in France can force the German defenders to accept battle on a continental scale, then the defending armies would rapidly dwindle down to a state when no further planned defence of the French terrain would be possible against the Allies.

In France the American armies have achieved major successes in the North. They have overcome the German attempts at denying them space for major field operations after an extremely fierce struggle lasting for over ten weeks. The first stage in the formation of the Second Front is now definitely over in the North and with the immense superiority of the forces at the disposal of the Allied Commanders in France—which includes almost absolute mastery of the air—they ought to be able to maintain this fluid condition to the advantage of the Allied arms. The German defenders in France have been facing tremendous odds right from the beginning and up till now their main counter-measure to balance the odds lay in the denial of space to the Invasion forces of the Allies for the adequate employment of their strength. Germany has not been able to answer the challenge of the Allies in the air to any appreciable extent and in this lies the greatest handicap of the defenders. Static defence

seems to be out of question for the German forces in the North of France for the present, if the latest reports about the Allied crossing of the Seine on a broad front be accurate. American spearheads are now operating in the region between the Seine and the Marne and it would not be long now before it would be clear whether the German High Command is willing to face large-scale field engagements in Northern France.

In the south of France the German defence is still trying to tie down the Allied forces to the narrow and cramped areas bordering the French Maritime Alps and although an American spearhead has struck deep and far, right across to the Swiss frontier, this attempt on the part of the defenders has not been overcome as yet. The Allied forces in the south have a difficult job ahead of them in their attempt at linking up with the Northern Invasion forces and although the daring and the determination of the American forces and their commanders has been amply demonstrated, both in the North and the South, the terrain the Southern Invasion forces have to traverse before they get through the broad valley of the Rhone would undoubtedly hamper their mobility and correspondingly help the defenders, if the latter are at all able to mobilise any strength to oppose the advancing American forces.

In Italy the advance of the Allies has been maintained though the progress has not been spectacular in any sense. The German forces here are facing undiminished pressure and though they have as yet been able to impede the advance of the Allied forces in substantial measure, there can be no questioning of the fact that they have not succeeded in fighting the Allied forces to a standstill.

The overall picture of the progress of the War in Europe as presented at the time of writing these notes (Aug. 29) shows that the Wehrmacht is facing its greatest crisis at any time of this World War. The month of September will probably witness the peak of the joint offensive of the United Nations against the Axis in Europe. In men and in material the Wehrmacht can show nothing in the point of quantity that can match that of its opponents. Indeed in the point of manpower resources both America and Russia can individually outnumber many times over what the Germans can possibly mobilise. On the score of production of war material the difference is still more marked and lastly in the field of aerial warfare the supremacy of the United Nations is still almost absolute. In the field of diplomacy Germany suffered a major disaster in September last when Italy collapsed, and this year, almost on the anniversary of the Italian capitulation, the third

Axis component in the order of strength is crumpling up threatening a total collapse of the Axis defence plans in the South-Eastern Zone and in the Balkans. Mr. Churchill's prediction about the possibility of the war in Europe ending in October evidently had the above factors in view just as his earlier statement suggesting that this War might be over by the end of the summer must have had the chance of success of the attempt at *coup-de-état* against Hitler's regime in consideration. Against all these odds, the Wehrmacht can only pit the high efficiency of its war-wise generals and the technical ability and discipline of its fighting forces. In Italy the crisis was substantially overcome by the organising capacity and tactical ability of the German command, but even there the tremendous weight of aerial supremacy and the great difference in the numerical and material strength of the opponents has continued to tell in the favour of the Allies: It remains to be seen whether Hitler's Supreme War Council had made arrangements in advance for the possibility of Rumania cracking up under the strain.

The war against Japan is still following its slow meandering course. After a sharp rise in the tempo, the war in the Pacific has again settled down to a slow uphill fight against suicide defence. In China the picture is the reverse of cheerful and in Burma the progress is painfully slow. The main problem before the United Nations now is the preservation of China's powers of recuperation. China has not as yet received any aid from her allies that would go to enhance her fighting capacity. Indeed it is an open question whether she has received enough to enable her to balance her losses by adding to her own meagre supplies. China's internal conditions are undergoing a grave crisis so we are told. And considering what she has undergone in the course of seven years of a savage and highly organised war, during the first four years of which she received only lip sympathy from her friends while her enemy received all the material aid it could pay for, it is a wonder that matters are not far worse. China has still about three quarters of a million of picked Japanese troops tied down on her soil which fact is beyond all doubt a factor of very substantial importance to the Allied offensives in the Far East and the Pacific. People seem to forget that but for the super-human ability and determination of the Chinese forces to continue fighting in spite of appalling losses, the Japanese drive would have travelled far beyond the borders of Burma and New Guinea. All this glib talk about helping China to stand up again should in reality be done in a spirit of gratefulness. Aid to China is a matter of repaying a very substantial debt of honour in a sense. . . .

PROBLEM OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN INDIA

BY SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

BEFORE the problem of constitutional development of India is solved in a suitable manner, it is imperative that proper public attention should be focussed on the various phases of the question so far as it affects the Indian States. It must be acknowledged with regret that this aspect of this important matter has of late received very inadequate consideration at the hands of the general public. If the unity of India is to be maintained, it is of absolute importance that Indian India should move in unison with British India. If, as a preliminary towards the attainment of this ideal, it is needed that expeditious efforts should be made for allaying communal differences, is it not of equal, if not of much greater moment, that prompt steps be at the same time taken for settling the very complex and delicate problem of constitutional development of the Indian States as a whole?

The discussion that preceded the introduction of the present constitution of British India, along with the declarations of some of the more advanced and prominent among the Rulers and their Ministers made from time to time since then, created an impression that the urgency of the problem of constitutional development in Indian India was fully realised, and a move would be made in earnest in this direction by a few at least of them to bring their States in line with British India. Let us see what is their position in this matter at the present moment after the lapse of so many years. This is what Prof. Coupland says on the subject in his Report on the Constitutional Problem in India, published in 1944, in the course of his discussion of matters relating to constitutional development of the Indian States:

"In most of the States it (development of parliamentary government) had not yet begun, and even in the more advanced of them it had barely reached the stage which the Provinces had attained twenty years or more ago. In some thirty States the traditional forms of consulting the people in *durbars* had been regularised or modernised. Representative Assemblies and Legislative Councils had been established. In legislation, and to an increasing extent in matters of administration the people now had a voice not only by custom but by a constitution. But it was only a voice; the last word in everything was still the Prince's. Thus the point of advance reached by 1937—to speak only of the more progressive States—lay roughly between the points reached by the British Provinces in 1909 and 1919."

New constitutions have of course been promulgated later in a few of the States, such as Aundh, Cochin, Rajkot, Mysore, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Kashmir, Hyderabad, Ram-

pur, some of the Rajputana States, such as Jodhpur, Bharatpur, and Jaipur, etc. Of these the new constitution of the small State of Aundh in the Deccan is, perhaps, the most advanced, at least as far as it may be judged from appearances. The advance so far made has, however, generally been most inadequate, and can, in no sense, be described as of a material or substantial character.

The attitude of the Rulers of Indian States is illustrated by the very inadequate—almost insignificant—pace of constitutional advance in Indian India, coupled with their anxiety still to cling to their ancient autocratic rights and privileges. This betrays an utter unreadiness on their part to keep themselves abreast of the spirit of the times together with almost complete disregard of the points of view of the people constituting these States. While expressing their readiness "in the interest of the Motherland, to make their contribution in every reasonable manner compatible with the sovereignty and integrity of the States, towards the framing of a new constitution for India," the States Delegation to the Cripps Mission urged, "that any scheme to be acceptable to the States must effectively protect their rights arising from the Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads or otherwise and ensure the future existence, sovereignty and autonomy of the States thereunder guaranteed and leave them complete freedom duly to discharge their obligations to the Crown and their subjects;"

as set forth in a *Résolution* adopted unanimously by the Chamber of Princes on the occasion. In the following words, Professor Coupland very appropriately exposes the absurdity and extravagance of the claims thus put forward by the Rulers of Indian States:

"The law can only take account of usage and sufferance, but there is also a moral proviso which is unsusceptible of legal definition. No undertaking can be rightly interpreted without weighing the effect of the lapse of time and change of circumstance. It is not only a question of material factors: it is also a question of morals. No compact can endure when owing to the evolution of ideas, it has ceased to square with general conceptions of right and wrong. And certainly things no longer stand in India as they stood when most of the Treaties were made."

Without entering into the intricacies and ramifying complexities of the problem as a whole, for a proper discussion of which the needed space is not available here, it may be briefly pointed out, as Professor Coupland has rightly suggested, that 'manifestly the whole situation is different now,' that 'pledges, again, to protect the dynastic rights of the Princes

must needs read differently now from which they read a century or more ago,' that 'democracy as practised now in Britain or in an Indian Province was almost as inconceivable to the British governing class in the early nineteenth century as it was to an Indian Prince,' and that it could not be expected or urged 'that the British Government should lend its aid to prevent the development of constitutional government in the States' when it had promoted that development in the neighbouring Provinces. Now, in the twentieth century, when autocracy was doomed, they should, therefore, adapt themselves to the progress of democracy throughout the world.

The main features of the new constitutions of two States, e.g., Hyderabad, the largest of the Indian States and Porbandar, a small State in Western India, may be cited as illustrating the nature of outlook of the Rulers and throwing light on their actual attitude towards constitutional advance in their States. The Nizam of Hyderabad in a Firman, dated the 17th July, 1939, issued by the Government of His Exalted Highness, gave an outline of the new constitution of that State. The nature of the constitution is further elucidated by the Report of the Reforms Committee on the basis of whose recommendations the constitution is framed. Along with these official papers, rules have been issued regarding the establishment of Statutory Advisory Committees as a means of effecting a close association of the different interests with the administration on the following matters: Agricultural Development, Education, Finance, Industrial Development, Public Health, Sanitation, Hindu Religious Endowments, Muslim Religious Endowments and Religious Affairs. There will besides be a Civil Service Committee; local municipal bodies are to be reconstituted; panchayets to be established for villages having a population of between 2,500 and 5,000 only, with Rural Reconstruction Societies with a smaller population; annual District Conferences to be held, etc.

There is to be a unicameral legislature to be known as the Legislative Assembly. It will consist of 42 members to be elected as follows: 4 holders of Samasthanas and Jaighardars and 2 Morashdars (these are considered as classes of quasi-feudal landed proprietors or grantees), 16 agriculturists and 2 representatives each of labour interests, industries, banking, the legal profession, the medical profession, graduates, district boards, district municipalities and town Committees and the Hyderabad Municipal Corporation. The candidates representing these groups are to be members of them. There will also be 33 nominated members, 5 of whom will be chosen by the Ilaqas and 28 members to be

nominated by the Government, of whom 14 shall be officials and 14 non-officials. In addition to the above the members of the Executive Council and 3 representatives appointed by the Nizam shall also be members of the Assembly.

The essential features of the constitution of Hyderabad are (a) that a system of new fangled electorates or groups for electoral purposes has been introduced, based on profession, class, or interests described as functional representation, (b) that the communal principle has been introduced by fixing representation in the proportion of 50:50 as between Hindus and Muslims, although the Hindus constitute nearly 90 per cent of the population, (c) that the legislature will be of a recommendatory character. The official language of the State is to be the official language of the legislature, namely, Urdu. The President may, however, permit those members who do not know Urdu sufficiently to address the House in Telugu, Marathi, Canarese or English. The term of the Legislature will be five years. "The expansion of the present Legislative Council to the proportions of the proposed Assembly," declares the Nizam, "will be of help to me whenever I may require it in a particular case, in going outside the usual circle of noblemen and officials for selecting Members of my Executive Council, as I shall then have before me the names of such members of the Assembly as may by their character, loyalty and judgment of public affairs have merited my confidence and proved their ability to discharge the onerous duties attached to members of my Council."

The new constitution of Porbander was inaugurated on the 9th June, 1944. The main features of the Constitution are :

"The Rajsabha (Legislative Assembly) constituted under this Act will comprise of one representative from each of the Social Units named below:—Koli, Khoja, Nagar, Parsi, Brahmin, Memon, Mehr, Rajput, Lohana, Vanik and Vohra. One seat is allotted to the Artisan Class comprising of:—Masons, Potters, Coppersmiths, Dyers, Tailors, Bhois, Shoemakers, Blacksmiths, Salats (also Masons), Carpenters and Goldsmiths. One representative is allotted to each of the following Occupational and Economic Units and other interests:—The Sailor Community, Cattle Owners, Weavers, Industries, Merchants' Association, Bhayats, 16 Mehr Pasita Villages, other holders of Alienated Lands, and the Municipalities of Porbandar, Ranawao and Madhaypur. The three Mahals (Districts) of the State will be represented by one cultivator from each. That makes a total of 24. Added to that, will be 6 nominations by the Ruler. The total strength of the Rajsabha will thus be of 30 members, or one or two more as provided for in the Act." [*]

The representative of each unit will be its own Patel or Mukhi (i.e. headman) and elected in accordance with what is described as the ancient system of open voting by heads of families only. Heads of families who as State

subjects of the respective unit as well as other heads of the families of such units who may be owning in their own names, immoveable property in the State of value of not less than Rs. 3,000 for at least five years prior to election and who may be present in the State, will assemble at such meetings and openly elect their respective Patel, Headman or President. The elected representative will, therefore, be one owning substantial property in the State. The Chief Minister will be the President of the Assembly. The Assembly will elect from its members a Deputy President by open voting. The term of the Assembly will be three years.

The executive of the State of Porbandar will be composed of the Chief Minister along with two other Ministers. The appointment of the Chief Minister will be made by the Ruler of the State. The appointment of other Ministers will be made by the Ruler from a panel of four names elected by the Assembly as a result of open voting. The powers and functions of the Assembly will be somewhat on the lines of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms in the British Provinces. The Ruler's 'dynastic inherent prerogatives' will continue unimpaired. An interesting feature of the constitution is the introduction of a series of social and occupational *panches* for popularising the principles of local self-government and decentralisation and the conferment on them of limited functions in the field of civil and criminal justice.

It has been seen that the pace of progress in the constitutional sphere of even the few most advanced among the States has been exceedingly slow. This cannot in any way be compared to the progress—extremely unsatisfactory though it certainly is—already achieved in British Indian Provinces, and be regarded as encouraging and helpful to an adequate and proper development of the States and their people. Professor Coupland is right in estimating that the point of advance attained by most of them did not pass beyond the points reached by the British Provinces in 1909 and 1919; in fact his view that in most cases the advance was almost from the starting point of pure autocracy was not at all exaggerated.

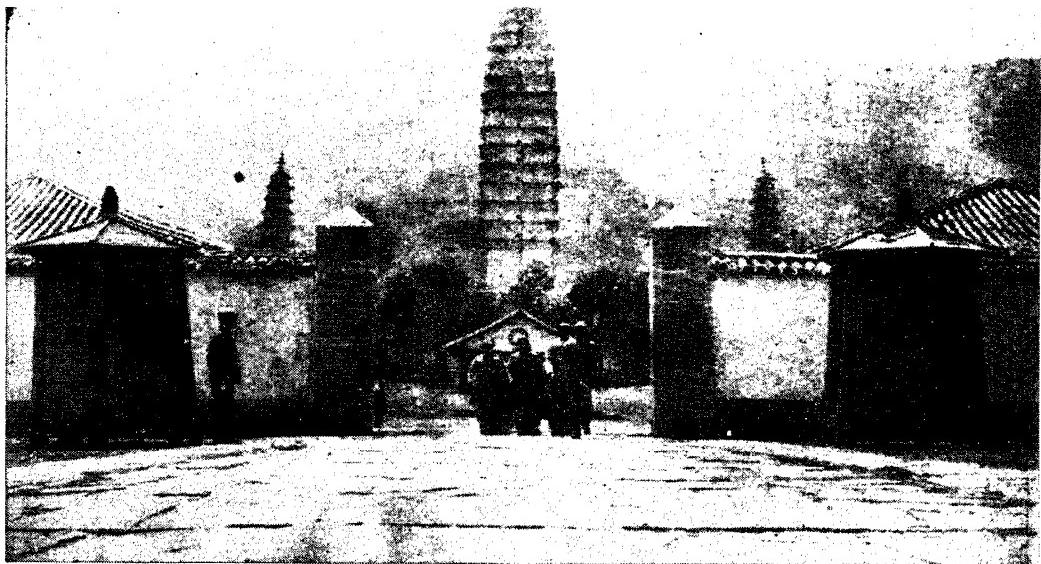
The main object of a suitable system of electorates in a country in the position of India is to select such representatives as were properly enlightened and public-spirited and would serve the best interests of the country and the people as a whole, instead of confining their attention, particularly, to the limited and circumscribed interests of classes, communities and special groups. The methods of representation adopted both in Hyderabad and Porbandar contravene this most essential condition. Varieties of such representation prevailed in many States in ages

when feudalism and an aristocratic governing class were still in the ascendant and autocracy was untempered by any slightest tinge of the spirit of any system of popular government. In backward areas where education has not made much headway, and trades and occupations are not properly organised, systems like those introduced in Hyderabad and Porbandar will have the effect of intensifying rigidity of distinction among classes, castes and groups, create afresh differences where the aim should be to unify, and stabilise backwardness and unenlightenment. No criticism of such a system could be more appropriate in the existing conditions than that made by Professor Coupland. He properly points out, as had already been done before him by eminent political scientists in western countries, that the most obvious difficulty in any general adoption of functional representation is that of fixing the proportion of seats to be allotted to each interest. He writes :

"It must be remembered that nine-tenths of the Indian people are engaged in roughly the same agricultural occupation. Functional representation in India, moreover, cannot wholly cut across communal divisions, because some occupations are communal. Most leatherworkers, for example, are Moslems, and there are other kinds of work on which no caste-Hindu can be employed. There is another serious drawback to representation by occupation. Trades in Hindu India are mostly a matter of caste, and against the weakening of communal divisions by functional representation would have to be set a hardening of caste divisions which are likewise a serious hindrance to the development of genuine democracy in India."

Professor Coupland observes that since the system introduced in Hyderabad provided that half the representatives in each group must be Moslems and half Hindus it could only partly be called functional, and adds : "It might almost seem, indeed, as if the establishment of this communal balance was the main object of the scheme."

Any system of functional representation could be thought of, if and when, any country adopted genuine socialism. Professor Coupland cannot certainly be described in any way as either unsympathetic or hostile to the Rulers of Indian States and their interests. He cannot, at the same time, be considered as either an enthusiastic or helpful observer of things and events from the point of view of progressive Indians, who advocate the development of genuine democratic and popular institutions, in pursuance of solemn declarations repeatedly made by responsible spokesmen on behalf of the British Government. Many of his proposals and suggestions cannot be accepted; yet it cannot be denied that there are important matters in respect of which he has made thoughtful and weighty observations that deserve careful consideration.



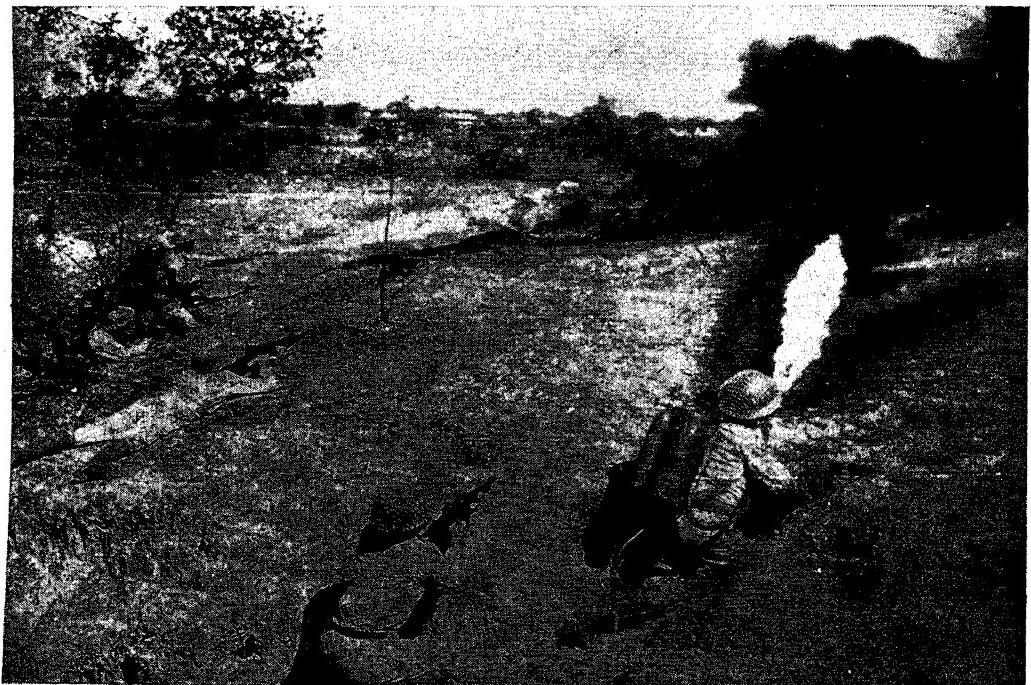
American soldiers aiding the Chinese Armies in their campaign against the Japanese blockade of the Burma Road halt before a temple at Hina which abounds with templed hills



A convoy of jeeps receives a great deal of attention from the Chinese in front of a tea shop on the north part of the Burma Road. —Courtesy: USOWI



A bulldozer clears mud from the Ledo Road to build up this vital supply line



Flame-thrower teams with tommy gunners protecting them are engaged on the Burma Front
Courtesy: USOWI

. SHREE RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE—EDUCATOR OF PUBLIC OPINION

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

THE brilliant academic career of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and the contributions he made to the cause of Indian education as a teacher, as the head of a large and popular college and as a member of the Allahabad University are so well known that a reference and no more is necessary to remind every one of the unrivalled reputation he enjoyed as an educationist. These facts also explain the keen interest he always took in educational problems, his insight into them and the authority with which he was entitled to pronounce his views on them.

High however as his reputation as an educationist must stand specially among the older generation in Bengal and the United Provinces where many of his former pupils are filling eminent positions as officials and also as leaders in politics, the generations to come will remember him as one of the doyens of Indian journalism—a position he shared, till he passed away the other day, with his friends, Mr. G. A. Natesan of the *Indian Review* and Dr. Sachidananda Sinha of the *Hindusthan Review*.

It is curious to remember that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee did not choose journalism as his life's work but drifted into it accidentally through his passion for social service. His first journalistic venture was the Bengali *Dasi*, the organ of Dasasram, an organisation of the type of the Little Sisters of the Poor, with which the present writer had a very subordinate and humble connection as a student member. And well does he remember the journalistic ability which characterised the then unknown editor and the popularity enjoyed by this periodical.

This led Shree Ramananda Chatterjee to the idea of starting the first Bengali illustrated monthly magazine under the name of *Pradip*. It is few who can fully realise today the immense difficulties the editor had to surmount due to inadequate technical facilities for the manufacture of the blocks as well as the immense labour involved in the regularity with which in spite of them the periodical made its appearance. The popularity of *Dasi* proved that he had diagnosed a great need and had supplied it.

When Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went to Allahabad, he had not even then been able to shake off his predilections for a career as an educationist, journalism being then more or less like a hobby with him. With the foundation of the *Prabasi* at the beginning of the twentieth century, he at last found his vocation. The unremitting calls it made on his time and energy

due to the ideal he had set before himself to make this periodical representative of all that is valuable in Bengali and later on in Indian life, culture and politics, compelled him to give up his position as the Principal of the Kayastha College and to transfer his activities to Calcutta. In this great and unique work, his Sanskrit scholarship which was in his very blood and which had been reinforced by his study of all that is best and most valuable in English literature was a most valuable asset.

It was not long before Shree Ramananda Chatterjee realised that his work would be incomplete if he merely contented himself with handing out to his readers monthly doles of Bengali literature and culture only. The old call to be an educator in its widest sense was too strong to be resisted. This explains how, almost insensibly, this great Indian gradually extended the ambit of the subjects dealt with in this most popular of Bengali monthlies so as to include All-India art, culture and literature and next to deal with economic and still later with political matters. The result was that very soon the *Prabasi* began to deal with all varieties of subjects including even the most intricate and technical in such a manner as to interest even those who ordinarily do not care for them. Under his skilful editorship, the contributions in every issue were so well-balanced that every one found something interesting and worth reading.

This new technique also tended to encourage the study of various subjects among the writers most of whom Shree Ramananda Chatterjee was the first to discover and the first to encourage to write. The treatment of subjects hitherto neglected in Bengali journalism, enriched our vernacular literature by importing into it new ideas, sometimes new words and created a new body of trained writers almost every one among whom specialised in some department of knowledge. It will be some time before Bengal will be able to arrive at a just and accurate estimate of the contributions made to her thought, life, art and literature through Shree Ramananda Chatterjee's *Prabasi*.

So immense was the fund of energy at the disposal of this eminent son of Bengal, so industrious his nature and so intense his love for his new-found vocation to educate public opinion through the medium of the press, that he started *The Modern Review* within a year or so after the success of the *Prabasi* as a journalistic venture had been assured. The present writer had it from Shree Ramananda Chatterjee

himself that this periodical was founded primarily because he felt that his usefulness as a servant of his people would be greatly increased if he could reach a larger number of readers, something which would be possible only with a journal conducted in English. The profit motive never counted with him and was never the compelling factor at any time, witness the way in which he often put forward his opinions though aware that by doing so he was courting the antagonism of powerful vested interests.

Happily the desire to serve his country and to educate Indian public opinion in those directions which he considered necessary was accompanied by the capacity to ensure the financial success of his new venture in journalism. Fulfilling a great need which many had recognised but the responsibility for shouldering which none had so far shown any inclination, Shree Ramananda Chatterjee won fortune and fame from his connection with *The Modern Review*.

It was rarely that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee contributed signed articles to his own periodical but when he did so they were never long but always full of "meat." The editorial notes he contributed to which most of his readers looked forward, revealed the unerring correctness of his judgment, the immense courage of their writer and his refusal to compromise with anything he regarded as wrong. Above all, they were so balanced in nature, so patently devoid of malice and so permeated with the desire to give what he considered the right lead to public opinion, that they were considered by almost all his readers as the most valuable and acutest of comments on current affairs.

The Modern Review has enjoyed not only a wide circulation in our motherland but also outside India, a fact which can be vouched for by

the present writer who has been surprised to receive communications from his friends in England, Scotland, New York, Boston, Chicago and San Francisco referring in appreciative terms to its contents. If the appearance of non-Indian contributors on various subjects had the effect of enlarging the knowledge of Indian readers, the publication of articles from the pen of Indian writers whose only merit was their knowledge of the matters dealt with was equally valuable in keeping non-Indian readers posted with regard to our feelings and opinions. It was thus that Shree Ramananda Chatterjee went on educating public opinion in and outside India on the current problems of the day, and from this point of view, it may be urged that he remained an educationist in the widest sense of the term to the very end of his life.

No reference to the *Vishal Bharat* also founded by the same great man is made here only because this tribute to his memory was intended for that journal.

There cannot be any doubt that Indian journalism is the poorer by the death of Shree Ramananda Chatterjee and Bengal poorer still by his disappearance from our public life. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Sir Nil Ratan Sircar, Sir Jagadis Bose, Sir P. C. Ray and Shree Ramananda Chatterjee have in recent times kept up the reputation of Bengal in various walks of life.

Those of us who have found intellectual pabulum in the pages of *Prabasi* and *Modern Review* and others who have tried to help their work by their contributions have only one wish—that the Ramananda tradition may be not only maintained but, if possible, extended still further through both these periodicals and that the high standard he created in the sphere of journalism may be imitated by every Indian periodical.

SHRIJUT RAMANANDAJI

BY DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI

EVEN before the starting of *The Modern Review* i.e., 1907 A.D., the late Major Baman Das Basu (I.M.S. Retd.) and Srijut Ramanandaji collaborated with each other. Major Basu had served with his Infantry Regiment in Gujarat, and had thus come in contact with and made friends with Gujaratis, more particularly, writers, as he himself was a writer and his tastes lay in a literary direction. Srijut Ramanandaji had conceived an original and admirable idea, viz., to make the literatures of the different provinces of India and their day-to-day development known to one

start. He was in search of some one from Gujarat who could help him. Major Basu knew me, as he was writing to me off and on about his studies in Gujarati. In fact he had contributed one very good article to Ramanandaji's Bengali monthly, which he was then publishing, on Gujarati literature. My casual connection thus begun with Ramanandaji developed into great regard and close friendship, which terminated only with his death.

When he went to Europe to go to Geneva, although there were a number of Bengalis living in Bombay, he was good enough to put up with

me. That was his first trip to this side of India, and as he was so retiring, modest, almost shy, that I was hard put to it as to how to entertain him. Fortunately a veteran Bengali journalist, who was the Editor of the Lahore *Tribune* at one time and who for a long time had lived in Sind, and was in fact an All-India man, Babu Nagendra Nath Gupta happened to be living in Bandra, a suburb of Bombay, at that time. He came over to see him, and I put him in charge of my retiring guest and my car, and he took him to various places and persons including the now retired Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, Mr. K. Natarajan. After that he had come on this side three or four times. Once at Ahmedabad he was the guest of Lady Vidya Gauri Nilkanth, and she and her family still cherish the memory of that visit with feelings of regard and love for him. He was called here once again to preside over the States Peoples' Conference and his outspoken but courteously worded address more than justified their choice of him. The last time I saw and talked to him was in 1936 when he was living in Dr. Kalidas Nag's house, at Calcutta, the house where his loving daughter nursed him during his last illness. After that we kept up

our usual correspondence, and I was kept informed of the state of his failing health—failing specially after the death of his wife—by Shrijut Kedar Nath, when Babuji himself was unable to take up his pen and write. Our relations were close, intimate and affectionate and he never hesitated to inform me about his personal matters and seek advice. He was so guileless, open-hearted and straightforward that he had nothing to conceal. We discussed many things in our correspondence frankly. I had a large circle of friends; it has considerably narrowed down and one after another they have gone the way of all flesh. The most recent loss sustained by me is in the death of Babuji. In all his dealings with the world I found him transparently sincere, with an utter absence of self-seeking, and full of humility and gentleness to a degree unusual and admirable. His loss to journalism—journalism of the right kind, honest, above board, conducted solely with a view to public good and national service—is heavy, and irreplaceable. This is the humble opinion of one who knew him for a whole generation and longer and knew him from inside.

May his soul rest in peace.

OUR OBLIGATIONS TO THE NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEAN—III

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., PH.D., M.L.A.

VII

The British managing agency firms which have their fingers on the pulse of the British investor have therefore concentrated on the development of old and well-tried enterprises, jute mills, tea gardens, and coal mining all yielding fairly high dividends, a fact noted by the Holland Industries Commission which referred to their "undue reluctance to embark on new ventures," observing in Paragraph 288 of its report that

The investment of capital has been upon comparatively restricted lines up to the war and there has been little enterprise in new directions.

Taking a broad view of the services rendered to India in the industrial sphere by British leadership, one cannot help but agree to the view expressed by two eminent Indian economists, Professors P. A. Wadia and K. T. Merchant, on page 282 of their recently published book *Our Economic Problem* that

It is significant that British investment in modern industries in India was confined exclusively to enterprises like railways, coal mines, jute mills, and to tea, coffee and sugar plantations—industries related to the production and export of raw materials.

It is admitted that the question as to whether a new enterprise should be started or not is the responsibility of the investors and the promoters. But when Britons enter what we maintain are exaggerated claims in regard to the value of the leadership rendered by them in developing our industries and on that score demand what most people of this country consider over-representation in our legislatures and statutory safeguards to retain and, may be, to extend their hold on our economic life, we hold that we have the right to ascertain whether they are based on unimpeachable facts. While it is admitted that, from the point of view of earning steady and respectable profits, there is ample justification of the British concentration on certain industries only, it is believed that the services rendered to India would have been much more valuable if Britons engaged in industries had, instead of being content with merely reposing on their laurels, embarked on new and uncertain but probably equally profitable ventures calculated to encourage the all-round industrial development of India, success in which would have established an irresistible claim on our gratitude specially

if this had gone hand in hand with the association of Indians in these and other enterprises started by them.

Tested by standards such as these, it is doubtful whether Britons are entitled to that amount of consideration from us which is a condition precedent to our granting them the position they demand in our economic life.

On page 273 of his *Eastern Industrialisation and its Effect on the West*, a publication sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, G. E. Hubbard has summed up the Indian view of the services received from Britons in the industrial development of their motherland in the following terms :

Investment has been guided by British rather than by Indian interests, . . . profits and interests have been drained out of the country, . . . enterprise has been concentrated upon commercial and a few special types of industrial concerns to the neglect of broader industrial needs, . . . Indians have not enjoyed full opportunities for technical and managerial training and experience and . . . undue advantage has been taken of the cheapness and abundance of Indian manual labour.

After stating that these allegations may be exaggerations and that there is nothing to show that these objectionable features of the British industrial policy have been due to the adoption of a deliberate policy, this author expresses the view that

Some of them contain an element of truth.

VIII

It has been suggested that one reason for the establishment of factories in India under British leadership was that the export of materials like jute, hide, etc., in a manufactured or semi-manufactured state would be more profitable than their export in the raw state. Additional profits would come from the saving in the cost of carriage and the use of the abundant supply of cheap Indian labour. Then again, these two factors would play their part when these factories manufactured and marketed commodities consumed in India and which formerly had been imported, the highest profits being secured when they used easily available Indian raw materials. Under this class would come things like matches, soap, aluminium and enamelled ware, rubber tyres, chemicals, etc.

The Swadeshi movement and the war of 1914-18 played an important part in stimulating our industries and several new ones were started. Many of them had to be closed down and others languished when normal conditions were restored and when these had to face competition from Western countries. It was from this time that the Indian demand for protection grew so insistent that the British administration felt that it could no longer afford to ignore it and it appointed the Indian Fiscal Commission in 1921 and the External Capital Committee in 1925.

British industrial interests which had watched the trend of events realised that though the industries promoted by the managing agency firms producing goods which, on the whole, did not compete with home products were safe, there was some risk that their products manufactured with the assistance of costly British labour and imported into this country would find it difficult to compete with articles manufactured in India by our cheap labour out of our raw materials specially if protection implied the raising of high tariff walls.

The Indian Fiscal Commission submitting its report in 1922 recommended discriminating protection under clearly defined conditions. The report of the External Capital Committee supported the views of the Indian Fiscal Commission on the problem with which it was directly concerned suggesting unimportant modifications here and there. Their recommendations to a certain extent safeguarded British industrial interests. To make assurance doubly sure, British capital now began entering India in large amounts and established many industrial concerns under the control and management of aliens many of which captured the fields in which Indian industries had been operating for a long time. Some of these took up new and profitable lines of work which Indians had been planning to occupy.

With their vast financial resources, their technical knowledge and experience of business organisation, it was easy for Europeans to ruin their Indian rivals by cut-throat competition which sometimes took the form of selling their goods at below cost of production prices. It has been held that a deliberate attempt to exploit the bias for Swadeshi goods was made by the addition of the words "India Ltd." to their names. Occasionally, an Indian or two was taken into the directorate and his name added to the original non-Indian name of the concern.

Not only were the goods manufactured advertised widely but claims to the enjoyment of the same protection extended to genuine Indian concerns were advanced and conceded by the British administration. Unable to meet competition at their very doors, indigenous industries are rapidly succumbing to this onslaught with such rapidity that in the view of some Indian publicists, it is only a question of time when they will be wiped out altogether.

It has been urged that the shyness of Indian capital and the lack of qualified Indian technicians are responsible for the appearance of "India Ltd." concerns. In reply it may be said that if we had absolute control over our fiscal policy and had been in a position to adopt full-blooded protection, Indian capital could have easily followed the example of Tata's and imported alien technical staff under contract.

and gradually trained up its Indian personnel. As for the alleged shyness of Indian capital, we find Mr. G. W. Tyson, C.I.E., Editor, *Capital*, the most influential organ of British business in Eastern India, admitting on page 7 of his *India Arms for Victory* published in October, 1942, that

Never within recent years has there been any lack of capital in India or a reluctance to stake it on new and sometimes speculative projects.

The recommendation of the Fiscal Commission and the External Capital Committee that restrictions should be placed on foreign capital only where it is accorded some kind of concession as well as the provisions against discrimination embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, under which discrimination against British capital, etc., can be adopted only when it is exercised against their Indian counterparts in Britain, have made it possible for British manufacturing interests to establish their industries behind our tariff walls while the extensive scale on which their operations are conducted has made it unnecessary for them to discriminate against the very few Indian activities in Britain.

Today we find non-Indian concerns taking advantage of the above factors and establishing themselves in India incidentally placing genuine indigeneous industries under very serious handicaps and flourishing at the expense of the Indian consumer. In effect, he has to pay a higher price for such goods produced under the shelter of tariff walls as he uses and the whole of the manufacturing profit is lost to India. It cannot be denied that the primary object of imposing tariffs was the fostering of Indian industries thus promoting our national interests as also that the starting of alien "India Ltd." concerns does not fulfil this purpose.

In this connection, it is profitable to recall what the Commerce Member of the Government of India, a British official, speaking on the resolution which led to the appointment of the Indian Industries Commission said more than a quarter of a century ago :

The building up of industries where the capital, control and management should be in the hands of the Indians is the special object we (India Government) have in view.

Continuing, this official expressed his disapproval of taking any steps which might merely mean that the manufacturer who now competes with you from a distance would transfer his activities to India and compete with you within your boundaries.

This undertaking, for that is how it is regarded by Indians coming as it did from a Briton speaking in his official capacity before the Central Legislature, has not been fulfilled for the fiscal policy of the British administration in India and the anti-discrimination clauses in the Act of 1935 have made the establishment

of "India Ltd." concerns feasible and that in spite of the strongest of Indian protests.

The incorporation of subsidiaries of alien concerns under the specious title of "India Ltd." the occasional association of Indian capital in these enterprises in a junior capacity and our political subjection which prevents us from framing our industrial, commercial, tariff and fiscal policies so as to fully safeguard our economic interests have raised apprehensions regarding the future economic development of India which cannot be allayed until we enjoy much larger powers than we do today. Rightly or wrongly, India feels that unless restrictions are imposed and imposed quickly, foreign capital will occupy such fields of remunerative industry and commerce as still remain uncovered with the result that her children will permanently occupy a position of economic inferiority.

IX

Non-Indians engaged in industries often declare that, granting for the sake of argument that little has been done for the members of the educated and the well-to-do classes, there is not much doubt that they have benefited their workers. The Indian view is that the best test for ascertaining the correctness of such claims is to find out the scale of wages for labour and the efforts put forward to improve its standard of living.

While considerations of space render it impossible to give anything like a detailed account of the wages paid to labour in even one of the industries mentioned above, the following information taken from authoritative sources should prove interesting as throwing a flood of light on the amount of benefit derived by Indian labour from the establishment of industries in India by European businessmen.

After taking into consideration the wages paid to labour in all our large-scale industries, Dr. P. S. Loka Nath on page 354 of his *Industrial Organisation in India* concluded that

The Indian industrial worker is in receipt of wages which are insufficient to satisfy even the primary needs of civilised existence.

Inadequate as these wages are, it would be a mistake to take it for granted that industrial labour gets all the wages it earns. There are first of all certain deductions made by employers in the shape of fines levied for breaches of discipline and absence from work, deductions for damage to materials or machinery due to some fault of the workers and, occasionally, for benefits supplied by the employers, such as medical attention and the like.

Then comes the payment the workman has to make to the jobber or foreman under whom he works. This consists of a sum paid on appointment and a percentage from the periodic

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wages. The coal mines and the jute industry have a particularly bad reputation for this practice.

Indebtedness is still another factor preventing labour from benefiting fully from its wages. The estimate of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour was that at least two-thirds of the labourers are in debt and that this, in most cases, is equivalent to three months' wages. This burden is aggravated by reason of the high rate of interest charged which the above Commission held is commonly "75 per cent per annum."

It goes without saying that the sums which go out of the wages of labour under the above heads are not met out of the surplus which would otherwise have been spent on petty luxuries. "They have often," in the language of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour (Report, p. 226),

to be provided by trenching on the primary needs of a healthy life.

Thoughtful Indians often ask themselves why British businessmen who started commercial and industrial activities in India and earn respectable profits have not put down the bribery and corruption of the existence of which they are aware with a firm hand and also why they have not taken any effective steps to at least reduce the exploitation of their workers by money-lenders. They believe that efforts in these directions would not have made too great demands on their energy, time and powers. They have concluded, perhaps uncharitably, that nothing has been done because European employers feel that they have little if any responsibility for the welfare of their men and that the latter must learn to take care of themselves. If that is so, and if the only tie between British industrialists and their Indian workers is that of master and servant the former paying as little and getting as much work as they can and the latter extracting the highest possible wages and in return giving as little work as possible, it surely proves that the claims regarding the benefits conferred on and the concern felt for the latter by British industry are, to say the least, rather questionable.

In the *General Report on Industrial Labour in India* issued by the International Labour Office, Geneva, we have a number of statements showing the average size of working class families in different centres and in different industries, the number of wage earners, the average monthly earnings of some families and lastly on page 280, the average monthly family incomes and expenditures and the percentage expenditure on main consumption groups. The conclusion drawn from this table by two eminent

Indian economists, joint authors of *Our Economic Problem*, is that

If we consider the first four items of expenditure (food, clothing, rent, fuel and lighting lumped up together), . . . the average expenditure amounts to 75 per cent of the total income. If we include other necessary expenses like washing, bedding and household articles, the percentage will increase to 85.

On page 376 of his *Industrial Organisation in India*, Dr. P. S. Loka Nath after a review of the above facts concludes that

The large proportion spent on the primary necessities of life is evidence of the insufficiency of the wages, and of the very low margins between subsistence and starvation available to the workers.

The insufficient and ill-balanced diet and the deplorable housing conditions of industrial labour leading to preventable disease and premature death have been dealt with in detail by the present writer elsewhere and he is not therefore disposed to say anything further on these matters. He will content himself with quoting here the views expressed in 1938, by Mr. Harold Butler of the International Labour Office on page 9 of his book *Problems of Industry in the East* where, after referring to the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Indian Labour made in 1931, he says,

The fundamental reforms suggested in the recommendations on education, industrial relations, health, housing and the standard of life still remain for the most part to be carried out.

The result is that what Dr. V. S. Rutherford M.A., M.B., (Cantab), a former Member of the House of Commons said in 1927 on page 125 of his *Modern India* is equally true today. His words were as follows :

The only advantage that India derives from British-owned industries is sweated wages and a low standard of life for Indian labour, a very dubious advantage which Indians might be better without.

As contrasted with these benefits derived by Indian labour, the same author summarises the advantages enjoyed by Europeans as consisting in higher salaries paid to the British management (with the dividends going to England).

It is true that after the present war had started and when there was a sudden increase in the demand for certain types of goods, rises in wages, allowances, bonuses, etc., were given as also food-grains and other necessities of life supplied to labour at concession rates. Employers have taken credit for these steps referring to them as proof of their desire to discharge their responsibility towards their employees. Labour leaders explain all these measures not as indicative of a spirit of generosity but as being due to their anxiety to earn the high profits due to inflated prices and war contracts, obviously impossible without a contented labour force. They will believe in the *bona fides* of the

employers only if the treatment persists when, with the end of the war, prices slump and high profits disappear or almost disappear and if no attempt is made then to seriously cut down the wages which are being paid today.

XI

That concerns organised by European capital are inclined to choose men belonging to their own nationality as directors, as agents and for filling the superior and responsible positions is well-known and universal and this Indians regard, perhaps wrongly, as a grievance. Non-Indian apologists of this exclusion of Indians urge that, in most cases, this is so because Indians possessing the requisite qualifications are not often available in sufficiently large numbers though on this matter there is difference of opinion. Nonetheless there have been many cases where the claims of the right type of Indians, even when these are available, have been overlooked.

Others, more reasonable, point out that what is objectionable is that as the profits are earned in our country with the help of our labour and our material resources, Indians should not be denied facilities for obtaining the special kind of training available in these concerns and that the systematic way in which they have been shut out is clear proof of a deliberate policy of monopolising by the Europeans those financial and other advantages which flow from conducting commercial and industrial operations in India. In that connection, it is pointed out that though European capital has been operating in India for over a century, its presence in this land has not resulted in the enjoyment by an appreciable number of Indians of such opportunities of obtaining training as could without much difficulty have been made available to them.

Apologists of European industries operating in India urge on their behalf that even if the directorate and superior staff are alien, their establishment is conducive to our industrial progress and that though they might make things difficult for the Indian industrialists, they are beneficial to the masses.

The Indian view is that so long as the capital, the management, the supervising and the technical staff are aliens, the employment of unskilled labour does not convert essentially alien concerns into indigenous ones. Our motive in demanding all possible facilities for what may be called the Indianisation of industries is the desire to promote the growth of national wealth and national income. Taking the most favourable view, the exploitation of our raw materials and man-power by alien concerns is nothing but development by proxy and as such objectionable.

As regards the benefits conferred on the masses, it is true that the Indian producer of the raw materials used finds a market for his products and that Indian labour also finds employment in these concerns. While admitting that these do provide some kind of relief, Indians cannot forget two things. The first of these is that the services of the Indian agriculturist and the Indian labourer are requisitioned not because any special tenderness is felt for them but because these industries must come to a standstill without their co-operation and also because they are much cheaper than their European counterparts.

The second thing is that the benefits derived by the foreigners are so large and the Indian share so small that there are some Indians who would prefer to see them remain inside the country in the expectation that a large part of them would somehow come back in some form or other to the masses who provide everything which makes the earning of profits possible except the capital and the supervision. These latter, it is held, however valuable in their way, can never be regarded as entitled to the high profits now drawn by them.

XII

The Indian does not deny that in expressing the view that the measure of representation given in our legislatures to non-official Europeans should be conditioned by their "importance" and their "contribution," the executive of the India Government of 1919 of which seven out of eight members were Britons as well as the Simon Commission in 1930 all the members of which were Britons, were voicing a conviction, no doubt honestly held by the European community resident in India and their friends and supporters in Britain. Aldous Huxley was explaining this attitude when he pointed out many years ago in his *Jesting Pilate* that if he had been a member of the Indian Civil Service or the owner of a sufficiently large block of remunerative shares in the Calcutta jute mills, he would have felt little hesitation in believing, and that in all sincerity, that British rule has been an unmixed blessing to Indians who are constitutionally incapable of governing themselves as also that industries incorporated in England and operating in India and carrying away everything except the wages paid to manual labour have been an equally inestimable boon to us.

Indians maintain that the examination of the value of the services rendered by British industry along with other facts to which no reference has been made here entitle them to draw the conclusion that they have no reason to feel any excessive gratitude. Such small benefits as have come to the people of

this country have not emerged as the result of any deliberate effort put forth by British industry but only because they are inseparable from the activities carried on by it in pursuit of its own ends. They are also convinced that they would be withdrawn tomorrow if doing so would be helpful to the interests of British capital.

If the unintentional conferring of these very slender benefits is to be regarded as a reason for the over-representation of Britons in our legislatures, Central and Provincial, as well as for the special economic and other safeguards guaranteed to them under the Act of 1935, some Indians would argue, let us admit illogically, that they too are entitled to special representation in the English legislature and to such safeguards as they, and not their rulers, deem necessary for their protection. They would justify their demands by urging that Britain draws certain agricultural and mineral products and semi-manufactured and manufactured goods from India at rates much below those at which

they are available in the world market as well as because this country absorbs a respectable part of British manufactures.

The claim that non-official Europeans are entitled to favourable treatment in the form of commercial safeguards, excessive representation, etc., because of the services some of them have rendered to our economic development by the establishment of industries in our motherland reminds India of what Count Sforza, the Italian ex-Minister of Foreign Affairs who, because of his hostility to fascism was forced to remain in exile during the period when Mussolini was in power, wrote some years ago, to be precise in October, 1927, in *Foreign Affairs* when he referred to

that precious gift bestowed on the British people the possession of writers and clergymen (and it may be added of other apologists of British capital) able in perfect good faith to advance the highest moral reasons for the most concrete diplomatic (and legislative) action with inevitable moral (and economic) profit to England (and Englishmen). (Concluded)

REVIVAL OF VILLAGE ARTS AND CRAFTS An Orientation of Village Industry

BY NAGESH YAWALKAR

" They will give these Industries a new life and a new dress . . . There is no doubt that most of our wants can be supplied from our villages . . . We will not want imitations of the West or machine made products, but we will develop a true national taste in keeping with the vision of a New India in which pauperism, starvation and idleness will be unknown."

—M. K. Gandhi : *Constructive Programme, Its Meaning and Place.*

THE appalling poverty of India and the rapidity with which it has increased during the so-called 'forward' British rule on account of the deliberate destruction of our handicrafts created a great necessity to discover the channels in aid of village industry. The urge of expression is the creative force of the village industry and the freedom from mechanical devices has made this expression charming, for an infinite variety is produced by the village talent. India's artistic talent is scattered mostly in villages and the form of Art developed in India's big cities is a hybrid of the East and the West, produced with the help of costly western materials patronised by the aristocratic society. This sort of development of Art depending on Western method is in no way helpful to our Cottage Art Industry. Therefore, the revival of ancient Indian arts and crafts is an indispensable part of the Swadeshi Renaissance. In every village there are scores of people who have an artistic tendency that can be harnessed to foster useful crafts; in the absence of proper guidance and encouragement, they turn vagabonds. There must be found a way for

making a decent livelihood out of arts and crafts practised as a profession in villages. The use of the Swadeshi materials available in nearby places will bring the works within the reach of the village folk. Creative work in artistic crafts will bring them up in the professions of painting (with locally made colours), sculpture (expressive of rustic appreciation), metal casting of useful and original articles, and in the production of toys and containers made from cow and horse dung, clay and paper mache in a proper manner, useful utensils from terra cota, fused glass and porcelain, and also in teaching applied uses of shellac plastics and gypsum plaster and many other Swadeshi materials found abundantly in nature.

MATERIAL

Swadeshi materials that are within the easy reach of the village craftsman are the life of the village crafts. India is rich in minerals and clays that form a ready source of raw materials, and the conversion of wastes like cow dung, horse dung, old paper and scrap metal increase their possibilities. The colour industry

of India deliberately killed by foreign interest and local apathy has to be revived for it is not a dead science yet. The ancient colours used by the artists of Ajanta that look still fresh and

Industries cannot survive if the materials are not within the easy reach of the villager. With this object in view it has to be realised that the materials used will be natural ones and also include wastes like cow dung, scraps and rags. Thus our products ought to be much more cheaper than those produced by using foreign materials like colours, brushes, plastics, etc.

There are many village boys who while away their time in idleness. They can learn a good deal of the art of craftsmanship and can earn their living with ease if their talents are developed. There are women, too, from the middle-class who can neither take to begging nor earn their living as labourers, and this programme will give them a square meal. Every village can support at least one artist and as more and more are trained

Nature studies at Suvasra Village Art School by direct method

lively can be investigated and reproduced if the research is backed up by a powerful organised institution. Baked articles using clay, cow dung and horse dung in specific proportions have proved to be a material that has infinite possibilities in embryo. The plaster stone called gypsum is abundantly found in Gujarat, C.P. and Rajputana. Village Art will revive if research is kept up on materials that are available near the villages, and decay as this vigilance is withdrawn. Babu Rajendra Prasad rightly says:

"We have to seek out and encourage all such handicrafts. Our Culture and Art have languished because our Cottage Industries have died to a large extent. These must be revived if the Village Industries have to be resuscitated. If we even encourage at least one man in a village, imagine how many creative forces are let free in the 750,000 villages of India to mould the destiny of the Village Industry. And a mighty force of the nation is lost to her if the rustic talent that has an appetite for learning and a creative urge is not attended to by our intelligentsia and leadership. Shall all this material and genius rust without proper attention?"

ECONOMICS OF ARTCRAFT

The use of local material for the Art Industry on the cottage scale is the soundest policy in reviving arts and crafts. Cottage



The students of the Village Art School at Suvasra, C.I., conducted by Trimbakaro Yawalkar

but arts and crafts are supplementary to them. Agriculture and spinning being the most primary and simple operation will never be replaced by any other activity, but we find boys of artistic talent wasting their time in whimsical pursuits. Their number is small but they are a very important section as they alone are capable of creative work in the midst of the monotony of the village routine.

THE EXPERIMENTS AT SUVASRA (C. I.)

An old man of 70, a born genius in Art, has been working out his ideas on the lines mentioned above for the last fifty years of his life, enlightening students living only in villages—and his headquarters have been in the village of Suvasra in C. I. with a population of 1,300 inhabitants. Having experienced the

leaders, decorated utensils and gay toys are made and coloured with local colours; and at the weekly bazaar they are all sold out at a price from a pice to an anna each. No school exists there in the form of a building, but in his village home boys, irrespective of caste or creed, sit together and learn from him the art of reading, writing and the art of sculpture and painting. Sometimes only trees are their sheds and in the outdoor they learn landscape painting and sketching and all this education is free. This old artist is none else but my father who gave me my lessons in painting and sculpture and by whose blessings I could carry the message of India's Village Art to America and Europe, earning my living as I travelled far and wide.



"Village Dancer" by Nagesh Yawalkar—a statue in paper mache on a skeleton of bamboos

dependence of the artist on foreign materials which are generally very expensive, he set out to make experiments on wastes and cheap materials like clay, cow dung, horse dung, linseed oil, paper mache, scrap metal, broken glass, natural earths and pigments, and evolved his processes which are original and give excellent results. He also invented a few handmade implements which every villager can make for himself. Mythological sculptures, pictures of

A BROAD CLASSIFICATION

The village handicrafts may be classified broadly as follows:

1. Plastics from clay, cow dung, horse dung, etc., and their proper baking
2. Wares cast from fusing of old glass
3. Plaster and Plasticine
4. Porcelain
5. Paper mache
6. Carpentry and Woodwork
7. Bronze casting and Metal-work
8. Sculpture and Stone carving

A NATIONAL CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF VILLAGE HANDICRAFTS

Object : An organised institution for the study and propagation of the use of Swadeshi raw materials, carrying out researches in ancient Cottage Art Industry, as also a search for village artistic talents, is an urgent need. Artisans, particularly from depressed classes, need special attention of the institute, inasmuch as such arts are their hereditary occupation and it is they that need cheap education and guidance.

Place : The institute should be situated as near as possible to natural surroundings where the students' minds shall tune with Nature, as also near some central city for the purposes of organization and contact with best teachers, etc. Museums and town libraries will be found to be of great help.

Finance : This aspect is not of much importance as the institute can help itself from the sale of articles made from day to day. Selfless devoted workers are the most important part of this scheme.



ENGLAND'S NATIONAL GALLERY

By JOHN STEEGMAN

THE National Gallery has a threefold claim to special attention. First of all, it provides a more compact yet representative *cour d'oeil* of European painting than any other gallery in Europe; secondly, it has a fuller representation of Italian painting of all schools than anywhere outside Italy; and thirdly, only there can one see examples of the best of the British schools together under one roof.



A front view of the National Gallery of England which faces Trafalgar Square

The general level of the National Gallery collection is extraordinarily high, for the pictures on exhibit are there as a result of continuous and intensive critical review, so that no picture is exhibited unless it is a really good example of its school.

The history of the National Gallery grows out of the history of collecting and connoisseurship among the English. Young Englishmen were sent abroad on the Grand Tour to Paris, the Hague, Brussels, one or two princely German courts, Venice, Florence and Rome. They bought what took their fancy, though they often made terrible mistakes; very few bought well always, but very few failed to buy something good. The result was that by the beginning of the 19th century English private houses contained an immense number of really important pictures. This was not only true of the great country-palaces, like Welbeck, Chatsworth,

Blenheim, Badminton, Goodwood or Longford, but of scores of lesser houses.

BORN OUT OF PRIVATE COLLECTION

Yet there was no collection belonging to the nation, nowhere for the ordinary citizen to see pictures and thus form some idea of the arts. However, in the year 1824 the National Gallery was born, out of a private collection.

The Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool; Sir Robert Peel, a future Prime Minister; and Sir George Beaumont, Lord Dover and the Rev. William Holwell-Carr, great collectors and patrons of the Arts, are the five men whom the National Gallery acknowledges as its founders. Peel, Beaumont, Dover and Holwell-Carr urged the creation of a National Collection, and the Prime Minister carried it out by the expenditure of £57,000 on 38 pictures from a private collection which had just come into the market. Twelve of those 38 are now worth more than the sum paid for the whole collection, so the Gallery began well!



"Two Gentlemen"
A good example of the large collection of paintings of the British schools shown in the National Gallery is this painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds

It did not, however, begin very well in the matter of its premises. At first it was lodged uncomfortably in a big private house in Pall Mall, where the famous Reform Club has stood since 1840, and not till 1838 was it housed in a building specially erected for it—the famous long, low classic building with the portico and little cupola on the north side of Trafalgar Square.



One of the priceless masterpieces now owned by the British nation is this painting, "The Battle of San Romano, 1432" by Paolo Uccello.

Even then, the rapidly-growing collection was not very comfortable because it had to share its premises with the Royal Academy. While the Gallery represented the art of the past, the Academy represented the art of the present, and the two were not good neighbours. The unhappy partnership was dissolved only in 1870, when the Academy at last moved to its present home in Piccadilly and the National Gallery had Trafalgar Square to itself.

ITS CONSTITUTION

For the first year or two the Gallery was in an undecided state about its exact form of organisation. It soon settled down, however, to a constitution which has remained more or less unchanged. There is a Governing Body, consisting of connoisseurs and men prominent in the art world, who are appointed by the Prime Minister. The responsible Head of the Gallery is the Director, and it is he who is chiefly responsible for the acquisition of pictures, his is the credit if a good opportunity is taken, and his the blame if it is missed. Of the successive Directors of the Gallery since 1824, some have been much more successful than others; the goodness or badness of a Director is judged not by his connoisseurship alone, but by his courage in grasping opportunities, his power to attract gifts of pictures or money from private individuals, and the breadth of his vision.

Private benefactors have played a part of incalculable importance in raising the National Gallery to its present high standard. The great tradition of collecting in England resulted in very many first-class pictures coming to the

Gallery as gifts or bequests. Another large number of masterpieces were bought on the Continent in the middle of the last century, when the brilliant Director, Sir Charles Eastlake, had the field more or less to himself and before the serious competition of the Kaiser-Freidrich Museum in Berlin or of American private collectors had begun to increase the prices of all pictures (good as well as bad).

WEAK SPOTS AND SPLENDOURS

Like all great art galleries, the National Gallery has its weak spots and its splendours. It has fewer world-famous pictures, apart from the English Gainsboroughs and Reynolds's than say, the Prado, the Louvre or the Uffizi. It has, however, Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*; Michelangelo's *Entombment*; Botticelli's *Native*: Velasquez's unique *Venus*: Bellini's *Doge Loredano*; Holbein's *Christine of Denmark*; Hobema's *Avenue*; Ruben's finest landscape, the *Chateau de Steen*; Tintoretto's *St. George and the Dragon*, Van Dyck's *John Arnolfini*; the little *Knight in Armour* by Giorgione, the rarest of all Masters; Uccello's *Battle of San Romano* and Piero della Francesco's *Baptism*. It has also an unsurpassable collection of the Venetian Schools in general and of Crivelli in particular, a very strong series of Rembrandts and a high level of the 17th century Dutch painters.

But the National Gallery's proud boast is that, apart from these individual masterpieces, it provides a more nearly complete epitome of European painting than any other single gallery has yet provided. And that is still the wise policy that is being pursued now, war or no war.

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA DR. R. SHAMA SASTRY,

Arthashastra-Visarada

BY PROFESSOR M. H. KRISHNA, M.A., D.Litt., (Lond.), University of Mysore

By the passing away of Dr. R. Shama Sastry, the world has lost one of the foremost orientalists. He made great contributions to our knowledge of Sanskrit and Indian History. He was born at Rudrapatna, an Agrahar village on the banks of the Cauvery in the year 1868 A.D. and belonged to a family well-known for its Sanskrit learning. Commencing his education at the Maharaja's Sanskrit College at Mysore, Dr. Shama Sastry passed the Vidvat Examination in Sanskrit Literature in 1891. Many of his class-mates became famous as teachers of Sanskrit and Kannada in the various schools of the State. But Dr. Shama Sastry was one of the few who took to English education. With English and Sanskrit as his language, and Physics as his optional subject, he took the B.A. Degree of the Madras University from the Central College, Bangalore, in 1899. His unique combination of training in the old and new lines drew the attention of the famous Dewan of Mysore, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer, who took him up as his own personal reader in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy. A little later Dr. Shama Sastry was appointed as Librarian of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. Here he was brought into contact with great Pandits like Pandit-Ratnam Kasturi Rangacharya and others : and under the guidance of that able scholar, Mr. A. Mahadeva Sastry, Dr. Shama Sastry began to publish Sanskrit works for the Library and to do research work in Indology, publishing in 1905 an article on the Origin of Devanagari Alphabet and a booklet entitled *Gavan Ayanam* or the forgotten sacrificial calendar of Vedic poets.

The chief task entrusted to him finally was the preparation of a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Oriental Library and examination of new collections of manuscripts. Dr. Shama Sastry showed his great knowledge of scripts and subjects in the course of his examination of the numerous palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the Library and in the course of his researches, discovered a copy of the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya. Appraising its real value as of very great importance to Ancient Indian History, Dr. Shama Sastry copied it and published it in the Mysore Oriental Library Series. Its language was technical and difficult involving a knowledge of various subjects like Politics, Economics, Finance, Law, Military Science, etc. Dr. Shama Sastry studied all these subjects and worked with such zeal that he was able to produce a provisional translation. Some chapters of his work which were published in

the *Mysore Review* attracted world-wide notice, so that, he was enabled to publish a complete translation of the *Arthashastra* in 1912. Encouraged by the scholars of Europe and America, he next published articles on various aspects of Mouryan Polity and established his name as an authority on that branch of Oriental studies.

After acting for some time as the Principal of the Government Sanskrit College, Bangalore, he was appointed in 1918 as Curator of Oriental Library, Mysore. Since the Arthashastra became a subject of study in the many Universities of India, Dr. Shama Sastry very often was examiner for research thesis in the Calcutta and other Universities. The worth of his work was so well recognised by the great Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, that Dr. Shama Sastry received an Honorary Ph.D. degree of that University in 1921. In the same year, he delivered a series of lectures on Indian Polity, in the Calcutta University. The honours gained by him outside Mysore made the authorities in Mysore recognise his value and in 1922 on the retirement of Rao Bahadur R. Narasimha-charya, he was appointed as the Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in addition to his duties as Curator of Oriental Library. For about a year he also held the place of Professor of Indian History at the University of Mysore. But owing to the heaviness of work, he retired from the Professorship and held the other two places till his retirement from service by superannuation in 1928. In 1925 His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore was pleased to confer on him the title of Arthashastra Visarada and in 1930 he received the title Mahamahopadhyaya conferred by the British Indian Government. In 1935 he accepted the title Pandit Raja offered by the Bharata Dharma Mahaman-dala of Benares.

Even after his retirement, he actively pursued his research studies, devoting himself especially to Vedanga Jyotisha. In 1936, he published an English translation of Vedanga Jyotisha with a Sanskrit commentary. In 1938, he issued the "Cycle of Eclipses in the Vedas." He also wrote subsequently on the Eclipse Cult and the Vedic Gods.

An important piece of work done by Dr. Shama Sastry for Archaeology was his editing and publication on behalf of the Government of India, of Volume 9 of South Indian Inscriptions consisting of large collections of Kannada Inscriptions made by the Government of India Archaeological Department. This work was

published in two parts, and stands as a monumental contribution made by Dr. Shama Sastry. A more varied contribution to Archaeology is contained in the six Annual Reports published by him for the Government of Mysore from 1922 to 1928. These contained articles of very great interest showing a unique boldness of spirit and a desire for adventure in the field of Oriental Research like his views on the Gupta Era, his rendering of a Greek Farce in the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus" etc.

Dr. Shama Sastry was a great scholar and almost nothing but a scholar. He had no noteworthy hobby or activity in life but the pursuit of learning. Even at an advanced age, he was young and buoyant enough to tackle brand new subjects. His capacity for learning new subjects and languages was remarkable as evidenced in his learning of the Greek language for the sake of writing his article on the "Oxyrinchus Papyrus." He was a devoted worker. What he studied in his chair, he thought over during his walks which were his only recreation.

He had a great capacity for concentrating on a particular subject for almost a whole season. It is possible that everything that Dr. Shama Sastry has written may not stand the test of time, for very often he cared more to open the study of a subject than to say the final word upon it. It was this spirit of adventure in

learning that made it possible for him to produce a translation of the *Arthashastra* at all. When corrections were pointed out, he gladly accepted them and incorporated them in his second edition. He never thought of himself infallible, for he used to say that scholars proceeded from truth to truth and none had the monopoly of the final truth.

The private life of Dr. Shama Sastry was simplicity itself. Though a bold thinker and a man intellectually prepared to support some downright reforms, he actually lived the simple life of a Brahmin and walked in the footsteps of his forefathers. No bad habit and no blemish could be pointed out in his way of living. On the other hand, in his personal life, his was a heroic struggle. He became a dyspeptic in his thirties and under medical advice he re-organised his life on an invalid basis. During the second half of his life, he was sufferer, but one who fought bad health with such self-control and determination, that his intellectual and scholarly life was more than normally successful. He leaves behind him his wife, an only son and four daughters.

In the death of Dr. Shama Sastry, Mysore has lost one of its most famous scholars and the world of Oriental studies has lost a great personality who was well-known throughout the Oriental World.

CO-EDUCATION OF BLIND AND SEEING CHILDREN

BY PROF. S. C. ROY, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), M.A. (Columbia, New York), Lecturer, Calcutta University, Hony. Secretary, All-India Lighthouse for the Blind

ACCORDING to the Census Report of 1931, the number of blind persons in India is little over 600,000. This represents the largest incidence of blindness recorded in any country, although those working in connection with programmes for the prevention of blindness, think that the statistics of the sightless individuals of this country is much higher than what has been stated in the 1931 Census Report.

The number of sightless boys and girls, whose educational problems will be discussed in the present article, is about 70,000 in India. They are between the ages of 5 and 20. There are about 40 blind institutions in this country, where about 1,000 blind boys and girls are receiving education. In other words, 69,000 blind children are being deprived of the blessings of education owing to the lack of facilities.

A question may be raised at this stage : There are so many millions of sighted children in this country who are going without education; why should, then, an issue be made about the lack of educational opportunities for a few thousands of children without sight ? To this, the answer is that it is highly regrettable for any

country not to be able to make provision for the education of so many millions of her children. However, we believe that sightless children have a more urgent need of education than even the seeing. There are mainly two reasons in support of this thesis :

First, blind persons cannot be employed in any work without receiving a systematic training and education extending over several years, while there are various spheres of activity for the seeing individuals in which they may be employed without such protracted training and education. In those activities, the mere possession of sight, combined with some amount of commonsense, is all that is needed to qualify a person for employment.

Secondly, the seeing people are able to move about freely and have several interests to keep themselves busy with. But the sightless individuals have to carry on a dreary and monotonous existence, and have a feeling of hopelessness and aloneness in the world if they are not taught some art or craft which will keep them occupied and make them feel that time, after all, moves. Helen Keller, the world-famous blind-deaf-mute,

scholar, has rightly remarked, "The heaviest burden on the blind is not blindness, but idleness."

The main problem, then, is how to extend facilities for the education of our blind children. This can easily be done if we adopt the new educational philosophy and practice that has been current in different countries of Europe and America since the beginning of the present century. This consists of the introduction of the education of blind children in schools for the seeing.

We usually believe that a special residential institution is the only place where blind children can be educated. This also used to be the belief in Europe and America about half a century ago. But most of the present educators of the blind in those countries hold that it is better for the blind children to be educated with their seeing compatriots in ordinary schools than in special institutions where their association is confined only to those having the similar physical handicap.

Admitting for the sake of argument that residential institutions are better suited to the needs of sightless children, we shall have to have a good deal of funds for the purpose of establishing new institutions throughout the country. It is, however, apparent to all that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to collect necessary funds to build a sufficient number of institutions to meet the demands of 70,000 blind children.

The day-school for the blind does not, however, involve much expense to the parents and guardians of the children without sight. Blind boys and girls attend the ordinary schools of their localities with their sighted brothers and sisters and pay the usual tuition fee. They receive lessons in the same class with other pupils. On the teaching staff there is only one who is especially trained in the education and psychology of the blind. He spends some time every day with the blind children of his school and helps them in their peculiar difficulties. Otherwise, there is no distinction between blind and seeing children in an ordinary school.

Apart from a few isolated instances where some blind pupils have successfully prosecuted their studies with their seeing class-mates in ordinary schools, the idea of this kind of co-education is rather an innovation in the educational philosophy in our country. In the Western countries, however, especially in the United States of America, this idea was, as stated before, carried into practice about half a century ago. As early as 1851, Samuel Gridley Howe, the first and most eminent Director of Perkins Institution for the Blind, one of the three leading blind schools in the United States, stressed the various advantages derivable from the co-education of the blind and sighted children in ordinary schools. Since the execution of this idea in

actual practice in 1900, this movement in America has become so popular to the parents and guardians of visually handicapped children and to the children themselves that, according to an educational survey in 1936, there were more blind and partially-sighted boys and girls studying in ordinary schools than those enrolled at residential institutions for the blind—the recorded number being 7,251 in ordinary schools and 5,851 in special institutions. A particular note should be taken of the fact that, although the first residential school for the blind in America was established 68 years before this amalgamated education took a practical shape, yet, in course of only 36 years, ordinary seeing schools served the educational needs of a larger number of visually handicapped boys and girls than the institutions for the blind, of which there are over 60 in the United States. In New York City, alone, four schools for the seeing have introduced the education of the blind in spite of the existence of two residential blind institutions.

There must be very good reasons for the phenomenal growth of this particular variety of co-education in America. In view of the limitation of space, only six of these reasons will be stated here :

1. The principle of the day-school is nothing but the manifestation of the scientific conviction, found in evidence in more than one field of education and of child welfare today, that institutional life for children should be reduced to its lowest possible limits. It results from a general belief that the institution is more or less out of place in modern conceptions of the treatment of the child, and is to be accepted only in the absence of any thing better. Frank H. Hall, one of the most notable educationists of the blind in America, believed firmly that "The institutionalisation of blind children constitutes a handicap in later life even more serious than the lack of vision." As a result of this institutionalisation, a blind child is made to feel dependent upon the rest of society and is led to believe that the world owes him a living. Such an attitude chills personal efforts and ambitions and causes blindness to be associated with social parasitism in the minds of the seeing people. Besides, living constantly with children similarly afflicted, blind children, in many cases, cannot develop normal personalities. At the end of this segregation from society for several years, they find it very difficult to adjust themselves psychologically to the seeing world. The proposed co-education is free from these shortcomings.

2. The parents and guardians are more familiar with ordinary schools than with special institutions, and they prefer to send their blind children to the seeing schools if special provi-

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sions exist. Institutions are usually looked upon with suspicion by them.

3. According to modern principles of educational psychology, an institution can never take the place of home. Due to long residence in a special institution, a blind child's attitude towards home and the members of his family undergoes a considerable change. The parents themselves come to think in course of time that there is another agency to take care of their blind child, and, thus, do not discharge their parental obligations to the extent they should. The home contacts give the blind child an appreciative understanding of the economic problems of the home, and urge him to make an effort towards self-support.

4. The standard of education in the special institutions is very inferior to that obtainable in ordinary seeing schools. Dr. Merry, one of the American authorities on blind education, has rightly remarked :

"It should be pointed out that on the whole day-school classes for blind children are not so prone to adhere to outworn theories and methods as are residential institutions. The fact that these classes are a recognised part of the public school systems of cities where they are located, tends to bring them in line with the best current educational practices for seeing children."

5. If blind children attend ordinary school, the seeing people get a better opportunity to be conversant with the needs and problems arising out of their deprivation of vision. Besides, the sighted and sightless children learn to understand each other from their early association in their school life, and the questions of superiority or inferiority complex can hardly arise.

6. Lastly, the maintenance cost in a day-school is about 50% less than in special institutions. Having regard to our present economic conditions, this financial argument should be most telling. Parents and guardians are usually too poor to send their slightless children and wards to the existing institutions situated far away from their homes and to meet the expense necessary for their education in residential institutions. Why cannot these children stay in their own homes and receive education in the ordinary schools of their locality ? Of course, they can, and this is the only way in which these perplexing educational problems of so many thousands of sightless boys and girls of our country can be solved without much expense to parents and guardians.

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

BY DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

II

The earliest mention of silk trade between England and India has been made by Munn who states the importations about 1621, to be 107,140 lbs. which cost in India 7s. per lb. and that the selling price in England was 20s. It was about this time that the manufacture of raw silk into broad silk goods commenced in England.¹⁹ By 1629, regular supply of raw silk was received from India amounting to nearly £100,000 per annum.²⁰ The silk manufacture of London was so much extended that the silk throwsters of the city were incorporated under various names and were empowered to take apprentices, make bye-laws and establish other regulations for the benefit of their trade. The supply of an important raw material from India thus led to the development of an important industry in England. By 1655, this new industry was fully entrenched and began to sell their stuff in France.

The competition between British and Indian silk became keen since 1680. The silk weavers of London complained in 1681 to the Parliament of the damage they sustained by the East India Company's importation of India wrought silks,

though the manufacture of silk goods in England was very far from being sufficient, either in quantity or quality, and therefore large quantities of wrought silks were imported from France and Italy.²¹ The Bengal product was feared much more than the French or Italian silk. At this time, the East India Company was attacked by the Turkey Company of England on account of their importation of raw silk; a business which that company claimed as their exclusive right. They presented a long and elaborate memorial to the Privy Council reproaching the East India Company for sending some dyers to Bengal in order to instruct the native manufacturers in the art of finishing black silk agreeable to the taste of English ladies, and for importing deceitful kind of raw silk. This conduct, they said, was utterly destructive of British industry. The Company replied that the silk manufacture of England had been increased fourfold since they began to import raw silk from India, and that the quality of the Indian raw silk was the same as with all other commodities, some good, some bad, some indifferent. With respect to the sending of dyers, the Company said that only one or two were sent to Bengal alone and this for the nation's as well

19. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, p. 247.

20. Milburn, *Ibid.* p. 247.

21. MacPherson, *History of Commerce*, p. 136.



Chinese and American troops cross the Mogaung River in Burma on an improvised bridge

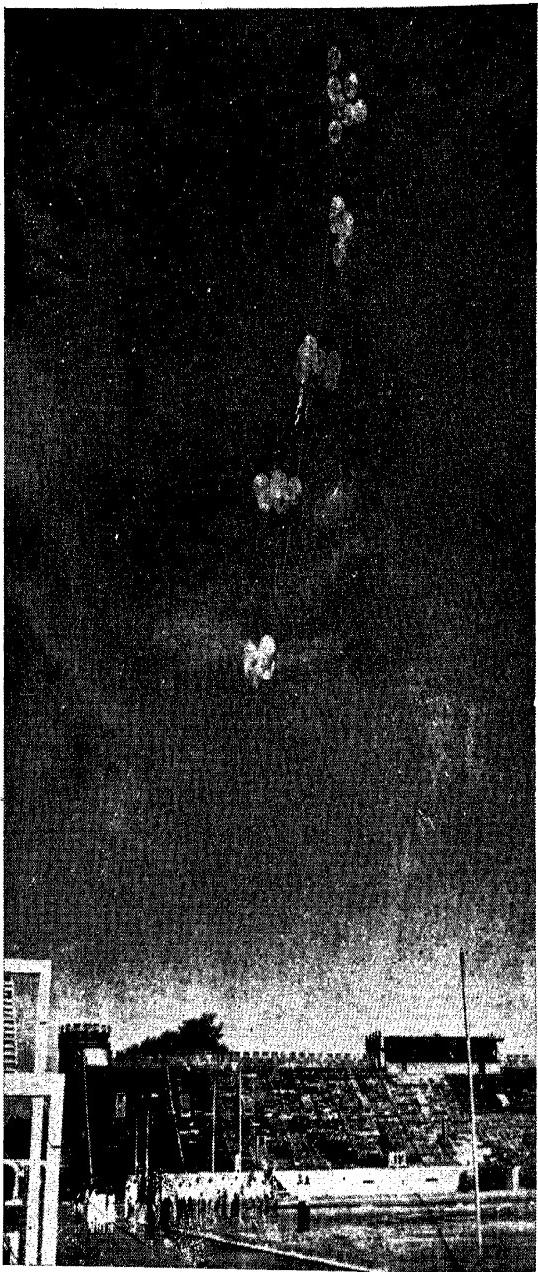


Chinese troops march along the Burma Road to the Salween River to join with General Stilwell's Chinese troops in North Burma

Courtesy: USOWI



A U. S. helicopter demonstrates its usefulness for rescue and reconnaissance work



Clusters of balloons carrying cosmic ray equipment are released by the U. S. scientists to determine various characteristics of the earth's stratosphere —Courtesy: USOWI

as the Company's advantage, especially as to plain black silks, generally exported again.²² This defence was deemed satisfactory and complaints of the Turkey Company were dismissed. Rev. Dionysius Lardner believes that opposition to Bengal silk proceeded from merchants interested in the importation of Italian thrown silk, who found means to influence, for a time, many among the manufacturers.²³

By 1697, various kinds of wrought silk replaced raw silk in the trade with India. Their importation into England in large quantities caused prices to fall. The importers suffered great loss. It also greatly discouraged home manufacture causing serious discontent among the silk manufacturers of England. There were some violent outbursts. An attempt was made to seize the treasure at the East India House which had almost succeeded; order was however finally restored. The real competition between the British and Indian silk manufactures thus became severe and acute. By 1700, cheap Indian silk was universally popular throughout England. The demand for protection was raised and in this year an Act was passed prohibiting the sale of Bengal wrought silk in England, as also the manufactures of Persia, China and East Indies, under pain of forfeiture of the goods and a fine of £200.²⁴ In 1701, upon the rupture of British relations with France, Italian silk was permitted to enter England but wrought silk of India, China and Persia remained under prohibition.²⁵ British silk industry flourished under this protection and by 1713, 300,000 persons were employed in it.²⁶

In 1719, the British silk industry was revolutionised by the introduction of the art of throwing organzine. Lombe, a London merchant, secretly learnt the art at Piedmont and on coming back, established a set of mills on a similar construction at Derby. The exclusive privilege of working organzine was granted to him for 14 years, after which it was thrown open to the public. By 1722 the silk manufacture of England was brought to a great perfection in all its branches and it was further encouraged by the grant of bounties.²⁷ By 1730, English silk commanded large export market.²⁸ Prohibition of the import of foreign silk goods into England, however, continued.

After the grant of Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the E. I. Company, in 1765, the export of raw silk from Bengal increased. But

it was reeled in a rude and artless manner and was called Bengal wound. The mode of winding practised in filatures, or winding houses of Italy and other parts of the continent was gradually introduced into Bengal and within a short time became popular. The first consignment of filature wound silk of Bengal reached England in 1772 and within the next three years the new method was in full operation.²⁹ With the new mode of winding sufficiently established, competition of Bengal with other silks became very keen. From 1776 to 1785, the imports from Bengal appear to have been on an average, 560,283 small lbs. (16 ozs.), while those from Italy, Turkey, etc., did not exceed 282,304 lbs.³⁰ Filature wound Bengal silk practically swept others out of the field. The result of this successful effort was seen in the decline of British trade from Aleppo, Valencia, Naples, Calabria and other places; from many of which, that formerly furnished very considerable quantities, not a single bale was imported for many years; so that generally speaking, the silk manufactured in England was now furnished from the northern provinces of Italy, Bengal and China. For ten years, from 1776 to 1785, the East India Company supplied it by contract which resulted in loss to the company every year. In 1786, the contract was substituted by the agency system which led to the removal of many evils and corruptions in the silk trade. In 1787, the cotton textile industry began to flourish very considerably and since then, import of silk from Bengal greatly fell off. From the establishment of the agency system in Bengal, however, the Company's investments of raw silk had in general been productive. Bengal also had a lucrative trade in raw silk, exclusive of the E. I. Company and with countries other than England, as would appear from the following table:

1795-96	..	..	..	Sa. Rs. 5,81,183
1796-97	..	..	..	" 3,40,975
1797-98	..	..	..	" 6,12,253
1798-99	..	..	..	" 6,67,300
1799-1800	..	..	..	14,33,751
1800-01	..	..	..	" 10,51,957
1801-02	..	..	..	" 13,65,882
1802-03	..	..	..	" 16,88,467
1803-04	..	..	..	" 19,10,398
1804-05	..	..	..	" 35,52,000
1805-06	..	..	..	" 30,56,491

Forming a total in 11 years of Sa. Rs. 160,70,657, of which only Rs. 40,18177 were exported to London; the remainder to the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the gulf of Arabia and Persia and a small portion to Pule Pinang and places further East.³¹ As regards Bengal silk and places further East.³² Lardner says,³³ importations of Bengal silk

22. MacPherson, *Ibid*; p. 137-138.

23. Lardner; *A treatise on the origin, progressive movement and present state of the silk manufacture*, 1831, p. 72.

24. 11 and 12 Will. III, Chap. 10.

25. 1st Anne Chap. 37.

26. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 250.

27. 3d. Geo. I. Chap. 15.

28. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 251.

29. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 252.

30. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 252.

31. Milburn, *Ibid*, p. 257.

32. Lardner *Ibid*, p. 72.

into England progressively improved in quality and in consequence the organzine made from it grew gradually into favour, until it ranked for the most part very little below Italian organzine and in some instances sold for the highest prices afforded by the market. Sanguine hopes had been expressed by some persons of competent judgment, Lardner believed, that "at no very distant day the improvement may be such as to render our manufacturers nearly independent of foreign supplies. The facilities for extending the production in India are such as to create reasonable expectations that, in regard to both quality and price, Bengal silk will force the productions of Italy, and the supplies from Turkey, out of the market. In these western countries, there is but one regular annual crop, while in Bengal there are three, at intervals of four months, in March, July and November."

The Bengal peasant sold the raw silk to the filatures, or winding houses, most of whom were in the employ of the Company. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, the Italian method of reeling spread to the principal silk centres like "Comercolly, Malda, Radnagore, Jungypore, Rungpore, Bauleah, Cossimbazar and Gonatea," while the old method continued to be practised by some peasants in Comercolly, Jungypore, Rungpore and Bauleah.³³

By the seventeenth century, the Dutch merchants had entered the Bengal silk trade and developed an extensive market in Japan. Moreland says :³⁴

The supply of the Japanese demand for raw silk was "at first in the hands of Chinese merchants, and

the Dutch soon learned that the direct China trade was protected by the Emperor for political reasons: they could not therefore openly bring silk from China itself, but they could, and did, bring it from Indo-China, where they obtained it in exchange for Indian cotton goods, and for spices or other articles. Persian silk was also offered, but this trade did not develop, and the greatest success of Dutch enterprise in this direction was the opening of the Japanese market to the raw silk of Bengal. I have not been able to trace the details of this achievement, because the Batavia Journals are missing for the important years. A sample appears to have been sent as early as 1641, for in that year the factors reported that Bengal silk was found to be unsuitable for the Japanese market, being too coarse and uneven, and also too dear. No further mention of a trade is made in the Journals up to 1646, but when the series is resumed in 1653, the trade is found to be in full swing, a cargo sent to Japan in that year consisting mainly of Bengal silk, and subsequent entries tell the same story. There is no trace of any such trade in the sixteenth century, and the opening of this new market for Bengal must be attributed definitely to Dutch enterprise."

Moreland continues :³⁵

In May 1653 there is a record consignment of 300 bales, while two months later a vessel left Batavia with a cargo consisting principally of Bengal silk. The Journals for the next three years are missing, but in 1657 we read of a consignment of 452 bales, and also of a small vessel laden entirely with silk; in 1659 a cargo was despatched of 662 bales but part of it was the produce of Indo-China, while two other vessels carried mainly Bengal silk; and in 1661 a single consignment is recorded of 1010 bales. The bales of silk handled by the Dutch at this time averaged just under 150 lbs., while the price approved by the English Company in 1659 was Rs. 90 to 100 per maund (probably of 74 lbs.); on these figures, the value paid to the producers for 1,000 bales would be about two lakhs of rupees yearly, a substantial figure when judged by contemporary standards of commerce.

(To be continued)

33. Milburn, *Ibid.*, p. 243.

34. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzib*, p. 66.

35. Moreland, *Ibid.*, p. 75.

THE BACKGROUND

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

To paint memories by giving them form,
And gather together in language those signs which are limned in consciousness,
I wonder what it all means.
This is life's childlike play, this demand,
In foolish delight feigning to defeat oblivion
And win in the game of life-and-death :
By invoking a galaxy of illusions and images.

In the current of time, the forms of things wear away and scatter,
Life creates out of them a second form with shadows put together ;
If death contradicts, it hears not.
Bound in fleeting existence I dwell,
My imagined forms, shaped in creation, spread across time and space :—
This I do not myself know, but when the end comes,
If others know then in them I live.

Translated by Dr. Amiya Chakravarty

—The Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

THE LIFE OF A SOVIET ARTIST

By ALICE AKIMOVA

It is difficult to imagine the Soviet artist, writer, actor or musician as the hero of a sentimental melodrama, as so often the case with his predecessors of a bygone day. The circumstances have changed: neither the miserable garret nor the splendid palace—the traditional settings of melodrama—is the home of the contemporary Soviet artist. He lives in either a comfortable town flat built on funds contributed by the government and the art-workers themselves (every big town has its blocks of flats designed and built specially for writers, painters, composers, etc.) or in a country cottage. At the front, of course, he shares the soldiers' and officers' dugouts and the hardships of the campaign.

In the second place, and this is much more important, there is none of that wearing poverty, that tormenting contradiction between the necessity for earning one's bread and realizing one's dream of producing a true work of art.

The painter, let us say, wants to carry out his conception, a large canvas that will take a year or two; the dramatist has thought of a good play. They apply to the Committee on the Arts attached to the Council of People's Commissars, and if the idea is interesting they are commissioned by the government to carry it out and given their living expenses for the period that this takes.

Practically unlimited possibilities are offered for the collecting of material. Expeditions for this purpose were financed by various organisations before the war and the practice still continues.

Not only the special war-front writers and theatres but also those who are working permanently on the home front are allowed to visit the front and the liberated regions. Here they can get in close touch with those who are to be the heroes of their future works, act for them, read their literary works to them. This living contact is helpful and essential in their work.

They are welcomed in works and factories,

in collective farms, scientific institutes, schools and hospitals.

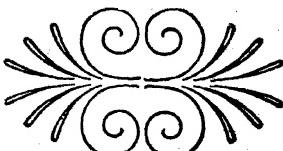
Art is very highly appreciated by the Soviet government and the Soviet people. This appreciation is shown in the awards and titles conferred upon painters, writers, producers, composers, actors, and by the Stalin prizes. It is also reflected in the enormous circulation of books, posters, films, in the crowded theatres and in innumerable other facts that bear witness to the role and significance of Soviet art for the Soviet people.

The success of an artist's works is influenced not only by material conditions but also by the moral satisfaction he receives from it.

Work for the front-press naturally brings in no big profits but on the other hand take a case like this: a certain unit gave Elona Kononenko a special order for a story. Payment for it was made in the form of a sharp shooter's account, and opened with 55 killed Germans. Then again, what could be dearer to a writer than the liberation of his country. The writer who knows that his book is in the soldier's kit-bag, the singer who knows that men go into action with his song on their lips, lives and works with enthusiasm.

Despite the difficulties inevitable in wartime, the Soviet Government and the Soviet people are doing their utmost to alleviate conditions for those who work for art. Special stores, dining room, sanatoria, rest-homes have been opened. There are summer holiday camps for their children, too. All these things help to make life easier for the artist, so that he has a much better chance of achieving success in his work.

There are front-writers who have laid down their lives at their posts. Their names will be remembered in the tales that will be told of the true sons of the heroic Russian people. Soviet art-workers are doing a great deal of social work too. They think of their country and her needs and they can feel that the country is thinking of them and caring for them.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

FAMINES IN BENGAL 1770—1943: By Kali Charan Ghosh. To be had of The Indian Associated Publishing Co., Ltd., 8-C, Ramanath Majumdar St., Calcutta. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 5-8.

It is certainly in the fitness of things that a number of books and pamphlets should already be published bearing on the tragic events of the great calamity that befell India in 1943. The book under review is one of these. In view of the fact that a Famine Commission have already started enquiry, the publication of the book must be considered as opportune and well-timed. Bengal along with adjoining parts of the country suffered, perhaps, the most from the cruel effects of the devastating calamity. But portions of the Provinces of Orissa, Bombay and Madras and the States of Cochin and Travancore, etc., were also affected by the catastrophe. The work as indicated by its title, is mainly concerned with Bengal, and is described by the author as "only a chronicle of events". In writing the book, he claims that he has attempted to keep himself "strictly confined to the published, or more correctly, 'censor passed' version of facts and statements, proceedings of the Legislative bodies in India, etc. It is, at most, just a partial record of the tremendous calamity that ravaged Bengal in 1943."

The publication is based on articles and notes, previously contributed to the press, some of which were published in *The Modern Review*, now revised and re-written and given a new shape in the present form. The book has numerous appendices containing statements by such persons as Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, Mr. K. C. Neogi, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukherjee, Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Mr. S. M. Hossain, etc., extracts from the Report of the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University on the deaths due to Famine in 1943, published in February, 1943, and numerous tables containing figures and valuable information on a variety of relevant and useful matters. The book is illustrated by a number of photographs of actual life and events published in the press "to enable the future generations to be convinced of the authenticity of the indescribable miseries from which the people suffered, and of which only a small fraction has been recorded in this book."

The book begins with a very brief introductory chapter describing the nature of relief measures adopted during the regime of Moghul Emperors. This is followed by a short account of the previous famines, twenty-two of which had occurred in India excluding seven 'scarcities' during the period of British rule, and thus supplies a background of the present famine by a study of records of past famines in Bengal. Of these twenty-three, Bengal suffered in seven either alone or along with some other province or provinces in 1770, 1783, 1866, 1873-74, 1897, 1897 and in 1943. It will be remembered in this connection that Mr. Hemendraprasad Ghosh, the veteran Editor of *The Basumatî*, had done very useful preliminary spade work by publishing a short brochure on "The Famine

of 1770" and inviting the attention of the authorities along with the general public to the terrible disaster that confronted them.

A careful study of the causes and circumstances resulting in the famine of 1943, along with a close scrutiny of the actions and utterances of both the Central and the Provincial Governments, in various matters relating to the disastrous calamity that overtook the Province, as put together in the present work, from authoritative sources, leaves no room for doubt that the gravity of the situation should have been anticipated and adequate and proper preparations made betimes for meeting the unparalleled emergency that smote the country by those who assumed the responsibility of declaring the war without consulting and taking into confidence the people concerned. As a responsible member of the Indian Legislature has pointed out: "India is today on a war basis on account of the responsibility forced upon it by the British Government. It is my contention that those who took this responsibility of declaring war have also to bear responsibility for finding food supplies for the civil population of India." The march of events, the facts already disclosed, as also the statements of the authorities made from time to time fully confirm the view that they had utterly failed to realise the great responsibility that rested on them and to take adequate and suitable measures for coping with the crisis. It is distressing to find responsible authorities shirking their own responsibility and attempting to transfer blame from their own shoulders to those of others in turn.

As the writer of the book very properly observes, the Central Government more than anybody else must own their share of responsibility. "They were the sole competent authority in matters relating to price-control, restriction on movements of vehicles, inflation, transport, export and import policy, customs and tariff, military purchases, political and social security, etc. The denial policy and the boat control order are the outcomes of Central Government Commands." Mr. Hossain Imam, Member of the Council of State, is reported to have pointed out that "the Bengal Government Ministers were forced to announce that there was no cause of alarm—there being a sufficiency of food-grains in the province under the direction of the Food Department." It is seen that in almost every important matter, such as disease and death, profiteering, large-scale purchase by various departments and big business concerns, on behalf of their labour population and workers, etc., the responsible authorities were not only not prepared for such a contingency but were unable to adopt adequate measures in proper time to cope with the inevitable aftermath. The events of the tragic occurrence have from the beginning been a most dismal record in the history of British rule. Nothing could be more damaging to the reputation of that rule.

Although the famine of 1943 was, perhaps, one of the severest amongst such visitations, it was not only not declared as a famine, but strenuous efforts were also at the same time made to belittle and minimise

the gravity of the situation and to keep the world as far as possible in the dark about its consequences. It has also been found that valuable experiences of past famines have been, in many cases, wholly disregarded with the result that serious errors of administration that have occurred in 1943 have been found to be repetitions of past errors and disregard of measures which had previously proved effective. All these facts would certainly engage the attention of the Famine Commission in the course of their enquiry. It is feared that the decision of the Commission regarding publication of evidence will prevent a public scrutiny and correction of misleading statements and their exposure. We command the publication under review to the notice of the Famine Enquiry Commission as also of the general public.

S. K. LAHIRI

THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS: By Professor Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D., Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Editor, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, and formerly Professor of History, Presidency College, Bengal. Published by Ramesh Ghosal, 35, Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta, 1944. Pp. xvi + 320; Price Rs. 8 or 16 shillings.

This is a series of fourteen papers which Prof. Ghoshal read at different conferences or published in different journals during the last 20 years (excepting the first two which are published for the first time in the present work), and they present the high-water level of historical research in India. Dr. Ghoshal is a distinguished scholar of history and Indology, and his writings (he has half a dozen important works already to his credit) are marked by both an objective approach and a sobriety of judgment which is quite uncommon in our country, and at the same time they present a wealth of detail about the topic concerned which is the result of a very wide and thoroughly assimilated reading. Dr. Ghoshal's main subject—his *piece de resistance* in the intellectual feast he has spread—has been Hindu Political Theories and Ancient Indian Economy; but he has made other aspects of Indology also his own. The present collection of essays show a very wide range of interests within the vast domain of Indology. A statement of the bare titles of these 14 papers will show the scope of the work: Paper I, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography*, Pp. 1-52, in 3 sections—1. the Vamsas and Gotra-pravara lists of Vedic Literature; 2. the Gathas and Narasamasis, the Itahas and Puranas of Vedic Literature; and 3. Vedic Historical Traditions. Paper II, *Asokan Studies*, pp. 53-84; being a detailed consideration of some terms and expression in the Inscriptions of Asoka; Paper III, *Slavery in Ancient India—a study in Social and Economic History*, pp. 85-103; Paper IV, *Some current views of the Origin and Nature of Hindu Kingship considered*, pp. 104-142, containing a criticism of the views of the late Mr. K. P. Jayawal, of the late Dr. N. C. Bandyopadhyay, and of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee; Paper V, *On the Nature and Functions of Vedic Assemblies*, pp. 143-157—this paper too is critical of Jayawal and Bandyopadhyaya; Paper VI, *On some Texts relating to the Ownership of the Soil*, pp. 158-166; Paper VII, *On the Significance of some Administrative Terms and Titles*, pp. 167-193 (these terms range from the Vedas down to the medieval inscriptions); Paper VIII, *The Mineral Wealth of Ancient Bengal*, pp. 194-199, a study on the basis of old Sanskrit texts and the Greek work *The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*; Paper IX, *The Oldest Representation of the Saka Cult in Bengal Art*, pp. 200-209, discussing that terrible act of devotion known elsewhere also in India, namely, the offering of one's head to the Devi; Paper X, *An Episode in the History of Bengal—the Occupation of Varendri (North Bengal) by Divya and his line*,

pp. 210-230; Paper XI, *A Rare Indian Temple-type in Cambodia*, pp. 232-238; Paper XII, *On the Image of Lakshmi in Indo-China, with some Indian Parallels*, pp. 239-245; Paper XIII, *The Vedic Ceremonies of Royal and Imperial Consecration, and their Constitutional significance*, pp. 246-291; and Paper XIV, *Periods of Indian History*, 292-304.

In some of the papers, Dr. Ghoshal appears to break new ground, e.g., in the first paper and in the third, although the topics were not untouched by previous writers. Architecture and Iconography, Religious History and Lexicography all come in for consideration, but most of the topics relate to Politics and Economics in Ancient India which form Dr. Ghoshal's forte in Indology. The Essays are intended more for the specialist and the advanced student of Ancient Indian history and culture than for the general reader, and as such the present reviewer, who cannot claim to be appraised authoritatively or with knowledge all the views put forward by Prof. Ghoshal including his criticism of some previous workers in the field, is content only to testify to his high appreciation of the dispassionate and scholarly way in which Dr. Ghoshal has marshalled his facts and his conclusions. The last Essay, on the *Periods of Indian History*, gives a rapid resume of the salient stages in the evolution of Indian history and culture. So far as the reviewer can judge, this is a very valuable contribution to our knowledge of ancient Indian polity and culture, and scholars and students with even a slight interest in the subject will find the book useful and stimulating. The printing and general get-up are remarkably good for these days of paper control and restricted printing and there is a useful index, and a necessary list of additions and corrections. We wish the book a wide publicity among students of Indian history and culture.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

GANDHI-CHAMPION OF THE PROLETARIATE: By Bijoy Lal Chatterjee with an introduction by Dr. Syama Proasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Barrister-at-law. Published by Prakashani, 15, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta. Pp. 72. Price Re. 1-8.

This book consisting of six essays, the first five of which appeared in the *Modern Review* from time to time takes its title like Professor Laski's well-known *Dangers of Obedience* from the first. The writer attracted the attention of the Bengali public by his nationalist activities with their usual consequences and by his volume of poems *Sabharader Gan* very happily translated into the Song of the Have-nots. Since that time, he has published more than two dozen pamphlets in Bengali dealing with literary, political and sociological problems. His past record as also the fact that the present volume is dedicated to "those valiant daughters and sons of Mother India" whose ideal is the service of man and who under the inspiration of our great national leader are striving to build up "a new humanity" are clear indications of the angle from which all these essays are written.

Undoubtedly the essay which gives the title to the volume is the most striking in the collection. The second one pointing out the differences between the Gandhian and the communist approach to the problem of equal distribution of wealth emphasises the superiority of the former, the third shows why so long as human nature is not radically changed all over the world, law and order have to be maintained to which end the presence of a police force, however small, in the state is a necessity. In the next two essays, the writer shows the contributions to nationalism made by Tagore and Gandhiji while the last discusses Romain Rolland's conception of Gandhi.

Obviously different aspects of the beliefs and activities of Mahatma Gandhi have been carefully considered and their reactions on the author presented

to the reader. There cannot be much doubt that Mr. Chatterjee is a faithful follower of Gandhiji and that this is due not to blind admiration but to conviction flowing from a careful examination of available materials.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

(1) THE ART OF LOVE IN THE ORIENT: By N. K. Basu, Medical Book Co., Post Box No. 10814, Calcutta. Price—Not mentioned. Pp. 234 including index. (2) KAMA SUTRA: Translated and edited by Dr. B. N. Basu, M.B. (Cal.), D.T.M., D.P.H., Medical Book Co. 4th Edition. Pp. 233. Price Re.

1. The first book "The Art of Love in the Orient" by Mr. N. K. Basu, author of "History of Prostitution in India". The book has a foreword by Dr. B. M. Barua, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Lond.). In this foreword Dr. Barua expresses the opinion that insanity, apoplexy, delirium tremens and a host of other disorders may all be "traceable to the underlying cause of repression or renunciation" of sex and "that all reputable neurologists and psychiatrists agree on this point". None of these statements however are correct. Dr. Barua has a theory to account for the mystery of sexual attraction. "The enquiry should be taken down to the psycho-physical plane where it will perhaps be found that the proper man and the proper woman coming within a degree of proximity to each other become, as two electromagnetic centres, affected unawares by the passing of electricity between them, which is absolutely a play in the dark"! The author of the book, Mr. Basu, has drawn his inspiration from many sources and he has been able to present a readable account of sex life. In spite of the publishers' note to the contrary the book seems to have been designed with a view to appeal to the lay man rather than to the technical reader. The very name of the book is suggestive of this. The author is a non-medical man and does not claim to have any special training in sexology.

2. The second book "Kama-Sutra" is by Dr. B. N. Basu, M.B. (Cal.), D.T.M., D.P.H. Its foreword is written by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. (Paris). The book has run through four editions showing its popularity. It is a free rendering of Vatsyayana's Kama-Sutra interspersed with translator's discussion, remarks and notes. The author's style is pleasant. The foreword by Dr. Bagchi has been written from the historical standpoint. Dr. Bagchi says "a careful study of the whole book in the original (Kama-Sutra by Vatsyayana) shows that if it has any interest at all it is nothing more than historical"! Dr. Bagchi other loose statements and remarks. "Vatsyayana was not responsible for many of the chapters which had been introduced by later writers" Dr. Bagchi bases this opinion on the idea that some of the chapters in the Kama-Sutra do not show the scientific attitude and 'disinterestedness' that characterize Vatsyayana. Unfortunately the learned writer of the foreword is entirely mistaken on this point. The whole of Vatsyayana's Kama-Sutra as extant today uniformly shows the scientific mind of the composer. Both Dr. Bagchi and the author, Dr. Basu, have failed to take into account the convention of ancient technical Sanskrit writers to describe practices, even when they are objectionable in the form of instructions. When, for instance, Vatsyayana says that a married woman 'should be seduced in such and such a fashion it does not follow that he advocates the practice but it only means that people who stoop to it 'do' it in that way. The historical arguments of Dr. Bagchi are not very illuminating. Here are some examples: Since Nandi is the name of a mythical person it cannot belong to a human author (page 9); since Vatsyayana describes the lives of highly prosperous city-bred people in a way that reminds one of the Gupta age therefore Vatsyayana belongs to that period (p. 12); since the Tantrakhayavika composed about the beginning of the fourth century makes no

reference to Vatsyayana therefore Vatsyayana must belong to a later age (p. 12); since Vatsyayana mentions the scandals of two royal families, viz., Abhira Kottaraja and Kuntala Satkarni, he must be contemporary to the persons concerned in the scandal and since the Kuntala branch of the Satkarni ruled 'up to the 5th century A.D.' and since "some importance is attached to the Abhira dynasty in the middle of the fourth century by the Gupta Emperor, Samudra Gupta, therefore Vatsyayana lived and wrote his Kama-Sutra in the fourth century (p. 12)." Although Dr. Basu's interpretation of Vatsyayana has been generally reliable there are passages that seem to indicate that the true significance of the sutras has been missed in some places (e.g. para 2, p. 142, foot-note p. 144, etc.). The book would have lost nothing in technical value had the pictures been omitted. The book needs an index.

G. BOSE

INDIA BUILDS HER OWN ECONOMY: By P. C. Jain. Published by Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 3-8.

The author has divided his book in nine chapters—two on Joint-stock enterprise and one each on small-scale and cottage industries, Stock Exchange Activities, Foreign trade, Foreign indebtedness and Sterling repatriation, War budgets, Inflation, Price Control and Rationing and Post-War Reconstruction. Each one of the chapters contains statistical data and information brought up-to-date. The main object of the book is to give a good account of the Indian economic expansion since 1939, and in this the author has succeeded. The merits and defects of the economic activities have both been taken into account and criticised wherever criticism was called for. The author's views on inflation are well balanced. As remedy for checking inflation, he has suggested a very sensible twofold programme—(i) induce people to save more money by offering them better and more attractive facilities for investment, and (ii) encourage production of foodstuffs and manufactured goods so that the expanded currency may be counterbalanced by an increased output of goods and services. We believe with him that "these combined with a more rigid control of prices and rationing, if necessary, should be able to overcome the more pronounced effects of inflation." He has thus given a fitting reply to the official view of counteracting inflation. Students of Indian economics would be immensely profited by a study of this handy up-to-date book.

D. BURMAN

BLOOD OF STONES: By Harindranath Chattopadhyay. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

To lovers of literature the poet needs no introduction. In this small book of poems he describes the last Bengal Famine and asserts the determination of the people to stand against Jap aggression. As propaganda it may serve its purpose, but as poetry it is not so laudable.

D. N. MOOKERJEE

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: By Prof. K. N. Vaswani, M.A., LL.B. New Book Company, Bombay. Pp. 40. Price Re. 1-8."

The author in these pages rightly observes that reconstruction after this war must be well-planned world-order superseding National Sovereignities. So-called nationalists are the root of all conflicts and quarrels among nations. The new-order must be equalitarian without any colour-bar and imperialism and there must be an all-world democracy and it must be a co-operative order to end mal-distribution of materials, markets and men. It must be a socialistic world with security for all and non-violent order at the same time.

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Thus the author means to say that the reconstruction must be both economic and political and it must be applicable to all nations without any exception whatsoever.

Such a world as the author envisages is more or less utopian and as such it must exist in ideas rather than in the world of realities. Physical force is going to be the determining factor in this world conflict and not the soul-force of the Mahatma. If the new-order is to be established it must be established by victors achieving victory by force of arms. None of the parties in the present war believes that reason is superior to physical force in a world of competition and as such final appeal has been made to arms—the only determining factor in the world of brutes. Mankind in spite of progress in civilization has not been able to shake off the brute in him; the brute has not even been tamed sufficiently. When reason and goodwill determine the action of statesmen and nations we can expect realisation of Prof. Vaswani's ideals and not otherwise. Lessons of past wars are too disappointing and the future does not seem to be brighter than the gloomy past unless there is a real change of heart of mankind.

The book is printed on handmade paper and will be a useful study for those who are interested in the post-war problems.

A. B. DUTTA

KRISHNA AND HIS SONG : By D. S. Sarma, M.A. Published by International Book House, Ash Lane, Esplanade Road, Bombay. Pp. 98. Price Re. 1-8.

The book consists of eleven small chapters which appeared previously as articles in *The Aryan Path*. It attempts an interpretation of some of the deeper aspects of the Song of Krishna, viz., the *Gita*. The author shows considerable insight and sympathetic understanding and presents his thesis in a luminous and attractive manner. We cannot say that we can accept all his conclusions; but none the less, it is a good book and we have liked it very much indeed.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

SRI KRISHNA AND HIS GOSPEL : By Swami Shuddhananda Bharati. Published by Anbu Nilayam, Ramchandrapuram, Trichy Dist., S. India. Pp. 72. Price Re. 1-8.

The author is the writer of a number of religious books that stir the soul of the readers to spiritual activity. The present book is divided into twenty-four small but inspiring chapters, besides the dedicatory one which contains six Sanskrit verses followed by English rendering. The author who is not only a scholar, but a sincere *sadhu*, throws new light on the gospel of Sri Krishna. He describes Sri Krishna as the most perfect manifestation of the Divine and the inner purpose of His incarnation is to raise humanity to divinity. While giving a spiritual interpretation of the *Gita*, the author says with insight that the Asuras of the *Gita* represent the lower nature of man, Kurukshetra the battle-field of the Gunas, Arjuna the human 'I' and Sri Krishna the Supreme Being that leads the world's play through His yogamaya. In the last chapter the Supreme Truth of the *Gita* is briefly stated and eight select maxims from the *Gita* are quoted to corroborate the theme.

In the twelfth chapter there is an One-Act Play entitled 'Tulsi' which brings out the glory of devotion. The story of the Play is this : Sri Krishna while engaged in a conversation with Satyabhama told her that the noblest gift for a woman is the gift of her husband to a saint. Satyabhama accordingly gave away her husband, Sri Krishna, to Narada who then happened to be there. After having made the gift, Satyabhama, however, realised her folly, sincerely repented and wanted to revoke her gift in exchange of gold equal to the weight of her husband. Sri Krishna was placed on one scale pan and all gold of Satyabhama on the

other. Still Krishna's scale rested on the ground ! Queen Rakmini brought a few Tulsi leaves and placed them on the scale-pan along with gold when the balance was even. Sri Krishna then says that the five letters of the word 'TULSI' symbolise the five great virtues—True faith, Unity in the heart, Love, Surrender and Immunity from egoism.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

NAYAK O LEKHAK : By Nabendu Bhushan Ghosh. Twentieth Century Publications, Patna, 1943. Pages 188. Price Re. 1-8.

This fantastic novel by a young Bengali intellectual of Patna deserves notice for more than one reason. He has employed a bold technique in portraying the two pivotal characters of his fiction which might perhaps roughly represent life as it is and life as it should be. The former is naturally lively, spontaneous and human, while the latter is unreal, imaginary and grotesque. The author has a sensitive imagination, broad human sympathies and a facile pen. His introspective soliloquies are, therefore, interesting. This is also the reason why the social situations he has created lack the quality of drama and support of logic; they are at best stale and commonplace. The author has considerable talent and promise, but has also the weakness to yield to the facile temptation of placing unbalanced emphasis on fashionable ideologies. Art and propaganda seldom go well together, unless you recognize such a thing as "art of propaganda."

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

HINDI

MATRI-VANDANA : By Pandit Bhagavat Prasad Shukla. Bharatiya Granthamala, Brindaban. Pp. 78. Price annas six.

The book is an "album" of eight "poetical pictures" of a child's love for his mother as well as motherland that, as a Sanskrit proverb has it, "is greater than heaven." It will rejoice the heart of the young reader to feel vividly, while reciting these simple, suggestive poems, the twin sentiment of filial affection and patriotism and to integrate them in his life.

G. M.

TELUGU

GANDHI CHARITRAMU : By Komanduri Sathakopacharyulu, M.A., B.L., Valil, Cocanada. Price annas eight.

MAULANA AZAD JEEVITA CHARITRA : By the same author. Price annas six.

Mr. Sathakopachari has gained some more laurels by publishing these two biographies. He is a prolific and purposeful writer. His patriotic fervour, love of detail and immaculate style make his writings rich. He excels in biographies, and the above two remarkable books will win the hearts of a vast multitude of Telugu readers.

The get-up is both neat and attractive.

A. K. Row

GUJARATI

COLLEGE JIVAN ANE BIJI VATO : By Man-galdas Girdhardas Mehta. Printed at the Mahodaya Printing Press, Bhavnagar. Pp. 208. Cloth bound. Price Rs. 2-8 (1943).

As its name implies, this collection of twelve short stories, pertains to the College life led by young students of both sexes in colleges and their results good and bad. There are other short stories also, heard by the writer, while lying on his father's lap. This shows what a healthy home education he has had. The stories fall into the rut of the present vogue of story writing.

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behind it, encircling five divisions, and went on. There followed further south a thrust between Orsha and Zhlobin which soon enveloped Bobruisk and Mogilev, pushed on relentlessly and went to meet the Vitebsk push well behind Minsk, the key position of the northern sector.

Minsk was by-passed, numerous bastions were neglected, several Nazi divisions surrounded, all to be dealt with by the ceaseless reinforcements which came up methodically to immobilise and then reduce whatever was left undestroyed by the rushing assault forces who went on and on, without respite, for days on end. What was unexpected in this rush was not the large number of troops available, but the rapidity of the march and the clock-work precision of the supply services. Early this year, the Russian breakthrough had covered some 280 miles in 25 days; this month Rokossovski advanced 240 miles in eleven days, and one of his divisions reached the record of 32 miles in 24 hours.

Beyond Minsk, Rokossovski and Chernyakhovski joined hands and marched on abreast, capturing Vilna and Grodno in the north, Baranowicze and Slonim in the south.

The Russian advance was so rapid that the Germans keeping a desolate watch over the Pripet marshes were outflanked and withdrew from Pinsk.

It was so rapid that war correspondents got speed dizzy and talked of Kaunas, Tilsitt and Koenigsberg being as good as captured. The reality is more sobering. The Nazis have ample room and huge facilities for manoeuvring; the Tilsitt railway line serves a long stretch of their northern front, the Baltic is open to their shipping, and their divisions are mostly in good condition.

On the other hand, the Russians have to bring up their main body of troops into the new line, set up their advance supply bases and regroup their forces; the next move will not likely be theirs, as the Germans are bound to counter-attack vigorously at the earliest

opportunity. These counter-attacks have begun and their outcome will be known in the very near future. Even if they check the Russian advance for the present, they will not save Germany, which is threatened with an invasion across central Poland. The Russian onslaught has now shifted to the south and the push on both sides of Brest-Litovsk threatens the Nazi centre with a disastrous rupture. The Russian armies have a numerical superiority of two to one, and a measurable advantage in fire-power and they can secure air supremacy at any point. The Nazis appear to have heavily drawn on their general reserves. Moreover their air force and motorised divisions are greatly handicapped by a shortage of fuel; the British Minister of Economic Warfare recently boasted that German oil production from all sources has fallen to half the essential needs of the German armed forces; half the Reich's synthetic oil plants, and most Rumanian refineries would have been knocked out, and the rail or water transport systems are out of gear; the central reserves would also be exhausted. Factual reports from Russia and Normandy reveal that fuel shortage deprives German motorised manoeuvres from their former remarkable mobility. The Nazi war machine shows definite signs of wear and tear.

On Misgivings about Science and Scientific Research in India

Bhupendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya observes in *Science and Culture*:

"The aim of every post-war reconstruction in India", said Sir J. C. Ghosh in his opening address on the occasion of the Symposium on Post-War Organization of Scientific Research in India, "should be the removal of these two weaknesses. . . . A low national income and limited industrial development." And we are met together today to discuss how science should be organized in India so that this object may be achieved."

There, however, seems to be, as pointed out by Sir Jnan at least two schools of thought in the country who

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view any prospect of scientific and industrial research with apprehension.

Firstly, there are those who do not favour scientific research or industrialization in India because of their disgust of the accompanying evils they have witnessed in the West; and secondly, those who favour industrial development but consider scientific research for this purpose to be unnecessary—they think that by importing foreign machinery and experts we can develop our industries.

Those of us who believe that we can profitably employ and utilize the results of foreign research in our industry are not only thinking in terms of parasitic existence but also in terms of permanent economic dependence and political servitude.

The chief error of this type of thinking lies in the failure to realize two basic facts of our modern world. In the first place, we are living in a highly dynamic world where everything is changing, and changing fast; the ancient sword has given place to the modern gun; the modern Hurricane is now making room for the ultra-modern jet-propelled aircraft; and the time-honoured peaceful occupation of growing paddy and potato in the field is now a "home front"! Yesterday is being outdated by today, and today by tomorrow, at a speed unknown in human history. Secondly, side by side with this tremendous change is the tendency of our world to get progressively smaller in the sense that its inhabitants are being brought closer together.

If we, therefore, dispense with research and depend on others for our industrial development we shall not only live under conditions that were good only in the out-dated past, but advances made elsewhere are bound directly to affect our industries with adverse consequences.

On the other hand, the opinion of those of us who, to quote Sir J. C. Ghosh again, "have been so impressed by the evils of the modern world, that they do not hesitate to declare that the introduction of Western methods for increasing our national income should be resisted," is based on more fundamental ground. They have seen the Western civilization crumble under its own power of science and industry; they have seen how women and children are being slaughtered with lightning speed by the monstrous techniques of science: to them the abstract concept of "science" takes the concrete forms of bombs and torpedoes, tanks and guns, mines and mortars— instruments of misery and destruction. It is but natural that they should forget all the good that science has done and is still doing to humanity—Penicillin, Patulin and M. & B. are a poor match for the High Explosives. Human mind does not measure good and evil by balancing one against the other and ticking them off, but by the quality of impression that is left behind: and impressions of fear and horror outlast pleasurable impressions both in intensity and in time.

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Realism and Poetry

Poetry, however fanciful, is bound to be realistic up to a point; for it deals, after all, with real things, not necessarily those which exist or have existed, but things which are subject to the laws of reality. In an article in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* John O. Burtt observes :

Realism, I suppose, is the disposition to see things as they are, and although this does not tell us much. I think we can say that so defined its meaning becomes more elusive than the unwary would suspect. For the power to see things as they really are is not a gift bestowed upon any particular class of persons in view of their temperament or calling. It is rather a standard to be aimed at. There is however no doubt that certain attitudes of mind are more realistic than others, though it may not be easy to determine which these are. For instance it is natural to conclude that a thousand people who are not in love with a particular woman take a more realistic view of her than the one man who is; and the reason for this conclusion is partly that they are in the majority and partly that apathy is a more common state of mind than sympathy and so presumably more realistic. Realism has certainly something to do with the outlook of the majority, and yet it has something to do with knowledge also; for there are certain occasions when we should reject the majority's interpretation of a situation, as for instance in a medical matter, where the view of one doctor might be accepted as more correct, or if you like more realistic, than that of a hundred other people. Since we are ready in this case to disregard mere weight of numbers, we might well enquire why the lover also is not taken as an expert, on the assumption that he has a special knowledge of the woman which others do not possess.

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Realism may well turn out to be an attitude of mind attainable to a greater or lesser extent by all men at different times rather than an attitude to be found in most men at all times.

We are not therefore justified, so far as I can see, in dismissing poetry as unrealistic because it reflects an outlook different from that which most of us usually adopt.

Although technique may vary greatly, so that it is not justifiable to insist on the presence, for instance, of metre, rhyme, or special poetic diction, still there is a characteristic which, I think, is fundamental to all poetry, namely this: that it portrays a world from which no attempt has been made to divorce the human consciousness, a world confessedly experienced by a thinking feeling man. Compare it for a moment in this respect with science. The physical world as conceived by natural science is one which exists independently of the observer.

Poetry, on the other hand, makes no attempt to separate the physical world from the mind of the being who interprets it; it is less interested than science in isolating objects or events, and its method of presenting them is rather synthetic than analytic; for poetry depends upon the building up of a fabric of associations and emotions on something simple which has been observed.

If the method of science is objective that of poetry can be more fairly called subjective.

I have maintained that poetry is this result of an attitude of mind, experienced at times not only by poets but by ordinary men, and that realism also is in some

way a part of the common outlook of mankind. If these conclusions are justified, in this respect at least the two are not incompatible. Indeed poets themselves have often striven to keep their work in touch with those aspects of experience which they have held to be living, basic and real. On the other hand, subjectivity, which I have assumed to be essential to poetry undoubtedly implies the possibility of individual aberrations, which make against a realistic outlook. Moreover, the fact that there is in poetry a tinge of inspiration and emotional transport, which can never characterise a steady or lasting mental state, is another factor which presents some difficulty. Such tentative answers as I can offer to these two allied problems are latent in what I have said already. In the first place, despite its inherent tendency to error and illusion, which baffles explanation, I cannot seriously doubt that subjectivity, in the rather broad sense in which I have tried to explain it, is a prerequisite of realism, for I do not see how realism, the ability to see things as they are, can come to be at all without some active process of interpreting, in the light of memory and imagination, which is the sole means we know of probing what lies before our eyes. And furthermore it seems to me an inescapable fact that the real world—at least the only world on which we could ever have experience—is one which exists within the purview of the mind, great though the range of that may be, and as such it is through and through conditioned by mind, shaped by its modes of thought, coloured by its emotions; it is in fact more nearly the world we grasp at in our daily lives than what we try to make of it for purposes of intellectual study.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Justice for Asians

Hayim Greenberg writes in the *Jewish Frontier*:

Last year, after a long delay which even certain conservatives condemned as scandalous, Congress erased a stain from the conscience of this country: Under a new law, Chinese immigrants may now enter the United States according to the same principle which is applied to immigrants of other countries. The change, of course, can have little economic importance for the Chinese people; and it is not on this account that friends of China demanded that the discriminatory rule be abolished. Under the quota system of the 1924 Immigration Act, no more than 107 Chinese annually will, in the future, be permitted to enter this country. If it is true, as certain experts on population pressure assume, that objectively insuperable economic difficulties indicate a population "surplus" of millions in China, the emigration of 107 annually can hardly have any significant effect. In China they are under no illusion concerning the matter. They know very well that by its 1924 Immigration Act the United States was trying to protect itself against possible "flooding" by immigrants of "undesirable" races or nations; and some of them even have a certain understanding for such a policy.

But the absolute exclusion of Chinese immigrants, as though they were lepers, or constituted, each one of them, an economic or cultural menace, had always been bitterly resented in China. What danger, they asked could the immigration over a period of a hundred years of ten or eleven thousand Chinese immigrants constitute for such an immense country with its numerous white population and unlimited economic potentialities, even

if the idea were accepted without question that Mongols and other Orientals are incapable of "assimilating" with a Nordic environment. In the taboo which American law placed upon the Chinese, they saw, not without certain grounds, a deliberate insult against an old civilization whose members today are close to one-fifth of the whole human race. Repeated friendly representations had to be made by Chinese diplomats in Washington (and the Japanese radio had to broadcast this insult to Asiatics repeatedly) before we were able to decide to abolish the disgrace of this law and wipe out this affront to allies who had fought through seven years of martyrdom against Japanese militarism.

This reform in our legislation led to a wave of optimism among another, much smaller, minority of our population. There are altogether between 2,500 and 3,000 Hindus in our country, who have long waited for the abolition of laws discriminating against them. We exclude Indian immigrants also, even though, according to the quota system of the 1924 law, if they were permitted to immigrate here, their quota would not exceed 100 a year. Those few thousand Hindus who are already in the country have been placed in an intolerable position, both economically, and perhaps more particularly, from a moral viewpoint.

According to the law, they cannot become citizens and are thus condemned to remain perpetual foreigners.

For many of them this means that they are virtually stateless (a situation not unfamiliar to Jews): as political emigres, although they have probably not been formally deprived of their citizenship, they cannot return home. In certain states of the Union, there are

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THE MODERN REVIEW FOR SEPTEMBER, 1944

laws forbidding foreigners, and particularly Orientals, to buy or lease land; and as a result there have been cases of Hindu farmers being forced to leave land they had cultivated for years. Certain liberal professions, too, are closed to Hindus so long as they cannot be naturalized.

There was a time when Hindus, as the sole exception among the Oriental peoples of a certain geographic zone, were permitted to become citizens if they had already gained entrance to this country. The theory that India may be the original home of the "Aryans" possibly had something to do with it. But in the ill-famed decision in the case of *United States vs. Thind*, Supreme Court Justice Sutherland stated, on February 19, 1923, that a Hindu is not a "white person" in the sense of our naturalization laws: for the formula "free white person" must be interpreted as it is understood by the "common man." Since that decision twenty years ago, no Hindu has been permitted to apply for naturalization.

How "inferior," both in endowments and in training, are the few Hindus who live among us, is indicated by their notable work in private institutions whom the law cannot, of course, prevent from employing "undesirable immigrants." Hindus resident in the United States may often be seen at scholarly conferences; they are found as teachers in several of our universities, and as experts in social research institutes; some of them serve as curators of art museums, others as science editors for press syndicates. It may be questioned whether any other ethnic group in America has such a proportion of persons contributing actively to our academic and general culture.

The Hindu colony in this country now demands the abolition of the discriminatory rules which afflict them economically and, even more, morally. Like the Chinese, the Hindus do not expect the doors of America to be opened wide to potential immigrants coming here. They do believe that the time has come to give them, at least symbolically, equal rights with other peoples. Whether they are white persons or not according to the understanding of the common man, they should be entitled to a yearly legal quota of immigrants (which, as we have shown, would be no more than 100); and whether or not they are capable of being completely assimilated, they should be entitled to become naturalized.

The Hindus are in a much weaker position in this country than the Chinese. Their number is small, and they are not powerful economically or politically.

There is no Indian Embassy in Washington, and at Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill met with no Indian representative. The Hindu spokesmen are in prison, and their people cannot exert the same pressure upon us as the Chinese. It is true that the so-called "Council of State" (the Upper Chamber of the powerless Parliament of India) adopted a resolution at the end of March recommending equality for the Hindus in America and that Sir Olaf Karoe, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, accepted this resolution in the name of the government. But it is still a matter of doubt whether the resolution will ever reach Washington: the Viceroy and the India Office in London will probably be reluctant to take a step which might be interpreted as intervention in American internal affairs.

Of course, it is not a question of America's "compensating" the Hindus for the contribution of their country to the present war. If it were a question of rewarding peoples according to their share in the fight against Fascist militarism, our debt to India could not be "redeemed" at any price short of complete national freedom. We have stressed India's great war effort because it underscores the guilt of our country towards its Hindu residents and towards potential Hindu immigrants. The Hindus demand not payment for "services rendered," but their natural rights.

କୁର୍ଯ୍ୟବିଦ୍ୟ ଶ୍ରୀମୁଖ ବାଣେଶ୍ବର ସିଂହ ପ୍ରତୀତ

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ଅଭିଜ୍ଞାତାମୂଳକ ମସରୋପମୋଳୀ ଅମ୍ଲ୍ୟ ଏଥ୍ର ବାଂଲାଦେଶେର ଅନ୍ଧ-ନାନେର ଫଳାଫଳ ପଥ୍ରାର ମିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଏଥ୍ରାମ୍ଭାନ୍ତିକ ଉଚ୍ଚ ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପିତ । ଆମାମ କୁର୍ଯ୍ୟ ବିଭାଗେର ଆକ୍ଷଣ ଡିରେକ୍ଟର ଡାଟର ଏସ, କେ, ଶିଆ ସନ୍ଦେ—“ଅହୁକାରେ କୁର୍ଯ୍ୟ-ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ ବାଂଲା କୁର୍ଯ୍ୟ ନାହିଁତରେ ଏକଟ ମେଲିକ ଓ ହାଁୟି ନମ୍ବର” । ମୂଳ୍ୟ କାଗଜେ ବୀର୍ଧାଇ ୩୦, କାଗଜେ ବୀର୍ଧାଇ ୩୦ ଟଙ୍କା । ଅହୁକାରେ ଅତ୍ୟାତ୍ ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପ—“ଗୋ-ପାଲନ ଶିକ୍ଷା” ୨୦ । “ଆସକର କଟନେର ଚାମ” ଶୀଘ୍ର ଏକାଶିତ ହିଁବେ । ଅଭିମ ଗାହକ ଶ୍ରୀମୁଖ ହଟ୍ଟ । ଆପଣଙ୍କ ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀଶ୍ଵର ସିର୍ହୁ, ୧୩, ଲାକ୍ଷ୍ମୀଟାଉନ ଟିରେସ, କଲିକାତା । ଶିଶୁର ଲାଇୟେରୀ ଓ ପ୍ରଧାନ ପ୍ରଧାନ ପ୍ରକଳ୍ପରେ ଆପଣ୍ୟ ।

And in this case, America has no excuses to offer. We need consult nobody in the world on this question, for it is an internal American problem. The rights and position of no other power can be affected by our decision to admit or not to admit a certain number of immigrants of a certain race, or by the way we treat them after they are admitted. There are no international political complications or wartime expediencies to prevent us from removing a stigma from a great people. We shall simply rob the Japanese of the propaganda argument that we treat Asiatics as inferiors in our country.

Birla Scholar Studies U. S. Engineering

A student from India has a word of praise for American engineering.

Bal Dattatreya Kalekar of Wardha, India, a graduate student and instructor in engineering at Cornell University, Ithaca, New York State, hopes to utilize the education he has received in the United States in building up the industries of India.

At Cornell Kalekar is specializing in automotive engineering. His research problem for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy is concerned with an engine with a twin-carburetor layout. As his minor subjects Mr. Kalekar is studying machine design and mechanics. He is studying these under Dr. J. N. Goodier, professor of the mechanics of engineering, and P. H. Black, associate professor of machine design, both Cornell staff members.

Kalekar is a son of the prominent Indian author Kaka Kalekar. The young man began his education in the field of mechanical engineering in Bombay University where he made a first-class record graduating from the Engineering College at Karachi in 1940. During his College career in India, Kalekar won many prizes and scholarships and was editor of the college publication, "The Young Engineer." He won the Birla scholarship, offered by G. D. Birla of the famous family, in the summer of 1940. He sailed for the United States to get his Master of Science degree in mechanical engineering at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

There Kalekar did research work in the Sloan Automotive Laboratories under Professor E. S. Taylor and Dr. W. M. Murray, obtaining the degree of Master of Science. He then accepted a research fellowship at Cornell, going to Ithaca in 1941. He was appointed to the teaching staff of the College of Engineering at Cornell in 1943. He hopes to finish his research project and receive his doctorate this summer.

Before he leaves the United States he hopes to get practical experience in American industries. He expressed "great admiration for the engineering achievements attained by American industries and research engineers." Kalekar plans to write a series of articles on his impressions of America when he returns to India.—USOWW

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NOTES

Famine Commission and After.

The Famine Commission is sitting and is carrying on with its investigations. Meanwhile Bengal is slowly sinking into apathy. Occasional outbursts of recriminations sometimes break up the silence to be followed by periods of deeper gloom. The condition may be compared to one of coma that overcomes a weak patient, after a severe illness, thereby indicating vital damage. This province does not seem to realise that there are many things to be done while the Commission is sitting and that we must prepare to guard against the recurrence of any such disaster in future. The function of the present Commission is mainly of the nature of an enquiry and even if any substantially sound recommendations are made, effect may be given to them—if given at all—only in the distant future. Public alertness is a great pre-requisite to compel the Government to honour their commitments. The sound recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901 as embodied in the Famine Code, were quietly passed over because there were no organisations to mobilise public opinion and demand its application. The recommendations of the last Gregory Committee could be similarly ignored by the Government of India.

In a country of continuous famines, the need for a vigilant central public organisation has been keenly felt to detect and watch the course of it, to keep both the Government and people aware of their duties and to co-ordinate relief operations to mitigate sufferings. The crying need for such a body had been felt particularly during the last famine. It is high time that a representative body was immediately formed with non-official majority. It should be permanent and ought to function throughout

the year. Its main function should be of an advisory and co-ordinating character, with a view to assist official and non-official organisations in fighting distress, in increasing food supply, food production and in attempting to rehabilitate the pauperised agricultural population. Immediately on its formation, it should make its own survey of the situation.

Survey by this body is essential as unless the extent of damage is known, remedial measures cannot be adequately planned. Mortality figures during the last famine as calculated by the officials and the public have shown wide divergence. The faulty nature of the collection of vital and agricultural statistics has been admitted by some of the Ministers and the people know them to be so. There is ample scope for a non-official expert survey to find out how many people were affected, how many died, how many have been permanently disabled and require long term help, how many families have been destroyed and to what extent and in what ways rehabilitation is needed. Investigations into these problems by a government on which the people have no confidence, will fail to convince the public and will not serve as a basis for future planning.

When and if the report of the present Famine Commission is published and if the report contains any recommendations, this body will be in a position to analyse and put into action any suggestions of value without loss of time, thereby reducing the interminable delays of official red tape.

Government help for the body, whose formation we have advocated, should be forthcoming because its primary action would be to help in the balancing of provincial economy. But if no Government help is obtained, it should

attempt to carry on independently since it is growing more and more plain everyday that the economic life of Bengal is gradually sinking below normal without any signs of recovery. The root causes of this collapse must be sought for and the extent gauged by specialists, and a plan to combat them should immediately be set up. Social pathologists and physicians are needed to-day to diagnose and stop the present decay in the national life of Bengal.

No Famine in Occupied Europe

The London correspondent of the *Hindu* cables:

In the course of a despatch headed "This is no famine-stricken Europe", the war correspondent, Alexander Clifford, says, "We are liberating a continent much less ruined than we supposed and a people who hate Germans even more than we believed."

"When we landed in France we were surprised and almost perplexed at the abundance of food in Normandy," he writes. "Quite obviously no one has been starving there, but we thought that perhaps it was because Normandy is agriculturally so excessively rich. Yet when we advanced out of it there was no great change. In Paris the people do not look pale, pinched or starved. Even during the transition period before the liberation, there was food to be had. There is great hardship in working class quarters. No one could pretend that things there are anywhere near normal. But I submit that the food situation in most France is better than it was in Italy. I have driven through many little villages and stopped at Inns for lunch and they always produced something and they sold it willingly. Their diet certainly is worse since the war, but your vision of a famine-stricken Europe must go by the board."

"In Belgium", says Clifford, "the situation seems even better than in France. En route to Brussels I went into the kitchen of a country house. The housewife confided to me that they had not really been badly off in Belgium. Everything was organised and even poor people were kept alive. The working people in slums have suffered and there has been progressive malnutrition owing to shortage of fats, but it is not so terrible as we had feared it would be. It is not like Italy where any scrap of food left over from our rations was ravenously accepted. Here, in Belgium, they rather shrug their shoulders at our tinned stuff and offer us their fresh food in return."

According to Clifford this state of affairs is partly due to German organisation. "They can organise well and they have always recognised the maxim that the best slave is a contented slave; but much more due to the cleverness of the French and Belgian farmers and producers who kept their products back from the Germans and sold them on the black market."

"So it is not on account of their stomachs that the French and the Belgians hate the Germans ferociously", says Clifford. "It is because of the Germans' suppression of all freedoms and their cruel arrogance and gracelessness. The torture chambers are here and the hatred that results is genuine enough."

This despatch was published in a London daily. Reading this, a prominent journalist of Fleet Street told the United Press of India representative in London: "I hope the same can be said about India—there is no famine—when she is liberated from the British domination."

Things are however entirely different on this part of the globe. In the thick of the war

and at a time when the British Government spokesmen waxed eloquent on India's magnificent war effort and the high morale of the Indian army, one of the worst famines in human history was allowed to sweep over the Eastern war zone and take a toll of millions of human lives that could certainly be saved through adequate and timely help. Not only that practically nothing was done to bring food supplies from abroad to the famine-stricken areas, but wastage of foodstuff on a colossal scale was allowed. The *New Orissa*, in its issue for August 31, disclosed that the Bihar Government had recently released 1,17,786 maunds of foodstuff. This was stocked last year for export to Bengal during the famine but never reached its destination. This amount was sufficient to provide full meals for 40,000 adults for one year. Recently the Bengal Government has intimated industrial concerns that 1,46,000 maunds of wheat products in their stock have become unfit for human consumption and may be available for sizing purposes. A statement by Sj. Manoranjan Chaudhury of the Bengal Provincial Hindu Mahasabha revealed that 200 lorryloads of foodstuff, which were allowed to rot in open stacks in the Botanical Gardens of Sibpore, have been dumped in a vacant land of Howrah. Government said that compost was being manufactured out of this foodstuff. Eight months ago, the daily *Basumatî* of Calcutta had warned the Government that thousands of maunds of foodstuff stacked in an open space in the Botanical Gardens would soon become unfit for human consumption if they are not properly stored. This warning went unheeded. The nature of foreign aid may well be gauged from the following cabled news :

Montreal, Sept. 18.—The present plans of the UNRRA do not include provision for aid in connexion with the food shortages in India, according to a Press conference statement made by Mr. H. H. Lehmann, Director-General of UNRRA, today.

Asked whether aid would be extended to India in view of the food shortages resulting from the limitations of war-time transportation, Mr. Lehmann aid : "Unless a decision to do so is made at the present Council meeting, we don't at present intend to send supplies to India."—Reuter.

An organisation which pooled world resources to alleviate a supposed famine in occupied Europe does not think that aid should be extended to India.

Bombay Chamber on Menace of Foreign Combines

Discussing the fate of the Indian industries, the spokesman of the Chamber said:

It is a matter of great disappointment to us that all attempts by Indians to start key industries such as automobile, shipbuilding, aircraft, etc., had been unceremoniously turned down, while Canada and Australia and other countries in the British Common-

wealth had been allowed to do everything possible during the war to develop new industries.

The speaker stated that the recent policy of importing consumer goods on a large scale was causing serious concern to the Chamber and wanted to know how India would be treated in the post-war period regarding these vital matters.

It was emphasised by the speaker that those who invested capital in spite of all the restrictions imposed upon them were eager to know what future was in store for them.

With regard to the policy of taxing industries, the speaker observed that the policy had deprived the industries of the financial resources they badly needed.

The menace of foreign combines was causing grave concern to Indian industrialists and there was widespread apprehension that the Nitrogen industry with the manufacture of fertilizers would be handed over to a non-Indian combine.

"You are aware of the bitter lessons which we have learnt to our cost as a result of the operations of such combines as the Swedish Combine in the match industry, the activities of Lever Brothers in the soap and other industries and the Imperial Chemical Company in the chemical and dyeing industries. Their powerful connections and their great resources have not only stifled the growth of Indian industries owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country, but they have also deprived the country of the wealth which true national economy would have otherwise retained in the country", remarked the speaker and appealed for an assurance from Government that no fresh outside vested interests would be created in the country now and in the future but all industries hereafter would be owned, controlled and managed by the nationals of the country.

The speaker stressed the supreme need for a national navy of supply and asked what Government proposed to do in the matter.

The Government of Australia classified their industries into three categories at the very beginning of the war. The essential industries coming under Class A were developed through Government aid and they were promised protection after the war. Class B industries, needed during the war but which will not be wanted after the conclusion of the peace, were told that they will get expenses of liquidation and compensation while they wind up after the war. In India, not only nothing of this kind has been done, but discrimination and favoured treatment has all along been granted to foreign interests in their competition against Indian trade and industries.

Indian Merchants' Talk with Commerce Member

Questions relating to the future trade and tariff policy, development of a National Navy, India's place at International Conferences, controls and canalisation, and the need for greater consultation, hedge trading in oil seeds, shortage of coal, cotton floor prices, and supply of consumer goods with special reference to Government's import policy, were the salient features of discussions which took place between the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay and the Commerce

Member of the Government of India. The Secretary and the Joint Secretary of the Commerce Department were also present. The Chamber put forward the view that "the problems of peace, which was not far off, were of as much concern as the problems of war. Statesmanship lay in understanding the fundamental aspects of these problems in time and in evolving the lines on which they could be effectively solved in the true interests of India." The tendency of the Government of India, however, is quite different, driving in a direction exactly opposite to that which the Bombay Chamber advocates as the goal. Signs are unmistakably clear that the chief post-war aim of the Government of India will be to maintain the present stranglehold on Indian trade and industry in order to ensure better market for British goods in this country.

Government of India's Export and Import Policy

The Bombay Chamber made the definite and pointed allegation directly before the member in charge and the secretaries of the Commerce Department of the Government of India that

cotton goods had been exported out of India when they were urgently needed for covering the bare bodies of the people of this land. Foodstuffs were exported when they were badly required to keep off starvation and preventing conditions which brought about famine in Bengal and other parts in the country. Coal was exported with the result that several industries had been compelled to curtail their production and some of them had even to be closed.

These serious allegations are borne out by Government's own figures. The *Monthly Survey of Business Conditions in India*, issued by the office of the Economic Adviser, Government of India, in its latest number (Jan.-Feb. 1944) just received, states that the export of cotton manufactures amounted to 772.5 million yards in 1941-42 and 818.5 in 1942-43 while the pre-war figure for such export was only 177 million yards. Internal production remained practically constant during the last five years, being about 4,200 million yards. Imports have fallen from 647.1 million yards in 1938-39 to 181.6 million yards in 1941-42 and 13.1 in 1942-43. Thus while production remained constant and imports fell heavily, large quantities of cotton piecegoods were allowed to go out of the country. As regards rice export, truth is being suppressed, the *Bulletin* states that since January 1943, the publication of export figures for rice has been discontinued.

British Plan to Exploit Post-War India

British plans for exploiting post-war India are being drawn up. Reuter understands that a

large industrial group, representing 50 industries, has been formed in the Midlands as the result of a conference convened to make a special study of potentialities of India as a market or manufacturing extension for their engineering and other products.

This is likely to be the fore-runner of other groups representing export trade interests that will be set up with the encouragement of groups of members of Parliament who consider corporate preparation as an essential preliminary to plans for making international trade agreements after peace is restored.

In the meantime, the U. K. C. C. is strengthening its hold on India. Although all the Indian Chambers of Commerce believe that this organisation has become a menace to Indian foreign and internal trade, the Government of India sees no harm in its activities. A few days ago, the Commerce Member of the Government of India, in a discussion with the representatives of Indian merchants at Bombay, stressed the "harmlessness" of the activities of the U. K. C. C. and very kindly offered to "encourage the idea of collaboration between certain industrial groups and the Government for profitable exploitation of export and import business." Such arrangements only mean the offer of a junior partnership to Indian business interests in the U. K. C. C. activities whereas without this Imperial handicap, they could have been the major partner. The U. K. C. C. first appeared in this country as an organisation to deal only in war articles during the war. The Government have persistently declared that it had nothing to do with the normal trade and industry of India. But signs are quite clear now that this monopolistic organisation subsidised and patronised by the British Government has come here to stay even after the war. Only those favoured Indian merchants who are on the good books of the Government will be allowed to "co-operate" with this body, the rest will go to the wall.

Another instance of secret designs on the fate of India has recently been disclosed by Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, a delegate to the Bretton Woods Conference. In a speech at the Loyola College, Madras, he said that the Indian delegation managed to get a secret document which the United States authorities had prepared, allotting quotas to various countries on the basis of certain economic data. According to that document, Soviet Russia was allotted 900 million dollars, China 320 million and India 372 million dollars. Nothing was allotted to France. Later France was given 500 million, and they increased the Chinese quota to 500 million and reduced India's quota to 300 million. When the question was raised by the Indian

delegation, everybody began to disown the document. Two days before the Conference was to terminate, Mr. Morganthau informed the Indian delegation that the quota was raised to 400 million dollars.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty asked the Secretary to the United States Treasury what was the basis for the allocation of the quota to China. Mr. Morganthau replied: "China was given a greater share for military and political reasons" in view of the great sacrifice she had made and the sufferings she had undergone. The Indian delegation realised that China was entitled to great consideration.

When it came to the question of permanent seats in executive bodies, Mr. Morganthau said: "The United States public will not reconcile themselves to the position in which two permanent seats are given to the British Empire." Therefore, remarked Sir Shanmukam, India lost a permanent seat in this international body because of her membership in the British Empire.

Living Conditions of the Civilian in India

Living conditions of the poor and the middle class people of India, particularly for those whose income is derived from other than the Government sources, have become terrible and intolerably hard to say the least. Conditions are similar in Bengal, Madras, Orissa and in many parts of the Central Provinces as well. A chronic famine continues to prevail in these areas. Hardship has been the greatest in Bengal, where the price of every article of daily necessity has gone up by four to eight times.

Accommodation difficulties in the cities continue. Release of some building materials might have eased the situation to some extent, but that has not been done. Travel has become a terror to the lower class passengers. Telephone and the post office have become thoroughly inefficient. The telegraph equally so. In many cases, telegrams reach their destination later than letters. City transport remains a menace.

But all these difficulties are for the non-official ordinary civilian, and not for profiteers and high officials. Travel for them remains as easy and luxurious as ever before. While the public ride on the bumpers of the buses, their cars may be seen in hundreds at the race courses. Food, clothing and medicine are all within their easy reach. During the last famine, essential foodstuffs were purchased at any price for distributing them among the employees of the official and semi-official organisations. Merchant and industrial organisations who had been virtually converted into offices

houses by being switched on to war work, reaped this benefit. These bulk purchases on the already depleted public stocks shot prices up causing extreme suffering to the average non-official. Black markets flourished through these loopholes and are still flourishing.

Hindu Women's Rights

The Hindu Intestate Bill has evoked controversy in Bengal. A fragment of the vocal section of Hindu ladies in this province have opposed the Bill, while the majority have supported it and have blessed its sponsor, Mrs. Renuka Ray. The following letter published in the *Statesman* represents the view of the supporters of the Bill:

The Hindu Intestate Bill, which is most mild, is going to be placed before the Central Legislature in this session. Mrs. Renuka Roy should deserve our warmest congratulations for her untiring activities in this connexion. When everyone should support such a Bill and prepare the ground for more drastic and revolutionary nature, it is most distressing and disturbing that some ladies who happen to be the wives of the distinguished men of Bengal are doing to retard the progress of the Bill and thus they would do inestimable harm to the Hindu women of Bengal. The women of Bengal refused to be taught the Hindu shastras from the arm chair lady politicians, who will do well in not shedding their crocodile tears for their sisters. Three recent cases in the High Court have not moved these distinguished ladies. So long the rights and interests were protected by these ladies and so-called Pandits, and one shudders to think of the terrible and pitiable conditions of the women under their care and patronage. These activities should not disturb Mrs. Roy. She should go ahead with the Bill. We protest vehemently against the formation of the Bengal Hindu Women's Association who represent none but themselves.—Bela Dutta Choudhury.

Another lady, Mrs. Nilima Chaudhury, writing in the same newspaper, points out that

The opinions received on the proposed Bill were mostly favourable throughout India. I have no doubt that every Hindu woman of Bengal will support the Bill, as for the first time in many generations it proposes (a) to remove the sex-disqualification by which Hindu women in general have hitherto been precluded from inheriting property in various parts of India, (b) a common law of intestate succession for all Hindus in British India, (c) it abolishes the Hindu women's limited estate.

The opposition to the Bill was also voiced in the columns of the same newspaper by Leila Ray Chaudhuri whose main grounds of opposition are that (1) the reforms should come through evolution rather than revolution, (2) that if the daughter is allowed to share in paternal wealth, the son also should have a title in the mother's *stridhan* property, and (3) that legal expenses will increase because more wills will be created. None of these arguments are anything like convincing. The Bill in reality is a very slow evolutionary measure, it seeks to secure a right for women that should have been conferred centuries ago and which is

enjoyed by women of our sister community for a long time.

Regarding the opposition by a small but highly vociferous group, all we need say that the main distinction of these estimable ladies is that they are wives of successful and eminent professional men. We have never heard their names in connection with any activity for the alleviation of misery amongst their fellow country-women. Now, when some active members of their sex try to uplift the status of our womenkind, they openly cry havoc in a mistaken attempt at retarding progress!

The Phillips Report

A cabled summary of the Phillips Report has been published in *The Modern Review* for September. A fuller statement is available now and the concluding portion of it is given below:

The present Indian army is purely mercenary and only that part of it which is drawn from the martial races has been tried in actual warfare and these martial soldiers represent only 33 per cent of the army. Gen. Stilwell has expressed concern on the situation and in particular in regard to the poor morale of Indian officers.

The attitude of the general public towards the war is even worse. Lassitude and indifference and bitterness have increased as a result of famine conditions, the growing high cost of living and continued political deadlock.

While India is broken politically into various parties and groups all have one object in common—eventual freedom and independence from British domination.

There would seem to be only one remedy to this highly unsatisfactory situation in which we are unfortunately but nevertheless seriously involved and that is change of attitude of the people of India towards the war—to make them feel that we want them to assume responsibilities to the United Nations and are prepared to give them facilities for doing so and that the voice of India will play a part in the reconstruction of the world.

The present political conditions do not permit of any improvement in this respect. Even though the British should fail again it is high time they should make an effort to improve the conditions and re-establish confidence among the Indian people that their future independence is to be granted.

Words are of no avail—they only aggravate the present situation. It is time for the British to act. This they can do by a solemn declaration from the King Emperor that India will achieve her independence at a specific date after the war and as a guarantee of good faith in this respect a Provisional Representative Coalition Government will be re-established at the Centre and limited powers transferred to it.

I feel strongly, Mr. President, that in view of our military position in India we should have a voice in these matters. It is not right for the British to say his is none of your business when we alone presumably will have to play a major part in the struggle against Japan. If we do nothing and merely accept the British point of view that conditions in India are none of our business, then we must be prepared for various serious consequences in the internal situation in India which may develop as result of despair and misery and anti-white sentiments of hundreds of millions of the subject people.

The people of Asia—I am supported in this opinion by other diplomatic and military observers—cynically

regard this war as one between the Fascist and the Imperialist powers. A generous gesture from Britain to India would change this undesirable political atmosphere. India itself might then be expected more positively to support our war effort against Japan, China, which regards the Anglo-American Bloc with misgivings and mistrust, might then be assured that we are in truth fighting for a better world and the colonial people conquered by the Japanese might hopefully feel they have something better to look forward to than return to their old masters.

Such gestures, Mr. President, will produce not only a tremendous psychological stimulus to the flagging morale through Asia and facilitate our military operations in that theatre but it will also be proof positive to all people—our own and the British included—that this is not a war of power politics but a war for all we say it is for.

At the beginning of the war, Congress wanted only two things from the British Government—viz., a *declaration* that India would achieve her independence at a specific date after the war, and that a National Government would be formed at the centre and only limited powers transferred to it during the continuance of the war.

Chandler on Phillips Report

The publication of the Phillips Report has led to sensational developments. Senator Chandler in the Senate demanded that President Roosevelt should make a full report on conditions in India. He said: "I believe in co-operating with our allies, but only by knowing the truth of the situation in other countries can we hope for a genuine co-operative peace." He alleged that Mr. Phillips had been attacked by the British for his Report on the Indian situation and declared that British representatives in the United States had even approached certain American publishers with a view to preventing the publication of Mr. Phillips' views. Senator Chandler, had with five other Senators, visited India last year. He said that high British officials in the United States had told him that what was happening in India was none of his or the Senate's business. Mr. Chandler added:

"I repudiate that statement. *Conditions there had a bearing on the war with Japan.* If the British are going to be able to force a recall of our diplomats merely because they submit truthful reports, I think we ought to know about it."

Our British allies have taken an incredibly harmful step which can only injure the friendly relations between ourselves and them in declaring President Roosevelt's personal ambassador, Mr. Phillips, *persona non-grata*. The British Foreign Office took this action because Mr. Phillips made a report on the conditions in India which the British do not like. Is the Government of the United States so weak, are our people so incompetent, has our sovereignty been so impaired that even the President is no longer permitted to know the truth about conditions in friendly countries?"

"Only by knowing the truth of the conditions in countries not as we wish them to be but as they exist, can the American people in future organise and pro-

mote a policy of friendship with other nations that will lead to a lasting peace."

In answer to an inquiry, a spokesman of the British embassy said that it was not true that the British Government had described Mr. Phillips as *persona non-grata*.

Six days after, Senator Chandler made public a telegram which he said had been sent to London by Sir Olaf Caroe, Secretary to the External Affairs Department of the Government of India in which he said that the Indian Government could not again receive Mr. Phillips. The telegram said in part:

"We feel strongly that the British Embassy should be supported in carrying this matter further with the State Department. We are doing our best to prevent the entry of newspapers or letters carrying the text of Mr. Pearson's article. We understand that the designation of Mr. Phillips is still the President's Personal Representative to India. Whether or not he has been connected in any way with the leakage of the views he has stated, it would make it impossible for us to do other than regard him as '*persona non-grata*' and we could not receive him. His views are not what we are entitled to expect from a professedly friendly envoy. The Viceroy has seen this telegram."

Senator Chandler further said that he was in possession of a confidential letter written by Mr. Phillips to President Roosevelt, dated May 14, 1943, which could not be made public this time, but if occasion developed he would read it in the open Senate. The campaign was started by the famous American columnist Mr. Drew Pearson, whom the President Roosevelt not long ago dubbed unreliable. Mr. Pearson, apparently supported by powerful politicians, such as Mr. Sumner Welles and Senator Chandler, laid the trap for the American President. He first hinted at the contents of Mr. Phillips' Report in India and when someone denied their accuracy he published the full text.

A resolution is also coming before the U. S. House of Representatives to be moved by Mr. Calvin Johnson, to declare Sir Ronald Campbell and Sir Girija Sankar Bajpai *persona non-grata* because of their efforts to 'mould' American public opinion.

"India More Important than 1,000 Phillips's"—Eden

The following *Reuter's* message from New York appears in Colombo papers :

Commentator Drew Pearson's syndicate column "Washington Merry Go Round" in Monday's New York *Daily Mirror* declares: "Diplomats are indignant over the ousting of Ambassador William Phillips from London as political adviser to General Eisenhower. Mr. Phillips came home for 'personal reasons'. But the fact is that he was asked to leave London because he wrote a letter to President Roosevelt criticising British policy in India and recommending Indian independence."

"The letter published in this column on July 25 caused a furore. The British demanded official explanations. Later the Foreign Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, asked for Mr. Phillips' recall. Britain also demanded

the recall from New Delhi of General Merrell, acting as chief of the United States mission in India during Mr. Phillips' absence. He resigned and returns shortly. The British objected because Mr. Phillips reported to his chief on India. London is sore over his point that India is of great concern to us on account of the Japanese war."

After quoting Mr. Phillips as stating, "The Indian Army is mercenary. It is time for the British to act. They can declare that India will achieve her independence at a specified date after the war," Mr. Pearson declared: "Mr. Eden cabled Sir Ronald Campbell, British Charge d'Affaires in Washington, stating that he and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, were perturbed and ordered the Embassy to approach the State Department with a formal demand for investigation. Mr. Cordell Hull informed the Embassy that Mr. Phillips' letter had leaked out through the former Under-Secretary, Mr. Sumner Welles. Mr. Eden again cabled expressing surprise that a paper of the calibre of the *Washington Post* published Mr. Phillips' letter and suggesting that the *Post* should publish an editorial contradicting and criticising the story. When Sir Ronald cabled this to London, Mr. Eden replied asking the *Post* to correct Mr. Phillips' statement about a mercenary army.

"In London Mr. Churchill and Mr. Eden put the heat on on the United States Ambassador, Mr. John Winant, and had that official ask Mr. Phillips if he still held the same views. Mr. Phillips said he did more than ever but was sorry his letter was published adding, 'I hope my other reports, even stronger, will not leak.' Mr. Eden cabled his Embassy to inform the State Department that Mr. Phillips was *persona non grata* in London, observing: 'India is more important than a thousand Phillips's'."

All Not Well on the Stilwell Front

A *United Press* message from London states that warm tributes to General Stilwell were paid by Admiral Lord Mountbatten just before he left London. But that all is not well on the Stilwell front is indicated by the *Tribune*, a powerful and outspoken weekly. Commenting on the Phillips Report, the paper writes:

"In itself this may be unimportant but it is a symptom of the growing tension in the Anglo-American relations over the Far Eastern policy. General Stilwell is now in a peculiar position. He is the Deputy Commander-in-Chief to Lord Louis Mountbatten, he is the Commander-in-Chief of the American-Chinese forces in North Burma. He is the Chief of Staff to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and he is the Lease-Lend Administrator for China. He is also the most determined believer that America's future is definitely linked with China, both politically and economically and he is determined to keep out any who wish to trespass.

"In India there is a strong feeling that General Stilwell is more concerned about America's future interests in China than in co-operation with the conduct of operations as outlined and requested by the South-East Asia Command. He has been present only twice at the conferences of Army Chiefs during the last six months. He generally has the reputation for non-co-operation. Also it is said that his role in Northern Burma has been widely exaggerated by the American publicity machine. For two months he has been attacking 800 Japs at Mitaigaung with a force numbering something like 12,000 but the place did not fall until the Chindits moved up from the south and took it.

"All this of course is not known to the public here because of strict Indian censorship on the one hand and the one-sidedness of reporting in America.

"We do not say that Gen. Stilwell is always wrong and Admiral Mountbatten right; but clearly his situation is not healthy and sooner a full statement is made to Parliament on the position in the Far East the better it will be for all concerned. Healthy relations cannot be constructed on suppression and ignorance."

America's Future in Asia

Demaree Bess had been foreign correspondent for ten years in China. In an article contributed to the *Saturday Evening Post*, he raises the question of America's future in Asia. He expresses doubts about the power and capacity of China to keep the peace in Asia and in the Pacific and tries to persuade America to take up in right earnest her obligations in these places. He writes:

It is probable that the future of the Pacific area is of more direct concern to the United States than anything which may happen in post-war Poland or Yugoslavia or France or Greece.

Europeans are going to settle their own affairs with or without post-war assistance from us. The Russians and the British, the French, the Dutch, the Belgians and all the others have made this clear to us in recent months. Our two major Allies—Britain and Russia—are more directly concerned with the future of Europe than we Americans are and for this reason they have made commitments in Europe which we still hesitate to make.

But this is not true in the Pacific. There we already have taken in formidable and permanent obligations. We have accepted responsibility for creating a post-war regime in Asia after Japan ceases to exist as a military power.

Attempting to enlighten us on this point, the Cairo conference stipulated that the Japanese will be stripped of all imperial possessions and thrown back upon their crowded islands—73,000,000 strong. It stipulated that Korea will receive independence eventually. It assumed that Chinese territory will not only remain intact but will be expanded.

But who is going to make the Japanese stay on their islands? Who is going to guarantee Korean independence while the weak and untrained Koreans prepare themselves for self-rule? Who is going to make sure that Chinese territorial integrity is preserved?

The Cairo Conference based its entire Far Eastern project on the premise that China is one of the world's four great powers. Demaree Bess wants to differ from this on ground that China has no modern army, navy or air force; it possesses no heavy industry and has no modern transport or industrial system. These grounds however do not rule out China's claim or ability to police the Far East.

Post-War Power Politics in the Pacific

Demaree Bess foreshadows the rise of an American Imperialism in the Far East. He says:

The obligations which we have already assumed in the Pacific area are one form of power politics, for the post-war regime outlined at the Cairo Conference is based upon power politics. The United States and the British Empire pledged themselves to underwrite the future of relatively defenceless Asiatic nations a pledge

which is predicted at present only upon American and British military power. *Soviet Russia has put off the clarification of its position in Asia until after the war in Europe is ended.*

We are hopeful that Soviet Russia and the British Empire will co-operate wholeheartedly with us in respecting Chinese territorial integrity and in keeping the Japanese bound to their islands and in guiding Korea through a period of tutelage leading to eventual independence. But it is well to remember that in 1922 we also were hopeful that we had settled the future of the Far East at the Washington Conference, when we induced the Japanese to join in the Nine-Power Treaty not to infringe upon Chinese territory. We made the mistake then of believing that this agreement *would not require the use of American military power and we even reduced our already inadequate military establishment in the Pacific.*

Bess then writes: "We have only ourselves to blame if we make that mistake again, for the Japanese, no matter how thoroughly they are beaten and disarmed, are a military nation more skilled in the acts of war than the Chinese." He believes that military power alone counts and wants America to remain a military power in the Pacific for the maintenance of the Far Eastern peace. He visualises Russia extending her sphere of influence in all those vast Asiatic territories which adjoin her borders and Britain controlling her lucrative resources of India, Burma and Malaya as it did before. It will have the natural support of other European Empires with possessions in the Far East, the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese. Forecasting the rise of an American Imperialism, Bess finally says:

Are the American people willing to pay the price which our commitments demand? Certainly not if we are kept in ignorance of what the price is. Certainly not if we permit our Pacific policy to become the football of domestic politics or to be pushed this way and that by emotional groups with no clear view of our main objectives or of our own limitations.

For example, we cannot expect European empires to play our game if we make it our business to undermine their hold upon their Far Eastern possessions. We cannot undertake to free India from the British and the East Indies from the Dutch, and expect Englishmen and Dutchmen to co-operate with us in maintaining the balance of power in Asia.

Similarly we cannot expect Soviet Russia to underwrite a regime in China which makes war upon Chinese Communists, as the Chiang Kai-shek regime has done in the past and threatens to do in the future.

The Pacific peace which follows Japan's defeat will be an extremely uneasy peace, and it can be maintained only by the utmost understanding and patience among all those concerned in it. The American share in that peace will require a high level of statesmanship and the maintenance of American military and naval power for an indefinite period.

India a Test Case for World Democracy

Pearl Buck has been elected President of the India League of America. In accepting her election she said :

"I have joined the India League of America because I have been brought to the conviction that *India has become the immediate test case for world democracy in the eyes of all darker peoples everywhere.* At this

moment freedom can be declared only in India. Millions in China, South America, North America, in the Isles of Oceans, in Africa and even in Europe are watching to see if democracy means what it says and if the four freedoms are true or false. *By what we do about India, democracy will stand or fall.* The League will continue to work for the independence of India, but not primarily from the point of view of Indian nationalism. Its purpose rather is to present India as the test case of Allied war aims and further winning of war in Europe as well as in Asia by proving through liberation of India that the war is being fought for democracy and freedom for all peoples."

Pearl Buck believes that the issue is all the more urgent because it will sustain the morale of Chinese armies and Indian people and will secure wholehearted support for war effort not only from the people of India but also of the people of Korea, Burma, Thailand, Malaya, Indo-China, Dutch East Indies, Philippines and other Pacific Islands.

Russian Tribute to Tagore

The Tass Agency has circulated the tribute paid to Rabindranath Tagore on behalf of the people of Russia by a modern Russian writer, Nikolai Tikhonov. It is given below :

There are names that call up great thoughts and great countries. Rabindranath Tagore's is one of these names. Behind it we have the vision of the vast country stretching from the Himalayan peaks to the Indian Ocean, the country of boundless fields, endless roads and ancient cities.

Amid Russian snows, through the thunder of upheavals in which that new world which we call our country was born, above universal voices that accompanied us in our searches for perfection we heard in an enchanted world the songs and talks in the penetrating voice of that wise singer of life—Rabindranath Tagore. As poet, novelist and dramatist he appealed to the Russian reader to whom he revealed the hitherto-little-known world of the mysterious Indian soul. Of the grandeur of this country with its age-old culture, gifted peoples we had known much, but of her soul, mighty and tender, we learned from books written by her finest son, her singer. I would compare the melodious blossoming of his lines in *Gitanjali* with the splendid entrance to that country. Later we met his *Gardener*, his *Morning Songs* and his lyrical plays.

We read novels *Gora* and *World and Home*; they became familiar to the Russian reader. Several editions of his *Reminiscences* came out here.

Tagore was not alien to human passions, nor aloof from noble love; the philosopher never supplanted the poet nor did the teacher supplant the artist. We know how much he has done for the enlightenment of India and for the protection of her cultural institutions.

One of his schools at Santiniketan stands as memorial to his thoughts for the future.

Tagore is very close to us for another reason: not confining his search for perfection to his native soil, he studied all that was human and constantly reflected and debated upon it. Peaceful life, creative work and the necessity for complete understanding among nations of the world drew his attention to that family of peoples, as remarkable as the Soviet Union. We can but regret that now, when the mortal duel with fascism's dark forces is approaching its end, we are unable to welcome this wise poet in our victorious camp.

Tagore came from that race of giants of thought whose people belong to all progressive mankind. He was for India what Leo Tolstoy was for Russia. We

have millions of friends in India, but the first of them to say the profound word of his country, a word addressed to the whole world, was Rabindranath Tagore, poet, dramatist, novelist and philosopher.

The efforts made by Russia to acquaint herself with India and her hoary culture are not widely known. During the early part of the nineteenth century, a translation of the Rig Veda was published in Bombay with monetary aid from Russia. Scholars like Minaeff, Vassilieff, Scherbatsky have devoted their lives to the study of Indian culture and civilisation. Towards the close of the past century, a Bengali youth, Nishikanta Chattopadhyaya, held the Chair of Bengali Language at the University of St. Petersburg.

Assam Valley Saved by the Chinese

Drew Pearson writes in the *Washington Merry-Go-Round*:

The part which Chinese troops and the United States air transport command played in blocking the invasion of India can now be told.

At the time the Japs were driving into northern India last spring, several thousand Chinese troops were flown into India and succeeded in stopping the onrushing Japs.

Day after day the British army had been pushed back, until the Japs menaced the Imphal rail line and seemed on the verge of spreading out into northern India. British-Indian troops had been powerless to stop the Jap advance.

(One year before, at Quebec, the advance through Burma had been announced and Lord Louis Mountbatten had been placed in charge. Instead of an advance through Burma, however, the Japs reversed the process).

In this emergency, the United States air transport command loaded several thousand Chinese soldiers into transport planes, and flew them over "The Hump" (the Himalayas, highest mountain range in the world), and dumped them down in northern India.

The Chinese were packed into the planes in such numbers that they practically lay on top of each other. Flying over 20,000 feet over the Himalayas they were without oxygen tanks. Unloaded in India many were dragged from the plane unconscious, laid out on the ground, and had to be revived.

However, given food and a week's rest, they bucked up and made tough jungle fighters. Thus the Japs were stopped and the Assam valley was saved.

Two facts stand out as a result of this hitherto untold chapter in the war. One was the amazing performance of the air transport command, which flew in all kinds of weather over the most difficult terrain in the world. They took Gen. Chennault's gasoline and flew it in reverse, not to aid China, but to aid India.

The other was the example of what the Chinese troops could do in a pinch, and what they might be able to do against Japan in North China if properly equipped and led.

Early in the war, before the Japs took Burma and Singapore, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek formally offered Chinese troops to Prime Minister Churchill to fight in India or any other place in the Orient. The offer was refused.

Speed of Supply Depends on Will

The following news item deserves special attention:

New Delhi, Sept. 11.—Five thousand tons of vital war materials per month have been sent from India to Russia during the past 6 months along the East Persian route, which follows the age-old caravan tracks now converted into a modern motor highway.

Russia has received quantities of gunny bags, tossa canvas, jute ropes, tea, pepper, tin, wolfram and silk. Two special consignments were 1,000 tons of nickel and 1,000 tons of harvest yarn, both of which reached Russia in record time. The harvest yarn was made to a very exacting specification by the Calcutta jute mills. It had to be there before the Russian harvest and the average timing from Calcutta to the handing-over point was 28 days.

An interesting feature of the tin, mercury, wolfram and silk commodities is that they are flown from China to Assam in American aircraft, and railed to Zahidan for transport by truck. Hundreds of lorries have been used to get the consignments to our Allies in the north, and the road surface from Zahidan right up to the Russian border has been kept in excellent repair.—A. P. I.

But during the last famine in Bengal, food-stuffs could not be procured and supplies brought in excepting at a snail's pace.

British Public Opinion on Indian Deadlock

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* reports that the *News Chronicle* recently ascertained by Gallup-poll the views of the British public on the desirability of discussions between the Government and Indian leaders with a view to find out a solution of the present deadlock. The question put to vote was: "Concerning the Indian situation, do you think that the British Government should take steps to re-open negotiations with Indian leaders?" 52 per cent. replied "yes"; 15 per cent said "no" and 35 per cent said "Do not know." The *News Chronicle* says that this is a considerable shift of opinion favouring re-opening of negotiations. When the replies from men were counted separately, it was found that no fewer than 63 per cent. favoured re-opening of negotiations. Only 15 per cent opposed.

Colour Bar in the Commonwealth

The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastry, in reply to the call of the South African Congress requesting him to proceed to that country, said:

"To suggest a remedy is out of the question. It is an irony that the close of the war meant to establish freedom on a firm basis, should be attended with ominous signs of a rerudescence of colour prejudice within the Commonwealth. Australia's 'White Policy' has been re-affirmed, and the Britishers of Natal think this a suitable time for exhibiting anti-Indian feelings."

There are people who believe that in the coming Peace Conference the colour bar threat will be finally destroyed and that an era of human brotherhood will begin. But such optimism is not justified in the present circumstances. At least two of the three big Allies have not yet been able to free themselves from colour prejudice.

Secret U. S. A. Mission to China

United Press of America reports from Washington that the Chairman of the War Production Board, Mr. Donald Nelson, now on a secret White House Mission to China, is believed to be laying the ground work for post-war industrialisation of China which would strip Japan of foreign markets and provide the United States with huge orders for heavy machinery. Mr. Roosevelt is said to be sending Mr. Nelson as his personal emissary to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek to discuss economic problems but the nature of these problems is not disclosed. Mr. Nelson has himself said:

"It is becoming ever more clearer that the best method whereby we can promote sustained healthy expansion of foreign trade is to aid undeveloped regions to build sound industries of their own. We have learned that when we help other peoples to build healthy industries we make them better customers for America."

Mr. Nelson, some months ago, had expounded the theory that the United States must help others to build up healthy industries to avoid serious global post-war depression. Washington believes that industrialised China with cheap labour as that of Japan could move in Japan's foreign markets simultaneously to raise China's standard of living.

Irishmen's Deep Distrust for Britain

Mr. Robert C. Miller, staff correspondent of the *United Press of America* cables from London:

"Most Irishmen are completely apathetic to the present war, while a few are outright scornful of the Allied cause, I learned during a recent impromptu stay in Eire.

"I talked with farmers, housewives, fishermen and local dignitaries with a view to grasping the Irish point of view towards the war.

"One old farmer, standing before his thatched roof house puffing philosophically on his pipe, summed it up for me in one sentence: "If it were a good fight, the Irish would be in it." And no amount of logic or persuasion could convince the Irish I talked with that the present war is a "good fight."

"The underlying reason for this, they admitted, is their deep-seated distrust of Britain and Britain's foreign policy. The Irish, regardless of wealth or station, are far more politics-minded than the average American, and to a man they have convinced themselves that Ireland never has received a square deal from the British and never will.

"The British tell us", argued a pert, red-haired salesgirl, "that the United Nations are fighting for the little countries. But what about Ireland? Weren't we a little country and did Britain fight for us? They did not. *On the contrary they fought us.*"

Although India is not a small country, sentiment here as well is almost similar.

Two Powerful Minorities in the Offing?

The *United Press* cables from London that the British Press does not seem to have taken

much interest in the news from India about Gandhi-Jinnah meeting. Out of ten Sunday newspapers, only four, namely, *Observer*, *Sunday Times*, *Sunday Chronicle*, all conservatives, and the *Reynold's News*, socialist, have published scrappy News Agency message not giving more than eighty words only about this meeting. Neither was there any comment by any of the British papers.

London political circles, however, are reported to have been keenly watching all developments in India and refuse to make any comment on the Bombay talks at this stage. Mr. Reginald Sorensen, Prof. Harold Laski, Mr. Lawrence Housman and other socialist friends of India are also anxiously awaiting fuller news.

The *U. P.* correspondent reports that the general trend of feeling in London appears to be one of pessimism about the result of Gandhi-Jinnah talks. Those who entertain this pessimistic feeling point out that even if Gandhiji is able to win over Mr. Jinnah and his Moslems, he will have to prepare himself to face two powerful minorities which are being carefully nursed at present by interested parties and encouraged to put forward special claims of their own. A friend of India, who is a keen student of Indian affairs, and knows India Office very well, told the *U. P.* correspondent:

"I know that India's fighting men will soon constitute themselves into a powerful minority who may directly oppose Congress-League demand for complete independence. I have a feeling that they will be encouraged to repudiate any settlement arrived at between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah.

"The untouchables are expected to make common cause with the Sikhs who are known to be hostile to the present talks."

No Paper Shortage for Official Propaganda and Pornography—Haldane

At a recent meeting of the P. E. N. in London, Prof. J. B. S. Haldane said that the present lack of paper was having an effect on the output of literature, almost as serious as censorship. It was extraordinarily difficult to get paper for anything but official propaganda and second-rate pornography.

Notice

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays the Modern Review Office and Prabasi Press will remain closed from the 23rd September to the 6th October, 1944, both days included. All business accumulating during this period will be transacted after the holidays.

Kedar Nath Chatterji
Editor

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

GERMANY is now trying to weather the storm behind the first and main line of defences of Hitler's Reich. The United Nations have achieved much during the last few weeks, mainly through diplomacy. The cracking-up of Rumania, the third biggest Axis partner in Europe, was the first major triumph of the Allied Powers in this year. Rumania's capitulation seems to have caught the Nazi High Command unawares as the collapse of the defence lines in the extreme south of the Russian front seems to have compelled the Germans to give up all ideas of holding on to the soil of France. Probably the reserves ear-marked for France had to be drawn upon heavily in order to buttress the defences on the frontiers of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia and further the German High Command had to make hurried preparations against a major breach in the Reich's defences in the south-east through which the dreaded avenging forces of the Soviets might pour in and complete the disaster. Further defections from the Nazi ranks had to be provided for—and they followed in logical sequence, Bulgaria first and then Finland—and all these considerations were probably the reason why the Germans suddenly decided upon a retreat to the defences of the Maginot and Siegfried lines. Minor engagements took place on the soil of France and there are still some activities in the eastern and south-eastern regions but they are in main parts of the retreat plans. And thus the liberation of France took place with dramatic suddenness and almost without a single major engagement on the continental scale being fought after the battles in Normandy were over.

The Siegfried lines extend for a distance of about 400 miles, from the Swiss frontier to the coast line of north-west Germany and are over 30 miles in depth in many places. In a characteristic speech, delivered in 1939, Hitler described these defences as being totally impregnable and boasted that no conceivable outside power could force a breach in them. Since that speech these defences were further added to and besides for the major part of its entire length—up to Luxembourg frontier to be exact—the Maginot lines form a powerful chain of outer defences. There is no doubt that these immense defences in depth, consisting of over 17,000 forts arranged in several series and interconnected by a maze of hidden roads and underground passages, form a formidable barrier against invasion forces. Whether they are insurmountable or not is a different question altogether now, since the titanic progress made in the development of aerial bombardment tactics. But there can be no doubt that the Allied Supreme Command now will have to face the greatest problem as

yet put before it in order to prevent the Second front degenerating into the conditions of positional warfare similar—but on a far larger scale—to what obtained in France during the last two years and a half of the first World War. Positional warfare will give the hard-pressed Germans some respite and further the struggle instead of rising to a terrific crescendo coming sharply to a close by the total collapse of Nazidom, might meander into a long-drawn war of attrition. This latter state of affairs must be prevented at all costs by the Allied Supreme Command, as the consequences of a long-drawn struggle in Europe, from now onwards, would be serious indeed in Asia and might even be disastrous. Mr. Churchill's prediction that the war in Europe will be over by the end of October of this year, might have been just another hopeful augury similar to some other prophecies made by him before, but it did carry in it an indication that there were time-factors and limits in this war which the Allies cannot violate with impunity.

The use of paratroops on a large scale in Holland indicates that the Allied Command is determined to force issues at all costs. Paratroops are highly specialized combat units, drawn from the cream of the land forces and trained along extremely complex lines which call for not only the maximum of physical fitness but also for leadership, individual grasp of fighting tactics and a capacity for making instantaneous decisions—or initiative—to a degree uncommon in the other branches of the fighting forces. Modern methods of aerial warfare together with the latest developments in glider technique have converted these fighting units into long range engines of destruction—engines with highly trained individual brains—that can be projected across all barriers and over long distances. Needless to say, such units are very valuable because of their selection, training and limited supply and therefore the use of paratroops *en masse* indicates the determination of the Allied command to liquidate the stiff and stubborn resistance that has reduced the Allied advance to a very slow pace. The latest reports at the time of writing (20-9-'44) indicate that some degree of success has been attained by this manoeuvre but no estimate can be made as yet regarding its extent. There are reports in the newspapers regarding the penetration of the Siegfried lines at five points, but again there is no indication as to the depth of this penetration. On the whole the position, as far as it can be gauged by the latest reports, is that General Eisenhower is stepping up his assault as fast as he can on the main German defences in the Low Countries

and in Holland, and elsewhere the forces under his command are engaged in the preliminaries. The Germans on their side are straining every nerve in an attempt at stabilization. They have even gone so far as to leave large forces in all the major ports of France in order to deny transport facilities to the Allied forces for as long a period as possible.

On the Eastern European Front the position is complex. In Finland the Germans seem to have made up their mind to stage a resistance on the lines of the Italian front unaided by—even in opposition to—the Finns. The vast nickel deposits of Petsamo are said to be the main reason for this extraordinary decision on the part of the Nazi High Command, and no doubt the iron-ore and special steel supply from Sweden, which would dwindle to nothing as the Soviets' forces approached the Swedish frontiers, and the back-door entrance to Scandinavia through Norway are also factors for consideration. But all these seem to indicate that Hitler's Council is taking a long-term view of the war situation, just as if no extreme emergency has loomed across the horizon. In the Baltic States great battles are in progress in which the Soviets have flung in as many as 40 divisions and more—according to German reports—besides large masses of tanks and mobile artillery. The Russians have made some definite progress but no clear decision seems to be indicated as yet. Near Warsaw the Soviets' forces have captured Praga after a long and bitter struggle and a violent and swaying battle is in progress to the north-east of Warsaw. Further south the fires of battle seem to be smouldering.

But the really puzzling situation is in the Balkans. When the Rumanian defences tumbled down like the walls of Jericho it was expected that the great Russian armies of the south would flow surging in like a flood and after sweeping the unprepared Germans before it would strike at the Hungarian defences with the momentum of a tidal wave, carrying all before it. It was expected that not only all the Balkans but Hungary and parts of Czechoslovakia would be submerged in the maelstrom and that the German defences in the East would start not merely tottering and trembling but cracking wide open in great fissures all along the line. Contrary to all expectations the heaviest Russian blows are being delivered elsewhere, while the Hungarian and Czechoslovakian defences are gaining some measure of stability. And while parts of the Russian forces are carefully probing the defences of the Carpathians and the Hungarian frontiers others are thrusting deep southwards on to the Aegean Sea. Of course, one has to look at the German defences as one composite picture but even

then it is not very easy to explain the apparent continuance of rigidity in the German defences.

Summed up, the situation in Europe does not justify, up to the present, any hopes of a collapse of German resistance within the next few weeks, unless the Wehrmachts plans are disrupted from within, either by the cracking of the civilian morale or through widespread sabotage and revolt from the underground forces. The civilian population has so far taken the terrific aerial bombardment without breaking down but of course the strain is increasing as the Allied assault on the defences mounts to a peak. What the underground can achieve is known to their leaders alone.

In the Pacific Admiral Nimitz has again struck with great force, and this time the assault is practically on the last step before the Philippines. The amphibious and aerial forces of the U.S.A. have not slackened their efforts in the least since this island to island hop, step and jump campaign was taken over by the U.S.A. Navy. We have heard the repercussions of this campaign in the speeches made in the last meeting of the Japanese Diet, wherein the Japanese Premier and the Chief of the Japanese Navy gave the people of Japan the bare stark truth about the mounting intensity of the U.S.A. campaign. The U.S.A. authorities also have tried to impress on the public that the Pacific war was now entering a far more intense and critical stage and that the enemy was not at all giving up; indeed on the contrary. It was further stressed that the immense superiority in the air that has been enjoyed so far was now meeting with a growing challenge and that there were distinct signs that Japan was making a powerful bid for parity in the air. Practically all the successes gained by the Allied arms, in Asia, in the Pacific and on the Western Front in Europe, were in the main due to this absolute supremacy in the air, and it is in this field that Germany and Japan have as yet failed to find an answer to the problems set by the Allies, and all their failures are the direct consequences thereof. Needless to say, therefore, this Japanese attempt at regaining parity should be viewed with all seriousness.

In China the news are not very reassuring as yet. The Japanese triple offensive is still on the move and it has made some progress in two areas. But on the Sino-Burmese frontier the Chinese have improved their position and it is to be hoped that in the near future, when the monsoons are over, General Stilwell's forces would be augmented and refitted for initiating a major drive for the Burma Road. For in the present China offensive the Japanese have very nearly offset the Allied gains in the Pacific.

THE RAJAGOPALACHARI FORMULA AND THE CONGRESS

BY PROF. D. N. BANERJEE,

Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Dacca

EVER since the publication of the mischievous, communal formula of Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, a set of people as well as some newspapers have been carrying on a misleading propaganda that the formula is quite in consonance with the creed and policy of the Indian National Congress. Evidently, the object of this propaganda is to exploit our national sentiments towards the Congress for the purpose of ensuring public support to the formula. Even those who ought to know better and from whom the country expects a correct lead, have either intentionally or unintentionally, been a party to this propaganda. As will appear from what follows, the formula is definitely against the declared object and policy of the Congress.

Article 1 of the Constitution of the Congress as amended in 1939, says :

"The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment by the people of India of Purna Swaraj (Complete Independence) by all legitimate and peaceful means."

This object undoubtedly envisages the attainment of independence by the people of India as a whole, as a single political entity, and not by the people of a truncated India; nor, again, by the peoples of India partitioned or divided into a number of "sovereign" and independent fragments, or broken at a number of points by a chain of "Ulsters." No amount of casuistry or sophistry or mystification on the part of anybody, however great, can make the object imply anything else.

Now it may be, and has actually been, argued that whatever might have been the object of the Congress, its Working Committee declared in the course of its resolution, published at New Delhi on 11th April, 1942 :

"The Committee cannot think in terms of compelling the people in any territorial unit to remain in any Indian Union against their declared and established will."

Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that this resolution of the Working Committee was consistent with the object of the Congress—which I doubt very much—, and that it countenanced in certain circumstances partition, or separation, or secession, it does not mean anything. The reason is that the effect of this resolution has been completely neutralized and nullified by the action subsequently taken by the A. I. C. C. (All-India Congress Committee). Here, I should like to refer, before I proceed further, to a constitutional point. Under Article XX. of the Constitution of the Congress, the Working Committee consists of fifteen members including the President of the Congress and a Treasurer. Of these fifteen members, thirteen are appointed by the President from among the members of the A. I. C. C. Besides, the Work-

ing Committee is the "executive authority," and as such is empowered to carry into effect the policy and programme laid down by the A. I. C. C. and the Congress. It has certainly no power to act against that policy and programme. Moreover, it is "responsible" to both the A. I. C. C. and the Congress, and is required to place before every meeting of the A. I. C. C. the reports of its proceedings. Speaking constitutionally, the cumulative effect of all these, and particularly the use of the expression "responsible" in this context, is that the Working Committee is subordinate to the A. I. C. C. which can undo what the former has done. It is in a sense a Committee of the A. I. C. C., and an agent of the latter. As its master and official superior, the A. I. C. C. may, therefore, with unquestionable constitutionality, set aside or repudiate any action or decision taken by the Working Committee.

Now, notwithstanding the New Delhi resolution of the Working Committee to which I have referred above, on 2nd May, 1942, during its Allahabad session, the A. I. C. C. rejected, by 120 votes against 15, a resolution of Mr. Rajagopalachari conceding the claim of the Muslim League to separation, but adopted the following counter-resolution of Mr. Jagatnaraian Lal by 92 votes against 17 :

"The A. I. C. C. is of opinion that any proposal to disintegrate India by giving liberty to any component State or territorial unit to secede from the Indian Union or Federation will be highly detrimental to the best interests of the people of the different States and Provinces and the country as a whole and the Congress, therefore, cannot agree to any such proposal."

Again, on the 8th August, 1942, the A. I. C. C. adopted, in its Bombay session, a resolution which is now well-known, and which contained, among other things, a declaration which definitely envisaged a federal form of government, more or less on the American lines for the whole of India, with the maximum of autonomy for the constituent units and residuary powers vesting in them. It did not at all countenance any partitioning of India.

It is clear from what I have shown above that the resolution of the Congress Working Committee adopted at New Delhi early in April, in 1942, has been completely neutralized and nullified by the resolutions of the A. I. C. C. subsequently adopted by the latter in its Allahabad and Bombay sessions. In view of all this, it is not correct to state that the Rajagopalachari formula is consistent with the object and policy of the Congress. Indeed, it is not only anti-national, but also anti-Congress: It is a negation, nay, a betrayal, of the ideal which the Congress has placed before itself during the last sixty years of its existence.

THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Bengal's Contributions To It

BY PROFESSOR N. KAVIRAJ, M.A.

A feeling of unity based on the community of interests is the essential pre-condition for the development of a normal political life in every large country. About the early decades of the 19th century, the psychology of a common subjection to foreign rule re-inforced by an intellectual awakening and a political training on more up-to-date lines under the influence of the West, sought to eradicate the obstacles to political union, based on castes and creeds, sects and communities, and races and nationalities, and tended to unite the people of India on a common platform with a more or less common programme to redress some common grievances. A sympathy amongst the hitherto unsympathising castes, a harmony amongst the conflicting claims of communities, a unity in spite of the diversity of interests were the result of a composite movement arising simultaneously out of the changing productions-relations due to the influx of foreign capital, deterioration of our textile industries and the increasing poverty of our peasantry,—no less the result of lessons on national resistance that an alien bureaucracy had unwillingly taught us by raising a race of educated middle class on the Western literature of revolt.* Through a series of repressive legislations which were the basis of the bureaucracy in India, the unity movement gathered its own strength, for every repressive act gave an occasion for a widespread movement for its repeal and through these movements which followed one on the heel of another, India achieved her political unity. Napoleon by his conquests aroused the Italian bourgeoisie from their political somnolence, so did the English in India by their nefarious activities.

The Indian National Congress was the embodiment of this political consciousness of the nationalist middle class. But the full-fledged middle-class nationalist consciousness which was revealed in the Congress could not but be the result of a slow and lengthy process which dated from the days of Rammohun, which thrived indifferently under the different *sabhas* and associations and finally culminated in an all-India nationalist movement under the First and Second National Conferences and the Congress.

That the initiative of Allan Octavian Hume was chiefly responsible for the inception of the Congress movement, nobody would deny, but this need not blind us to the fact that his initiative would never have come, had there not

been the symptoms of a similar movement already in Bengal. He addressed to the graduates of the Calcutta University† because he knew that some of them had already been politically conscious of their national task and would be too ready to respond to his call. With educated Indians, the difficulty was enormous; the basis of the Indian government was so narrow and its officials were so prejudiced against Indian aspirations, that any constitutional organisation resembling anything like an Indian Parliament, founded exclusively by educated Indians, some of whom had bitter experiences with the Government, might very well be derided as a seditious movement out to destroy British rule; hence Hume's unique position as an Anglo-Indian, having connections with the Indian administration as well as with the Liberal Party of Great Britain, helped considerably in the organisation of a constitutional movement like that of the Congress.

The Congress could not be an accident, nor could it be the figment of the imagination of an Anglo-Indian. The idea was already there; in Bengal the idea had been born, bred and nurtured through half a century's endless endeavours. As early as 1823, Raja Rammohun Roy who had the foresight to see that the British rule could not be easily overthrown, wanted to take the fullest advantage of the lessons in Western civilisation and the democratic potentialities of the British constitution.‡ A free press, a free trial, and a rational education were the key to the political education of the middle class, and as this education progressed, the organisation of our public life became more and more complete. By the fifties of the last century the nucleus of a public life had already been formed. Those landlords of Calcutta who had earned the benefit of English education and were yet conscious of the hateful tyranny of an alien rule, had succeeded by the year 1851 in organising a public press, a public education, and, what is more, a public platform. The work of Raja Rammohun Roy and his school,—the activities of Prosonno Coomer Tagore, Dwarkanath Tagore, Raja Radhakanta Deb, Ramgopal Ghose, Peary Chand Mitra and Keshub Chandra Sen—had already prepared the ground for a public life in Bengal.

* Hume's Letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University, dated March 1, 1833.

† In an autobiographical sketch, Raja Rammohun Roy admits that during his earlier years, he was prejudiced against the establishment of British power in India, but later from his experience with many Europeans he became convinced of its ameliorative as well as of beneficial aspects, see *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, published by the Panini Office, Allahabad, 1906, pp. 223-25.

* For effects of British rule on India and their influence on our changing productions-relations, see *Mars and Engels on India*, also Dr. Shesvanker : *The Problem of India*, and John Beauchamp : *British Imperialism in India*.

The echoes of Bengal activity could not be confined within the four walls of the province. Bombay, another chief centre of British oligarchy and English education, began her public life in the middle of the 19th century with an advantage of the earlier experiences of Bengal. Those farsighted citizens who were responsible for the opening up of a public life in Bombay were Naoroji Furdunji, Dadabhai Naoroji, and Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy. In 1851 the British Indian Association and the Bombay Association were founded in Calcutta and Bombay respectively. While the Calcutta Association continued to dominate the public life of Bengal for more than two decades, the Bombay Association lived indifferently, to be supplanted at last by a Bombay Branch of the East India Association about the year 1869, which too, "having no independent existence, was unable adequately to voice the popular sentiment and to defend the rights of the people."[†] Poona had also organised her public life about the same time and the Poona Sarbajanik Sabha was almost as old as the Bombay Association. In a word, by the fifties and sixties of the last century, the educated middle class, at the principal centres of British rule, had been conscious of their political rights as well as of their political role, although in degree Bengal had far outstripped her Western and Southern neighbours.

The basis of this public life was, however, narrow and confined within the limits of the Presidency towns. The only people who were conscious of the part that they had to play were some rich but enlightened landlords. By the latter half of the sixties and seventies of the last century, our political life became broader when a more conscious and vocal section of the middle class, mostly, Barristers, Professors and Judges hailing from rich families, with intellectual experience earned from abroad and sympathies more broad-based, came to take the field in politics. With the advent of Surendranath Banerjea, A. M. Bose, Pherozshah Mehta, W. C. Bonnerjee, Telang, Sankaran Nair, Ananda Charlu and others, who were mostly trained on the same political literature, and were under the spell of Mazzini's slogan of national unity, the Indian middle class in different presidencies discovered that their interests were identical. The identity of the interests of the middle class in the different provinces brought them closer to one another and roused a national consciousness that was yet unknown in Indian politics. This period witnessed the rise of a new class of more representative associations in the Indian Association of Surendranath Banerjea and A. M. Bose in Bengal, the Bombay Presidency Association of Telang and Pherozshah in Bom-

bay, and the Mahajana Sabha in Madras. Another important feature of this period was the close co-operation of the three presidencies on those vital problems which were associated with the repressive legislations of the Government of India, and this is most evident from the lot of correspondence* which took place between the leaders of different provinces on some important occasions.

It was in Bengal that the national spirit for the first time revealed itself. It was again in Bengal that the need of a national or an all-India organisation was for the first time felt. The national spirit in Bengal may be traced to the year 1861 when Rajnarain Bose appealed to the national sentiment of the Bengalees. The same sentiment in its various aspects may be discerned in the writings and speeches of Nabagopal Mitra, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, W. C. Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjea, Jogen德拉-nath Vidyabhushan, Lalmohan Ghose, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, and Bholanath Chandra. Unlike in Bengal, the national sentiment in Bombay had not manifested in its literature and sociology, it worked purely as a political force. The most active manifestation of this spirit was the East India Association in England of which the leading spirit was Dadabhai Naoroji. The Association brought the rising spirits in Bengal and Bombay closer, but it was not destined to play the role of a national organisation, for its roots were not in the Indian soil nor was it an adjunct of an all-India national organisation. Unlike those who were eager to draw the sympathy of the Liberal Party in London, the Bengal leaders headed by Surendranath Banerjea wanted to activise the national consciousness of the Indians by an all-India organisation on the Indian soil. As early as 1875, Surendranath joined the newly founded Students' Association of Bengal with an object of broadening the basis of our political life. The concern for the development of a national consciousness reached a more definite stage when the Indian Association was established on July, 26, 1876. As the founder himself put it, it was to be the "centre of an all-India organisation," and the comprehensive ideology that it set before itself is a sufficient testimony to its concern for an all-India movement. Really Surendranath was the first to explore the possibilities of an all-India movement. In 1877 he made his first political tour over the Panjab and North-Western Provinces, he toured over Bombay and Madras to enlighten the people on the re-actionary policy followed by Lord Salisbury with regard to the Indian Civil Service question. Sir Henry Cotton refers to the successes of these Upper India

[†] H. P. Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography*—Vol. I, Ch. IV, p. 19.

* H. P. Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta—a Political Biography*—Vol. I, ch. viii, pp. 137-38.

tours of Surendranath in his book *New India*. In the words of Surendranath himself,

"The true aim and purpose of the Civil Service agitation was the awakening of a spirit of unity and solidarity among the people of India."

Pausing to consider the net results of his tour, he concluded that

"for the first time under British rule, India, with its varied races and religions, had been brought upon the same platform for a common and united effort."*

The national consciousness that was thus aroused gathered further strength from the Vernacular Press Act agitation and the Ilbert Bill controversy which evoked popular protest not only in Calcutta, but also in Bombay and other presidencies. Over the Ilbert Bill agitation, the leaders of Bengal organised a political conference known as the First National Conference at the Albert Hall in Calcutta in December, 1883. In this meeting in his opening address, (Amvika Ch. Majumdar in his *Indian National Evolution* tells us,) Surendranath is said to have suggested the necessity of an all-India political organisation. The same author quotes from Mrs. Besant's book *How India Wrought for Freedom* a statement that in December, 1884, there came a number of delegates from different parts of the country at the annual convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar. After the convention was over, 17 prominent Indians met in the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao in Madras. These 17 'good men and true' met and discussed various problems affecting the interest of the country and probably supported the idea of a national movement started at the Calcutta Conference of 1883. Mr. Majumdar further remarks that towards the close of 1884 when the Indian National Union was formed,

"a lot of correspondence passed between Calcutta and Bombay, though it is difficult now to trace them accurately with the exception of one addressed by Mr. Telang to Mr. Surendranath Banerjea enquiring about matters connected with the National Conference of 1883."

In 1885 a Second National Conference was convened by the three leading Associations of Calcutta, the British Indian Association, the Indian Association and the Central Muhammadan Association and to which came representatives from Bombay, Bihar, Assam, Allahabad, Benares and Meerut. Simultaneously the First Indian National Congress met in Bombay and a message was despatched from the conference welcoming the birth of the long expected National Assembly.

"Both the Conference and the Congress were thus the simultaneous offshoots of the same movement; but the

Bengal leaders wisely and patriotically merged their movement in that of the one inaugurated at Bombay as it had no necessity for separate existence except to the detriment of the other or possibly of both." Moreover, "the programme of the Conference was practically the same as that of the first Congress."**

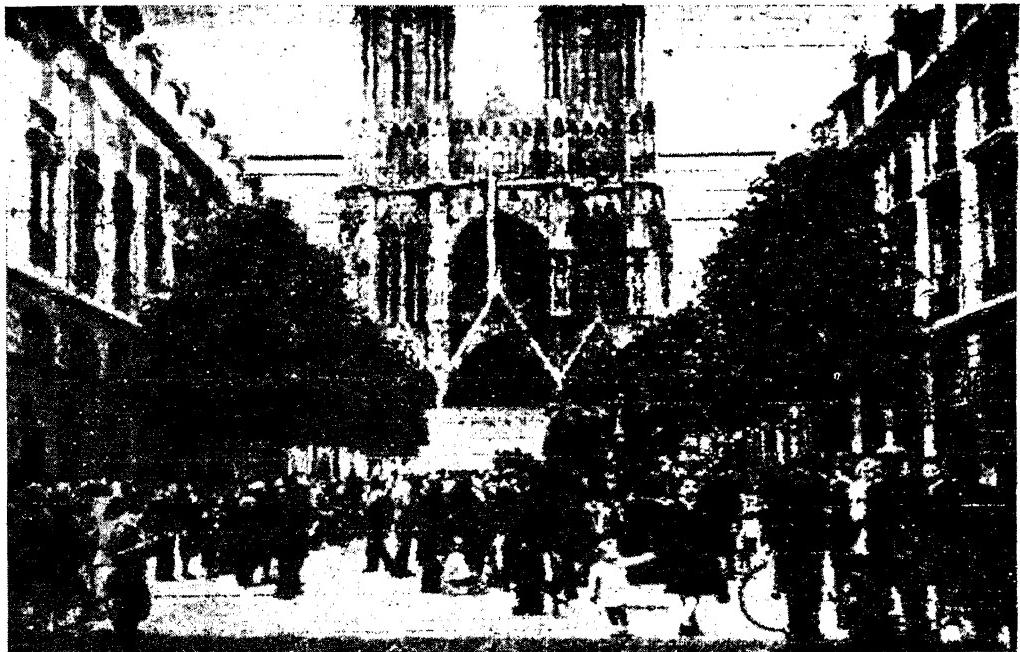
Thus the authorship of the idea of the Congress and especially that of its political programme must be shared by Hume with Surendranath Banerjea of Bengal and Dadabhai Naoroji of Bombay. Although Surendranath cannot lay a claim to be the founder of the Indian National Congress, he can at least lay a claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation, however vaguely, at the First National Conference in Calcutta as early as 1883 and to have organised a representative national gathering at the Second National Conference in 1885, simultaneously with Congress. Perhaps Sir N. G. Chandavarkar made a confession of this feeling when he said:

"If a father be found out for the Congress, let us not hesitate to admit that Surendranath is the grandfather, he is the father of our political consciousness."†

* A. C. Majumdar : *Indian National Evolution*, chapters vii and viii.

† Surendranath's claim to have first suggested the idea of an all-India organisation has been carefully considered in Jages Ch. Bose's *Surendranath Banerjea* (snapshot), pp. 51-53. Even H. P. Mody in his biography of Pherozshah Mehta admits the priority of claims of the Bengal school. He admits that "previous to this, (the formation of the National Union of Hume), the three leading Associations of Calcutta had partly carried out the object in view."—See Mody : *Sir Pherozshah Mehta, a Political Biography*, Vol. I, pp. 180-181. It may be interesting to note in this connection the remarks of the author of an important pamphlet under the title "The Congress and the National Movement: (From a Bengal Standpoint)"—written under the direction of the Reception Committee of 43rd Session of the Indian National Congress, 1928. In discussing the role of Surendranath in the evolution of an all-India organisation the author remarks : "The National Conference was the precursor of the Indian National Congress and ultimately merged itself into that body. While the Second National Conference was being held at Calcutta, the Indian National Congress was being ushered into existence at Bombay. It is somewhat difficult to-day to understand clearly how this happened, how in the year 1885 there were two national assemblies in session, but it is possible to guess at some of the reasons. The National Conference in Calcutta was entirely a spontaneous popular movement led by the irrepressible Surendranath and his colleagues. Surendranath was, in those days, the enfant terrible in Indian politics. He was a dismissed civilian, a professional demagogue and a released convict. He was a follower of Mazzini and an ardent advocate of democracy. The older leaders considered him irresponsible. Government looked askance at him. At its inception the National Congress, we know, was intimately connected with the Theosophical Society which had, though undeservedly, brought on itself, to some extent, the suspicion of Government. Mr. Hume and the other Theosophical leaders naturally did not want to incur further displeasure of Government by giving Surendranath a prominent place in the new organisation"—pp. 17-18.

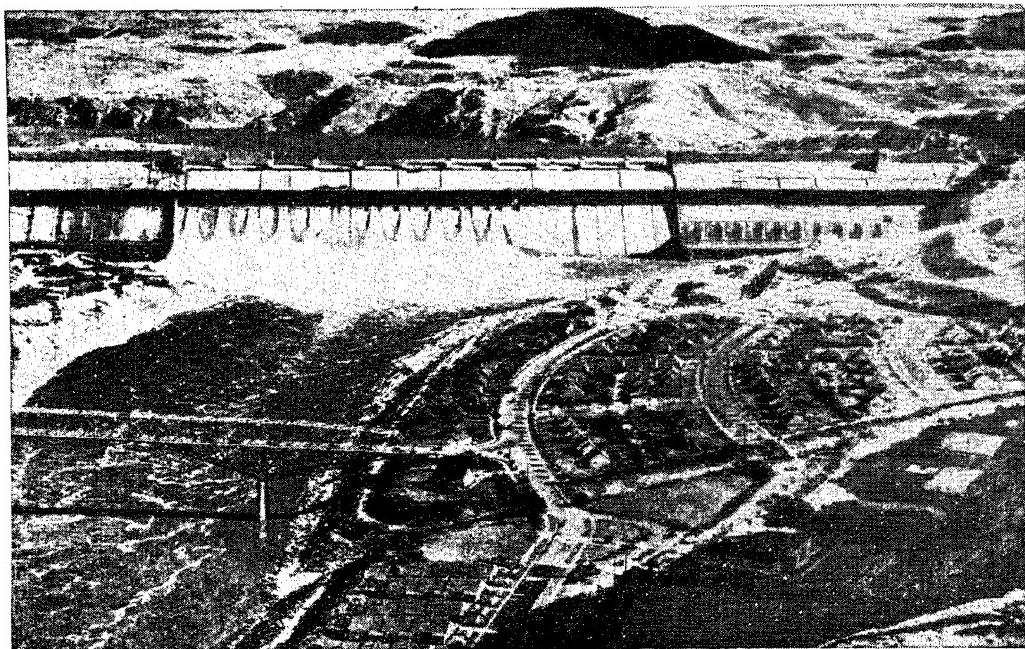
* Surendranath Banerjea : *A Nation in the Making*, Vol. V, pp. 41-51.



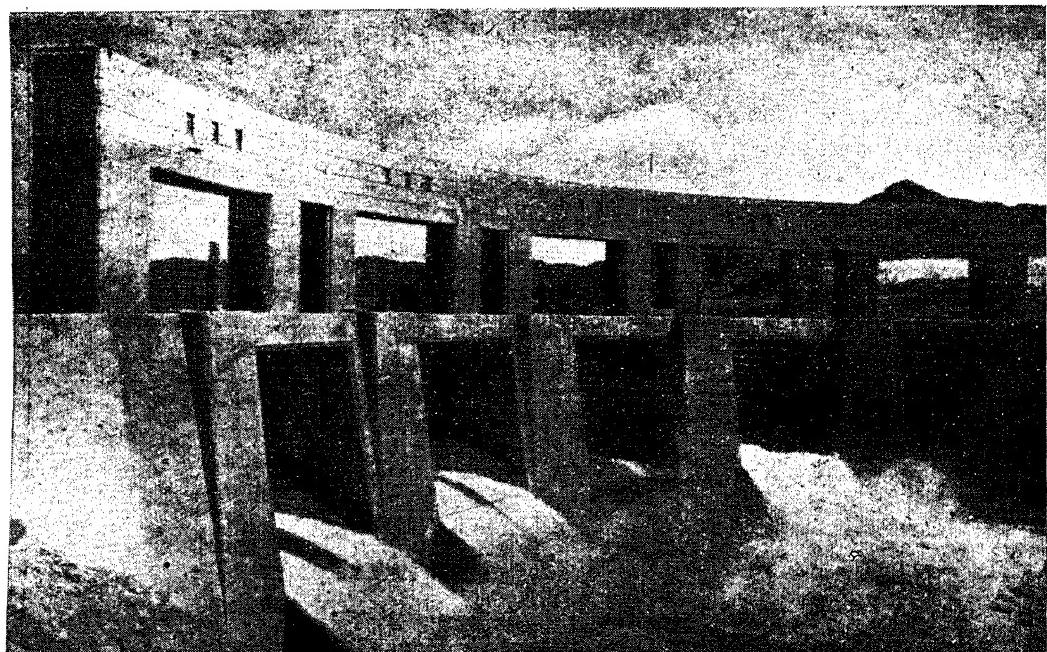
Rheims residents throng in front of the city's famous cathedral, as they welcome U. S. troops who liberated the city.



Women and children scatter for cover as a Nazi sniper opens fire during liberation of Paris.
Courtesy: USOWI



The big dam under construction in the Western U. S. will turn desert wastes into rich fields and supply electricity to neighbouring towns.



Water from the Colorado River rushes through the sluice gates of this recently completed dam in the Western U. S. to irrigate the thirsty land and to supply the neighbouring cities with power.

Courtesy: USOWI

AMERICA'S PROBLEM OF WOMEN WAR WORKERS

Recent reports by U. S. Government agencies show that women now hold one out of every three war jobs. And they are not easy jobs.

Not so long ago employers in hundreds of different industries in that country were reluctant to hire women for heavy-duty occupation. Any work in industry, in fact—even in light jobs—was considered "unsuitable" for women. But the need for record-breaking quantities of war materials took precedence over tradition, and women soon were permitted to undertake all kinds of "unsuitable" occupations.

It is true that many heavy jobs were broken down into several light and simple steps, and that mechanical improvements made it possible for women of slight stature to perform tasks once handled only by strong men. But the most remarkable change in the American labour scene was the admission of women into exclusively male-operated industries.

To-day there is no major industry in the United States which bars women. That does not mean women are doing heavy work in all the industries which traditionally employed only men. Ten thousand women, for example, are employed in coal mining now, but all of them in above-ground operations.

WOMEN IN SHIPBUILDING, AIRCRAFT AND TRANSPORT JOBS

It is in the industries once dominated by men that women have made their most spectacular contributions to the Allied war programme. Shipbuilding is a case in point.

In March, 1939, the U. S. Census of Manufactures showed a total of only 36 women wage-earners in shipyards, less than one per cent were women. But by January 15, 1944, the number had increased to 10 per cent. Including clerical workers, women now hold one job out of every eight in American shipyards.

Aircraft and transportation industries are employing women in numbers unheard of in peacetime. Four of the nation's largest railways to-day employ at least one woman to every seven men.

The number of women in aircraft assembly alone increased nine times in the first year of the war. By April, 1942, six percent of the productive workers in aircraft assembly were women. In January, 1944, women wage-earners in airplane engine and propeller plants exceeded

4,73,000. Thirty-six percent of all aircraft workers combined were women.

WOMEN IN IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRIES

The U. S. iron and steel industry is another which uses a large number of women workers. At one plant in the central United States women have been admitted to the open-hearth and blast-furnace work for the first time in history.

A recent survey of 41 steel mills by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Labour Department shows that women are now working in most of the American mills, but that their work is restricted chiefly to lighter and less skilled jobs.

The bureau feels that the more closely a job is associated with the handling of basic raw



American women work on railway maintenance, considered one of the most arduous of the "heavy jobs"

materials, the less suitable it is for women; that the best jobs for women, both now and after the war, are in laboratories, maintenance and service divisions, and clerical departments of the mills.

LEGAL PROTECTION FOR WOMEN WAR WORKERS

Twenty-nine of the United States passed laws in 1942 and 1943 which changed conditions under which women could hold war jobs.

In four of these states there had been no previous standards for women's employment. One of these states adopted a meal-period law, another a day-of-rest law, the other two equal-pay laws.

In the north-western state of Utah women now may be employed in smelters and at mines,

except in underground work. In Ohio the legislators removed the law which prevented women from working as railway maintenance section hands, express drivers, railway-crossing-switchmen, taxi-drivers, gas or electric meter readers and ticket sellers between the hours of 10 at night and six in the morning.

Ohio now also permits women to work in smelting plants, at blast furnaces, in delivery service on wagons or motor cars, in operating freight or baggage elevators, in baggage and freight handling. Previously an Ohio law prohibited women from working at tasks requiring them to lift more than 25 pounds at a time. That limit has now been raised to 35 pounds.

the rates of approximately 59,500 women workers.

No figures are available regarding the number of women workers affected by the Board's decisions in cases involving the equal-pay issue.

A recent unanimous Board decision directed a west coast aluminium concern to establish rates on the basis of job content, irrespective of the sex of the worker. Other decisions have benefited women in automotive, lumber, electrical and steel industries.

Last year the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union (affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations) reported



War expediency has forced many American women into the difficult occupation of ship-building

WAGES RATES FOR WOMEN

Although many industries still pay women beginners less than men starting in the same job, the principle of "equal pay for equal work" has won wider acceptance since the start of the war programme. Both the Government and unions advocate equal pay.

The U. S. National War Labour Board reports that since it announced its policy of equal pay in November, 1942, more than 2,250 companies have reported voluntary equalization of rates for men and women doing work in equal quantity and quality. These voluntary applications of the equal-pay principle have increased



Women were found to be specially capable of doing the intricate detail work in the manufacture of planes

it had signed 150 agreements with employers providing equal pay in more than 800 plants.

The United Rubber Workers (CIO) late in 1943 had negotiated 142 contracts, and the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers (CIO) had signed 50 contracts, all containing equal-pay clauses. Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labour also report definite and widespread progress in obtaining wage adjustments for women.

W.M.C. DEVELOPS WAYS TO USE WOMEN WORKERS

The U. S. War Manpower Commission has found that it can make effective use of woman-

power, and in some areas has begun to reserve certain occupations for women only, to adjust certain other jobs so that they can be handled by women, and to establish ceilings (*i.e.* maximum figures) on the numbers of male workers.

San Francisco, in the west coast state of California, has put a ceiling on the employment of men. Industries may hire men only at a rate which enables the factories to maintain employment at 90 percent of the male force as of October, 1943. All other new employees must be women. However, several war plants with heavy schedules are exempted from this ruling.

In another U.S. industrial centre, Louisville, Kentucky, several types of war jobs are now closed to men. The U. S. Employment Service, recruiting women to maintain the war working force at an adequate level, are now referring the women to jobs where industry does not have to make special plant adjustments or where adjustments can be made quickly; to jobs where

women can replace men who will be shifted to more hazardous or difficult operations.

HALF OF NEW WOMEN WORKERS ARE WAR VOLUNTEERS

According to Government reports, approximately half of the 50,00,000 women who have gone to work in the last four years would not have done so under normal circumstances. Most of these are housewives who either found it necessary to go to work after their husbands entered the armed forces or who took jobs for patriotic reasons.

The main thing, however, is that all these new women workers—including those who belong to "Grandmothers' Clubs" and the 17-year-olds who must obtain permits to leave school—are helping sustain the Allied record-breaking rate of war production.

Courtesy: USOWI

THE HISTORIC FORT AT GINGEE

By N. RAMAKRISHNA

The famous historic rock fortress at Gingee is in the Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot district in South India. The place is some twenty miles from the town of Tindivanam, a railway station in the South Indian Railway line on the main line from Madras Egmore to Trichinopoly. The interest of the place is chiefly historical.

The fortress consists of three strongly fortified hills, Rajagiri, Krishnagiri and Chandraya Durg, connected by long walls of circumvallation. The most notable is the Rajagiri on which stands the citadel. It is about 500 or 600 feet high and consists of a ridge terminating in a great overhanging cliff facing the south and falling with a precipitous sweep to the plain in the north. The citadel is on the top of the cliff. A narrow and deep ravine gives a difficult means of access to the top. On every other side it is quite inaccessible, the sides of the rock rising from the base to a great height. Across the ravine three walls have been built, each about 25 feet high and rising one behind the other at some little distance which render the attack in that direction almost impracticable. The way to the summit leads across the three walls through several gateways. But at the very top a portion of the rock is divided by a narrow chasm 24 feet wide and 60 feet deep from the main mass of the hill. The only way to the citadel is across this chasm. The fortifiers of the rock artificially prolonged and heightened it through a wooden bridge across and made the only means

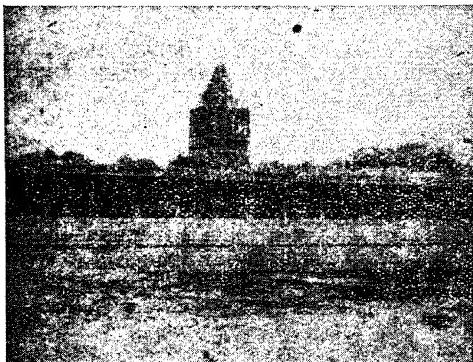
of ingress into the citadel through a gateway facing the bridge about 30 yards from it. There are flank walls fitted with loopholes for musketry. It has been truly said that in the conditions of warfare then existing this gateway could have been held by ten men against ten thousands.



Across the deep ravine there is a wooden bridge giving the only access to the fort at Gingee

It is not possible to say who constructed the fort but tradition and the nature of the buildings point to the conclusion that the credit of building it goes mainly to the kings of the Vijayanagar Dynasty. The Mortello

Towers show the traces of European supervision. The great lines of fortifications which cross the valley between the three hills enclosing an area of 7 square miles were built at different periods. In the original form each consisted of a wall of about 5 feet thick built up of blocks of granite

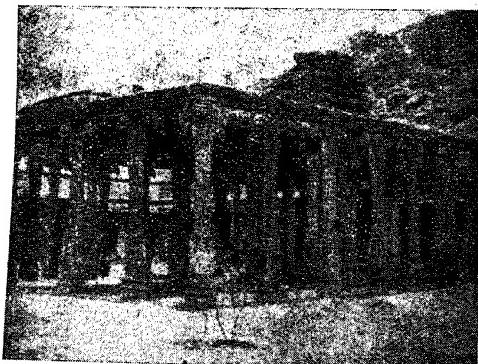


The Kalyana Mahal in the background and a portion of the Elephant Tank

and filled in with rubble but subsequently a huge earthen rampart about 25 to 30 feet thick has been built and riveted roughly in the inside with stone while at intervals in this rampart are barracks and guard rooms.

RUINS

Several ruins are situated within the fort area. There are the temples and the Kalyana Mandap (Kalyana Mahal), gymnasium and



The dilapidated Mandapam in the temple compound situated inside the fort

granaries. There are various mandapas supported on stone pillars and a large granary on the top of Krishnagiri.

The most attractive of all the ruins is the Kalyana Mahal which consists of a square court

surrounded by rooms for ladies of the governor's household. In the middle of the court is a square tower of eight storeys about 80 feet high with a pyramidal roof. The first six storeys are of the same pattern, with an arcaded verandah running around a small room about 8 feet square and communicating with the storey above by means of small steps. The room on the seventh storey has no verandah but there are indications that one such existed formerly. Other places of interest are the Raja's bathing stone, etc.

A little to the south of Rajagiri is a hill called Chakli Durg. The summit is strongly fortified but the defences are not connected with those of the other hills.

KRISHNAGIRI

At a little distance from Rajagiri is the hill of Krishnagiri, well fortified in the north-easterly direction of Rajagiri. A flight of



The temple of Ranganatha—three miles from the fort at Gingee

steps leads one to the top without much difficulty. The main places of interest are the Mandap on the top, a dilapidated temple and a number of cool places which can quite easily be compared with that of our modern air-conditioned rooms during the worst days of summer. Probably the kings used to spend the hottest part of the day there. There are springs which always furnish ice-cold water. The granary on the top of the hill is worth mentioning. A general view of Rajagiri and Chakli Durg can be commanded from the top and the deep moats and broad walls of fortifications can be seen right through.

HISTORY OF THE PLACE

Gingee was a stronghold of the Vijayanagar kings. Their power was at the height of prosperity towards the close of the 15th century. They were overthrown by the Muhammadan

kings in 1564 at the battle of Talaikot. In 1638 the Bijapur general captured it. The Bijapur army which was responsible for the capture of the fort was led by Shahji, father of Shivaji



The strongly built wall of the fort with the Mortello Tower

the Great. In 1677 the fort fell to Shivaji and remained in Mahratta hands for 21 years. The Delhi Emperor laid seige to it in 1690 and after 8 years the fort fell. In 1750 the French captured it and held it for 11 years. In 1780 it surrendered to Hyder Ali. The fort was looked upon as one of the unhealthiest spots of the Carnatic. The place is deserted now but the Government spends some amount of money annually for the preservation of the ruins.

THE BALLAD OF RAJA DESINGH

Gingee is popular and familiar to the Tamil population on account of the popular ballad still sung by wandering minstrels which has for its subject the story of Raja Desingh. According to the ballad, Desingh was an independent ruler of Gingee who did not pay tribute to any power. The Emperor Aurangzeb had remitted payment of all dues as a reward for his skill in managing a horse that no one could ride. The Nawab of

the Carnatic was jealous of Desingh and on his refusal to pay the tribute invaded the country. In the fight the Rajah was killed in spite of supernatural interference. The Queen committed "sati" and the Nawab built a city in the neighbourhood as a mark of honour in memory of the young queen and named the city Ranipet.

There is a temple of Ranganatha on the adjoining hill some 3 miles from the fort. There is a gigantic idol of Ranganatha cut out of a single rock more than 25 feet in length. It is said that the whole portion—the idol along with the Gopura—has been cut out of a single rock. A flight of steps nearly 100 in number leads to the top.

Within the fort area there is a temple where it seems was the idol of Ranganatha, but no idol is found there now. The temple has



The Rajagiri hill

fallen to ruins but there are some carved pillars and mandapas.

A river called Sankarabarani flows on the outskirts of Gingee and there are a number of Mandapas and towers on the banks of the river, all in ruins. The style represents that of the buildings built by the Vijayanagar kings.

SOVIET TADJIKISTAN

By POMUS

BETWEEN two mountain ranges—Tyanshan, meaning 'celestial hills' and the Pamirs called the 'roof of the world' lies Soviet Tadjikistan stretching to the U.S.S.R. boundary with Afghanistan and western China.

Tadjikistan covers an area of 143,900 square kilometres and has a population of nearly one and a half million. The highest mountains in the U.S.S.R., the Stalin Peak, 7495 metres;

the Lenin Peak, 7127 metres; and the Fedchenko Glacier 77 kilometres long—largest in the world—are found in Tadjikistan.

Under Tsarism Tadjikistan was notorious for its low level of development.

With the fraternal assistance of the Russian people, the Tadjiks cast off the fetters of Tsarism and the power of Emir of Bokhara, establishing, in 1924, an autonomous republic which later,

in 1929, became a union republic. Three quarters of Tadzhikistan's inhabitants are Tadjiks, the remainder being Uzbeks—living in northwest—, Kirghiz and Russians. Within the Tadzhik republic an autonomous region has been formed on the plateaus and slopes of the Pamirs, with Khorog as its centre, and its population consisting chiefly of Tadjiks and Uzbeks.

Many economic successes have been scored by the people of Tadzhikistan since the establishment of the Soviets. An irrigation system has been built in western Tadzhikistan and the adjoining mountain with the help of funds allocated by the Soviet Government. Thus, the area under irrigation was, in 1938, 290,000 hectares larger than in 1914, which means an increase of 67 per cent. Rice and cotton plantations have been considerably expanded : they are now six times of the size they were in 1914. And their area has increased by 110,000 kilometres. In 1939 Egyptian cotton was raised on an area of 40,000 hectares. Fruit growing is an important occupation in Tadzhikistan. On unwatered land the Tadjiks raise wheat and barley covering an area approximately of 600,000 hectares—30 per cent more than that before the first World War. Nowhere in the world does farming thrive on such an elevated land as it does in Tadzhikistan. Here vineyards are spread on land 2,000 metres high and barley is grown 3,500 metres above the sealevel.

Horses, large-horned cattle, sheep and goats are found in Alpine pastures. Tadzhikistan is famous for its sheep, and it has some of the finest mutton in the world.

Large textile mills sprang up recently in the republic, as well as fruit and vegetables canneries. Coal, oil, gold and non-ferrous and rare metals have become important products.

As compared to the pre-Revolutionary times, the volume of production in Tadzhikistan has increased no less than 400 times. In the recent years the water power of Tadzhikistan's river has been set into exploitation. Tadzhikistan had no roads under Tsarism but only winding paths cutting through the Pamirs with hazardous passageways across yawning abysses of mountain ravines. At present the country is criss-crossed with motor roads.

The years of the Soviet rule have been marked by a rise in the standard of living and educational level of the Tadzhik people. Formerly deprived of all rights and with little say in her own home, the Tadzhik woman has gained her emancipation, and is participating in building a new and happier life. 4,000 elementary schools, over a hundred high schools and hundreds of public libraries and club houses have sprung up in the recent years. A quarter million children are attending schools which is 600 times the number of pupils prior to the Soviets. Illiteracy has dropped from almost 100 per cent to 28 per cent. There are at present five colleges in the republic. Seventy newspapers, mostly in Tadzhik, Uzbek and Kirghiz, are published here, while Tadzhikistan's national theatres, musicians and artists have gained a countrywide recognition. A good deal of scientific research is carried on in the republic under the auspices of the affiliated branch of the Academy of Sciences, U.S.S.R.

Deeply loyal to the Soviet system, which has brought to them freedom, national independence and cultural efflorescence, the Tadzhik people have sent, and continue to send, their fearless sons to defend the mother country against the Nazi hordes.

EVO-REVOLUTION

By PROF. KSHIROD CHANDRA SANYAL, M.A.

THE world is changing continually. A moment passes, and it is not the same world as it was a moment before. This mutability is characteristic of everything that exists—both lifeless and living. The lofty mountain peak may seem to be standing in the same proud posture of perfect erection for thousands of centuries, but the numerous streams and rivulets, that issue out of it, are imperceptibly bringing its towering head down to the dust. The irresistible forces of change spare nothing from their operation. This inherent changeableness of objects and organisms may either be a very slow

and gradual process or it may be a swift-moving spectacle like the sudden flight of an arrow or like an abrupt jump in which several intermediate stages of development have been skipped over. The former process I would dub as evolutionary change and the latter revolutionary. This nomenclature must not, however, be taken to mean that evolution and revolution are two separate forces each working independently of the other. They are but two aspects of the same process of change. Evolution stands in the same relation to revolution as walking does to running or jumping. In other words, revolution is rapid evolution occurring at un-

certain and irregular intervals. This may seem quite commonplace and a discussion of the sort hardly necessary. But there have been persons in all ages and climes with whom Fabianism has been the only workable formula making for progress. "Inevitability of gradualness" is their favourite slogan. My purpose in writing this has been to show that revolution is inherent in every process of change and is bound to come if change is to take place, and that evolution and revolution have always been composite and complementary forces. To emphasise this composite and complementary character of the forces of change I have coined the word 'Evo-Revolution.' The Fabianists forget that the Cunctator's policy of caution and delay did not in itself lead to the deliverance of Italy from the Hannibalic danger, although it gave her the respite which was necessary for organising total efforts to humble the enemy.

Let us now try to see how the forces of 'evo-revolution' have been working in different spheres.

II

The theory of evolution suggests a process of gradual unfolding in which every subsequent stage is closely related to an earlier one. Life has evolved, according to this theory, in course of the ages, through continuous modification—first of one, then of a few, then more and more numerous ancestral species. Life is like a tree and the innumerable living patterns are like so many branches. But life, as we know it, has not existed right from the beginning of the planetary career of the earth. It is admitted by men of science that at a certain stage in our planet's history, we know not when, life originated in a simple form from lifeless matter. That was undoubtedly a tremendous change, nothing short of a revolution. We thus owe the beginning of our existence to a revolution, the first revolution in the evolution of life; it was not, however, the last. In fact, the emergence of every novel feature in the living forms—including the appearance of an entirely new species from a somewhat different ancestral stock—has largely been the result of sudden jerks in the evolutionary process, technically called 'mutations.' Mutations are, according to our definition, revolutions in evolution. Apart from such abrupt changes, revolutionary change may also mean a process of very rapid development of some particular form in a remarkably shorter period than has been necessary for the development of others of the same kind. The evolution of man, viewed from the perspective of the evolution of other mammals, has been such a revolutionary development. The point will be clear if we compare the development of the

horse (every stage in the evolution of which has been traced) with that of man.

The evolution of horses from a small Eocene mammal (Eocene is the earliest period of the latest geological Era, the Cenozoic Age) has taken at least fifty million years of limitless time, whereas the evolution of man from a man-like mammal has taken not more than ten million years, probably much less, and the much-vaunted civilisation of man beginning from the primitive conditions of the Stone Age is hardly ten thousand years old. Not unreasonably, therefore, man is regarded as a mere upstart in the history of the evolution of life.

III

The interaction of evo-revolutionary forces is equally noticeable in the world of physical phenomena. The great mountain ranges were, for the most part, built up as a result of violent 'revolutions' in the earth's crust in the Proterozoic and Paleozoic Ages (second and third geological Eras) of the planet's history. In fact, every remarkable physical phenomenon is the outcome of the combined efforts of evo-revolution. When a beautiful coral island suddenly shoots up its head from under the blue waters of the sea, we are apt to forget the long period of its formation, bit by bit, which is hidden from our view. Or if we turn to any destructive natural phenomenon, we shall observe or at least infer, the working of the same evo-revolutionary forces which jointly produce it: The sudden outburst of a volcanic eruption has behind it an elaborate process of preparation inside.

IV

The evidence of History is also fully in accord with our thesis. Let us turn our attention to certain palpable historical facts. The tremendous socio-political changes which revolutionised Russia under Peter the Great (1689-1725), Japan in 1868 and Turkey after the last World War, do not seem to have been preceded by any evolutionary progress in the direction which the revolutions took. All these countries appear to have been thoroughly Europeanised (Russia, till the time of Peter, was more an Asiatic than a European country) almost overnight. But if the adoption of European manners and methods was an act of sudden importation in these cases, the evolution itself of Western ways and ideas had been a very slow and gradual process which took the Western European countries centuries of development in a particular direction before those ways and ideas could be profitably transplanted to foreign soil. The Industrial Revolution, which ultimately replaced the primitive methods of production by scientific

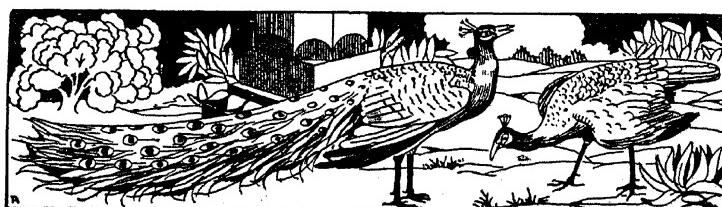
methods, was likewise the product of generations of patient and painstaking research by eminent men of science. The Renaissance or the New Learning, which was a tremendous intellectual upheaval and which is said to have begun with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, was not an abrupt and momentary phenomenon, but had its roots deep in the past and was a long process of moral, material and intellectual activity. The rise of Protestantism was a revolution in the religious sphere, but the seeds of that revolution had been sown by men like Wycliffe (c. 1320-84) and Huss (burnt alive in 1415) long before Luther ventilated his protest against Papal Indulgences in 1517. Further, the Reformation was really a subsequent phase of the Renaissance. The political revolutions in England (1688), France (1789) and Russia (1917) came at the top of accumulated popular discontent which in every one of these countries was about a century old. Some are not prepared to regard the great achievement of the British Parliament in 1688 as a revolution. They say, it was a revolution averted. Perhaps to their mind, no change is sufficiently revolutionary unless it is attended with some amount of bloodshed. It may, however, be pointed out that an enormous quantity of blood having been shed in England during 1642-49, further shedding of that precious liquid was unnecessary in 1688.

The blood-stained lessons of that stormy period must have had a sobering and salutary effect even upon the despotic nature of James II.

In all^{*} the cases cited above revolution triumphed. There have, however, been cases where revolution failed to achieve its purpose. That failure has been due to either or all of the following reasons : (a) defective leadership, (b) the country or the people concerned had not yet reached that stage of evolutionary development where and when a revolutionary attempt had a reasonable chance of success, (c) the forces of reaction were too strong for the revolutionaries at the time when the attempt was actually made. But though unsuccessful for the time being, every honest attempt at revolutionary progress is bound to bear fruit somewhere in the near or distant future. Scores of historical

illustrations of this statement can be cited. The Fabianists, however, maintain that every revolutionary attempt is almost always followed by a reaction towards retrogression. They might conveniently point their finger to the English Restoration of 1660 so soon after the execution of Charles I in 1649 or to the formal establishment of the Napoleonic Empire in 1804 after over a decade of republican rule or to similar historical occurrences. The English Restoration did not, however, mean the return of autocracy in England and Napoleon's Empire "was not an interruption, but an extension of the Revolution" in France and in Europe as a whole.

A strikingly common feature of all successful revolutions is that in such cases we generally find one or a handful of highly gifted men directing and controlling the entire movement, the success of which depends, in a large measure, upon their consummate leadership. Do these born leaders of men inherit the rare qualities of head and heart which make them great, direct from their ancestors? Perhaps not. Because heredity does not generally move in straight-line evolution in which certain characteristics are descended and continually developed from father to son onwards till we get a superman. Biologists would probably suggest that genius is the result of a chance combination in an individual of the chromosome contents of the sperm-and-ovum cells of his parents, which determine almost the whole of his hereditary constitution and character. This may or may not be a correct explanation of the riddle, but the fact remains that extraordinary men are accidental phenomena. They are not, however, entirely independent of the past. In fact, almost the whole of their wisdom is derived from the accumulated experiences of past generations part of which has been implanted in them through inheritance and part acquired through conscious efforts of the individuals concerned. In some respects, however, they are 'original' in the sense that they are uncommon. This originality is a rare gift and an accidental attribute in them. They are thus human embodiments of the spirit of evo-revolution. They design and build novel structures, but they always build on pre-existing foundations.



THE MĀLABĀR Matriarchy

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THE name Malabar conjures up memories of enchantment and beauty, of love and romance, of chivalry and honour and the good old Marco Polo described his "Maabar" as the province which was the "finest and noblest in the world." Travellers visiting this beautiful province of peninsular India have been struck at once by the freedom and grace of her womanhood, by the nobility and chivalry of her manhood, by the entralling grandeur of her landscape and the weird fascination of her seascape. But what specially attracts the sociologist of Malabar is her unique social system of which Matriarchy is the central hub, and hence the caption of this article in its present form.

The matriarchy of Malabar is the most fundamental element in her social system because all the peculiarities of the system, such as the consanguine family, the authority of women, the evolution of a military aristocracy, the promotion of liberal ideals and the cultivation of arts, are directly derived from that basic feature of Malabar social life,—Matriarchy. In view of the researches of McLennan and others, relating to the earliest beginnings of social order, it would not be unreasonable for one to hazard the opinion that in pre-historic times the nucleus of the first social order must have originated in the consanguine family around a Mother, who served as the centripetal force; so that what is peculiar about the Malabar society is not its matriarchal origin (which appears to have been almost universal) but the endurance of matriarchy in Malabar for such a long time.

The reason of this endurance in Malabar through all the vicissitudes of fortune and epochs of history is not, as is sometimes presumed, the "backwardness" of the people but lies in this that "no people have more fully appreciated the maternal family....". In such a family the woman senior to others in age was originally mistress or head of the family and she reigned and governed."¹ Historical evidence indicates that the reasons which made the continuance of matriarchy possible in Malabar were the warlike propensities and the aristocratic traditions of the Nayar. Exclusiveness and unwillingness to send daughters to their husbands' homes (note the same tendency among Bengal Kulins) are characteristics of an aristocracy. These in the case of Nayers being associated with military traditions (obligation to render military service which in those early days meant fighting in and out of season) naturally favoured the continuance and improvement of a system which provided for placing the duties of day-to-day management of the household in the hands of women, thereby freeing the men from the obligation of caring for wives and children. Their exclu-

sive life in isolated semi-citadels (each one of which was provided with a "Tara"² or gymnasium where the youths "were taught to accustom themselves to the use of arms" freed from household anxieties) was possible only when the domestic life was founded on the basis of a matriarchal family "composed of all the male and female line of a common female ancestor" and authority relating to family matters was vested in female members, specially the seniormost female member.

Proceeding under the urge of these necessities the Nayers founded a social system which is generally based on an enlightened view of life, so that no less a person than Mayne has described the domestic system of the Nayers as "the most perfect form of joint-family". A pen-picture of the Nayar household is given by the same author in the following words: "Each Tarawad lives in its own mansion, nestling among its palm trees, and surrounded by its rice lands, but apart from, and independent of its neighbours. This arises from the peculiar structure of the family, which traces its origin in each generation to females, who live on the same ancestral house, and not to males, who would naturally radiate from it, as separate but kindred branches of the same tree."³ The main characteristics of this system are:—(i) Indissolubility of the family and imparibility of the family property excepting on the basis of unanimous consent of members, (ii) enjoyment of family property on a sort of communistic basis (earning according to capacity and spending according to need), (iii) enjoyment of equal status by male and female members (though functions are distributed on the basis of sex distinctions and sex limitations), (iv) absence of dependence of wife on husband or children on father, (children being taken care of by the Matriarchal family).

It will be observed that the essential distinction of the system (from the common patriarchal system) arises out of the absence in it of the institution of marriage which in most other societies is the means or instrument for maintaining the social organisation, called family. Writers like Lubbock and McLennan support the view when they come to the conclusion that the rules of inheritance in the female line (among the Nayers) must have had its origin in a "type of polyandry resembling free-love". I think that the accumulation of much baseless prejudice against this system would have been avoided if in describing the relation between the sexes among Nayers words like "polyandry", or "polygamy", were totally avoided and instead it was expressed just as "free love" or "companionship" because matrimony (with its usual social and legal implications) had really no place in the Malabar social system; though certain sacramental ceremonies celebrating the coming of age of a girl were gone through, the significance of which (ceremonies) were ritualistic and festive and not social and legal (as is the significance of marriage in communities where it exists).

Regarding the Tali-Kattu-Kalyanam⁴ ceremony which a girl in a Nayar Tarawad goes through (while

1. See A. K. Ayer's *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II, p. 47. The sovereign position of the mother in the family is further emphasised in the following passage:—"Her eldest daughter was prime minister in the family, and through her all orders were transmitted to her little world. The son recognised the priority of the mother before whom he did not even venture to seat himself, unless she had given him permission. The brother obeyed the elder sister, and respected the younger ones. In fact, the affection between brother and sister was a feeling that endured while conjugal love was but a passing sentiment." —*Ibid.*

2. Whence "Tarawad", the name for the family residence of Nayers.

3. *Hindu Law*, 5th Ed. S.203.

4. Which consists in tying a gold jewel round the neck of the girl by a man of the same caste or a Brahman.

still a child) it is now admitted generally that it is at best a formal sacrament or a caste-rite but "in no sense a real marriage". The performance of this ceremony gives the girl right to dispose herself as she likes (indicating that she is about to attain puberty) and (perhaps as a popular recognition of that fact) she is addressed in North Malabar as "Amma" (a Mother or Lady). Mr. Justice Muthusami Ayer as President of the Malabar Marriage Commission lent support to the same view when he observed : "There is a preponderance of opinion among the witnesses whom I have examined and those who have sent in answers to our interrogatories that it does not constitute a marriage or create a right in the person who ties the Tali to cohabit with the girl"⁵. The Manavalam (as the person tying the Tali is called) who is either a Brahman or a man of equal caste, is "usually dismissed after the ceremony is over with a small present in acknowledgement of the service rendered by him on the occasion."⁶

On attaining "maturity" (puberty is meant) a girl in a Marumakkathayam Tarawad however, goes through another ceremony (either with a Brahman or a man of her own caste) known as *Samabandham*, but there is nothing to justify coming to the conclusion (as some have tried to come) that it constitutes a form of legal marriage or that any of the incidents of legal marriage follow from it. On the contrary, evidence of history, law or usage is definitely against taking the view that the Nayar woman's samabandham had any of the consequences of a legal marriage (as prevalent among Hindus of any other part of India). The Portuguese traveller Barbosa described the method of succession to the throne of Gentile kings in Malabar thus:—"The heirs of these kings are their brothers, or nephews, sons of their sisters, because they hold those to be their true successors, and because they know that they are born from the body of their sisters. *These do not marry*, nor have fixed husbands, and are very free and at liberty in doing what they please with themselves." After describing the Tali ceremony of the kings' sister or niece the same shrewd observer records: "...and from this time forth for her pleasure she takes some Brahman, whomsoever she likes best, and these are priests among them, and of these she has as many as she likes". Describing the manners and customs of the Nayars of Malabar Barbosa writes : "These people accompany their lords day and night, little is given them for eating and sleeping....*These are not married* nor maintain women and children; their nephews, the sons of their sisters are their heirs. The nair women are all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with brahmans and nairs; but not with other people of lower class under pain of death"⁷. "And if she takes a dislike to any of them *she dismisses him*. The children which she has remain at the expense of

5. W. Wigram & L. Moore: *Malabar Law and Custom* (1900), Madras, p. 36.

6. "It is a curious fact that the same man may at one time tie the tali upon a number of Nayar girls collected together under one decorated pandal or upon several sisters. There is also no objection to the same person tying the tali at one time on the mother and at another time on her daughter."—*Ibid*, p. 37. This affords a further indication of the merely formal nature of the ceremony.

7. Duarte Barbosa: *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the 16th century*, p. 106. N.B.—In the translator's preface the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley (London MDCCCLXVI) on page ix observes—"This work is that of no ordinary capacity; it shows great power of observation, and also the possession by the writer of great opportunities for inquiry into the manners and habits of the different countries described."

8. *Ibid*, p. 124.

the mother and of the brothers of the mother, who bring them up, because they do not know the father, and even if they should appear to belong to any person in particular, they are *not recognised by them as sons.....*"⁸. Turning to the evidence of law we find that the Courts specially differentiate between the rules relating to succession as prevalent among Nayars on the one hand and those among other Hindus in South India. In *Vasudevan vs. The Secretary of State for India*, for instance, the Court *inter alia* observed : "According to evidence on both sides, succession is traced among Nambudris through males, and property passes from father to son, whereas, among Nayars, succession is traced through females and property descends from mother to daughter.....Again, legal marriage is the basis of law of succession among Nambudris as among Brahmins of the East Coast, while among Nayars, there is no recognised connection between marriage and inheritance.... Further, a Nambudri woman, in common with a Brahman on this side of the Ghats, takes her husband's gotram upon her marriage and passes into his family from that of her father; and perpetual widowhood and incapacity to remarry on her husband's death are the incidents of marriage both among Nambudris and Brahmins of the East Coast. But among Nayars, a woman continues through life to belong to the family in which she is born, and the sexual relation which she forms, or her so-called marriage, operates in law neither to give her the domicile of her husband nor to create a disability in her either to remarry or to put an end to her marriage at her pleasure during her first husband's life"⁹.

The origin of samabandham therefore appears to have been encouraged or inspired by circumstances and sentiments somewhat similar to those stated below:—The highly independent and refined Nayar woman and the cultured Brahman or Nayar men with whom she became acquainted by the very fact of their cultural and spiritual sympathies naturally, in many cases, felt attracted towards each other and in course of time attraction matured into friendship and intimacy and the latter ripened into love, which, as is very reasonable to expect among persons of refined tastes, in many cases, was signalled by going through a (personal, not social) ceremony—the *Samabandham*. In this connection it is worthy of note that the name given to it, is very expressive of the nature of the ceremony. Analysing its two etymological components 'sama' (=equal) and 'bandham' (=union), samabandham clearly emphasises the equal, free, voluntary, and uncoercive nature of the ceremony which celebrated the union, which therefore must have been of a spiritual rather than that of a social category. As we have already seen, perfect equality of the partners and terminability at will were the essential features of samabandham. Such unions might have been inspired by highest motives and noblest considerations (as no doubt most of them were thus inspired)¹⁰ and they might have promoted (as no doubt most of them did) the virtues of fidelity, love and affection but they could not have been placed under

9. *Ibid*, p. 127.

10. I.L.R.—XI Madras. Pp.—157-168. Obviously 'marriage' and 'husbands' used here with reference to the case of Nayar women have been used all along in the so-called sense in the absence of more suitable terms.

11. In a memorandum (annexed to the Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission) by Mr. Justice Muthusami Ayer on this question of the nature of the Marumakkathayam Samabandham the learned judge *inter alia* observed:—"....referring to the Marumakkathayam Hindus, the report states that they are all or nearly all of them better than their custom and the majority (as we are told and believe) cleave to one woman for life." See, *Malabar Law & Custom* by Wigram and Moore, pp. 48-49.

the category of marriage, because no social or legal consequences (similar to those following legal marriage among Hindus) followed from them. Indeed those who insist on viewing samabandham as marriage imagining thereby to heighten public esteem with regard to the standard of Nayar morals do a disservice to their own cause, because it does not add to the credit of a people to say that their conduct in certain matters have been good under coercion of society or compulsion of law when in actual practice they gave proof of excellent conduct even without the exercise of any pressure from any quarter; and there can be no doubt that the Nayars (both men and women) possessed sterling qualities of character when all authorities concerned are unanimous in holding that in spite of the absence of marriage (*i.e.*, social and legal coercion) they remain faithful and chaste and that "the sexual relation thus constituted in the majority of the cases endures for life."¹² In face of this proof of fidelity, integrity and nobility of Nayar character (if that character still persists), modern legislations insisting on registration of marriage and imposing special pecuniary obligations on males in case of dissolution of marriage (as a guarantee against evasion of marital responsibilities) appear not only superfluous but take away that age-long dignity (in their relations between members of the two sexes), a dignity born of a real sense of mutual regard and equality which must have existed in Malabar society before the "era of reforms." Rather than as a sign of progress such legislations appear to be insulting to the Nayar's sense of honour and honesty and the Nayar woman's sense of courage and independence specially when it is remembered that even in the Vedic marriage there is no provision for registration. Other 'reformatory' legislations passed (I believe at the instance of the Nayars themselves) during the last half a century (such as the abrogation of the principle of universal consent for the dissolution of the family, the provision for enabling wife, children or husbands to inherit the self-acquired property of an intestate member) purport to introduce tendencies which not only threaten to curb the influence of matriarchal system in Nayar families (and through them all other matriarchal groups) but to uproot the entire system from its very foundation, and which seek to replace it (in Malabar society) by the hybrid Anglo-Hindu family which goes by the name of Hindu (joint) family in North Indian Provinces. Whether or not this is a desirable innovation or a change for the better, is a primary concern of the Malabar people and in this connection what is best for them must of course be left to them to decide. What we, as students of social phenomena, are concerned with is in making an unbiased estimate of a unique social system which is fast slipping away from the scene of our observation to the oblivion of irrevocable past. This sifting of facts from fictions is all the more necessary in this case because of the effacing and revolutionary nature of recent legislations and (from the academic point of view) all the more desirable because a huge mass of prejudices has been allowed to accumulate against this unique system—an accumulation which has been encouraged by the rarity of the system and also the lack of scientific enquiries.

Now prejudices, however baseless, have some apparent reason for their origin and accumulation and the main causes which helped the growth of prejudices against the Malabar matriarchy may be summarized as follows : Firstly, the matriarchal system, like all other ancient Indian systems which are based on a fundamentally different conception of life and its values, was finding it difficult to adjust itself to changing conditions of modern life, not evolved by us, but thrust upon us as a result of the involuntary impact of the western civilization with our own. The resulting inconveniences

and disturbances were, in Malabar, without much deliberation, attributed to the inherent weakness of matriarchy. Secondly, the references made by sociological writers about the existence of matriarchy in primitive societies hurt the modernist pride of the modern man (and therefore also of the modern Nayars) when something so unmodern as matriarchy is mentioned as an integral part of his own social system because his emotional bias (rightly or wrongly) is for being known among his contemporaries as an up-to-date man, and whatever hinders the realisation of this satisfaction is (likely to be) thrown aside as undesirable (unmodern therefore undesirables). Thirdly, the rapid spread of western education in India (and of western culture through Christianity particularly in the South) has been responsible for creating an impression in the mind of (at least of English educated) Indians that monogamy and separate family (as opposed to joint-family) are unmistakable signs of a superior standard of social life and hence any system under which there is a deviation from this norm fails to appear to them to be conducive to the moral and material welfare of the people concerned. Lastly, with the growth of political consciousness all privileged groups have come to be distrusted and disliked, and along with the growth of this consciousness it is inevitable that the South Indian Brahmins as a class (irrespective of the virtues of individual Brahmins) should be distrusted and disliked (if not despised). Well-informed observers are not wanting who hold that some members of the ruling class, in order to take advantage of the "divide and rule" policy, deliberately encouraged this tension between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the South (where the Hindu-Moslem differences could not be fomented to any appreciable extent) so that exaggerated prejudice could be created against the politically advanced Brahmins and according to these observers the growth of the non-Brahman Party in Madras owes its origin to some such Machiavellian diplomacy. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the spirit of the time has been able to create a prejudice against the Brahman privileged class (which is additionally disliked in the South as a group of interlopers from the North) and against every system with which his privileged position is connected. The Nambudri Brahmins undoubtedly held a special and peculiar position with regard to their relation with Nair women, who were the best samples and perhaps the strongest champions of Malabar Matriarchy and hence there was a prejudice against that Matriarchy itself.

Under the influence of such pride and prejudice the social system of Malabar has come to be attacked (in recent times) as antiquated, unwieldy, unnatural and immoral. Our task here is to analyse these contentions in the light of reason and history. It will be easily seen that in its barest essence the logic of the above-mentioned arguments is reduced to the following four propositions :—

- A. That there are social maladjustments in Malabar and there is (or rather was) Matriarchy in Malabar society, therefore Matriarchy is the cause of the social maladjustments.
- B. That Matriarchy is found in primitive societies and also in Malabar. But present-day Malabar wants to be modern, therefore present-day Malabar must reject Matriarchy.
- C. That Western nations are progressive and they are monogamous and individualistic (anti-joint-family), Malabarians also want to be progressive, therefore Malabar must discard joint-family (Tarawad Matriarchy) and polyandry (and polygamy).
- D. That a modern society must be democratic. Privileges are anti-democratic. Brahmins are a privileged class, Nambudris are Brahmins, therefore whatever status the Nambudris enjoy

in Malabar is a privilege. Their relation with Nair women therefore is a privilege. The basis of this relation (which is a privilege) is Matriarchy, and since privileges must disappear from modern democratic societies, Matriarchy must disappear from Malabar.

Let us examine them one by one.

A.—Now it must be obvious to any careful observer that social maladjustments in India are symptomatic of the time and not a peculiar malady of Malabar where matriarchy prevails (or rather prevailed). These maladjustments and inconveniences are the results of the conflict of cultures which Malabar along with the rest of India has been experiencing. Social values in the West are (or have been) different from our own ideas of those values. Life in the modern West has been appraised on the basis of one's acquisitions (conveniently measured by money). Towards the realisation of such values selfish individualism, arrogance and intellectual cunning serve perhaps as necessary qualifications. This has however not been the aim of life in India (either in the North or in the South) which consisted in the realisation of ideals of humanity through the promotion of co-operation, toleration and nobler virtues like charity and love. Social systems are but instruments for the realisation of the aims of the community life; and the aim of life being different from that of the west, the Indian social systems (of which Malabar Matriarchal system is one) naturally differed from the western social systems both in *form* and (what is more noteworthy) in *spirit*. With the advent of British rule and more specially of English education when two such different life's outlooks came to an involuntary contact with each other, the result, of necessity, was a clash, as a consequence of which have arisen all the ideological conflicts of modern India of which Malabar (being a part of India) has had her due shares. Perhaps Malabar's share of this conflict has been more than her due because Malabar with her extraordinary social system forms a special portion of the Indian sub-continent. It is certainly difficult to suggest a way out, but this much may be asserted with

certainty that the difficulties in which the Malabar people find themselves are not due to any special evil in the matriarchal system but to the conflict of two almost contradictory cultural ideals (referred above) and as such these inconveniences are being felt (in more or less degree) in other parts of India too where there is no trace of the matriarchal system.

In the northern parts of India, where the Aryan influence had been predominant, patriarchy and strict conformity to the rules of marriage have been the distinguishing features of the social order, and yet those northern communities have not escaped the turmoil created by the clash of western and Indian ideals of life. There, whether the joint-family is condemned by the 'modernist' as an unworkable relic of barbarous past encouraging the multiplication of drones or the pursuit of individualistic careers is condemned by the 'anti-quoted' as the sign of modern barbarism encouraging selfish greed and a narrow outlook on life, the fact remains that the social life has lost its equilibrium which it is seeking through the tumults of all these conflicts. If therefore patriarchy and the strict observance of marital law did not and could not maintain the social equilibrium (in face of the cultural conflict referred above) in communities in which they have prevailed since the dawn of civilization, are they likely to succeed in doing so where (as in Malabar) they are being copied as belated imitations? It is for the Malabarians to ponder over this question. The further question which they should seriously consider is that before they finally discard their ancient social system (which does not really appear to have been responsible for all their social difficulties) and accept the Anglo-Hindu order (Registered marriage etc.) which has failed to prove to be the panacea in the patriarchal communities in India, will it not be more desirable to see if their own system with necessary modifications (according to the needs of the time) will not be able to provide them with the solution which they are vainly seeking in foreign quarters?

(To be continued)

WAR ECONOMY AND PRICE CONTROL

By N. A. SARMA, B.A.

Economics or Politics? is the arresting title of a small book by Paul Van Zealand, wherein the one-time Prime Minister of Belgium deals with the problems and prospects of International Trade. Economics is more and more becoming a handmaid of politics and vice versa. The author rightly infers that international trade lies on the borderland between politics and economics.

The organisation of war economy largely depends on the prevailing form of government in any country—whether it is of the 'Heil Hitler' type or of the "Votes for All and Every Authority by Election" variety or of the "Sindbad the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea" form. For, in a totalitarian country like Germany where an all-powerful central authority commands and all others merely "goose-step" to those dictates, the economic organisation is too rigid and is apt to break finally under the stress of an all-out war. In a democratic country like England or the U.S.A., in the early months of the war when they do not yet realise the immensity of the danger nor the magnitude of the task involved, the different parties go on fighting like Kilkenny cats till finally some grave turn of events

suddenly and rudely forces them to "swamp" all their minor differences and silly bickerings in an all-abounding interest in the face of the national calamity—and then, there is no stopping them, in their determination or their effort to see the whole business through! On the other hand, in a country like India, simply there is nothing like a properly planned and well co-ordinated war economy. So, it all depends

Every book on economics commences with the platitude, rather jarring one should admit, that means are scarce in relation to wants. Never is it so true as in wartime. Supply will be short and demand, especially because of war needs, will get swollen up. There we have the problem of war economy—a proper and equitable apportionment of the strictly limited supply of goods and services as between civilian and military needs—and herein lies the rationale of a comprehensive scheme of government controls in the affairs of production, exchange, distribution and consumption. The push-devil pull-baker methods of the market (they usually prefer to call it competition) may be inevitable or even useful to some extent in ordinary times. At least we can afford that pastime in normal times! But in war, as they say,

"the tail begins to wag the dog". War economy is a 'straight jacket' and all others must fit into it. All war-time controls are essentially restrictionist rather than purposive—that is to say, they are "strict jackets" rather than "supporting garments". To wage a total war like this it is absolutely necessary for every country to balance the needs of the fighting forces and those of the civilians. No doubt, civilian consumption is bound to be appreciably slimmed. Only, the burden must fall on all shoulders equitably and, a minimum standard of living must be provided for all. Therefore, in every country various measures have been promulgated to safeguard the interests of the consumers and price control is one of them. It is a minor, but essential aspect of the regulation of domestic economy. Price control is useful only as an integral part of a comprehensive whole. Says Mr. Donald Gordon, the Chairman of the War-time Prices and Trade Board in Canada : "A definite control of everything produced must be undertaken to decide what is to be produced, who is best equipped and qualified to produce it, and who is to get the production." The main object of flooring or ceiling prices is to confine price fluctuations within reasonable limits. "The effectiveness of control of consumers' prices is the ultimate test whether or not a price control system is successful." (Motell Ogdon : *Foreign Agriculture*, July 1941).

When Hitler unleashed his hordes against Poland, the whole German economy was already fully toned up to a war footing. There was an 'overall stop' on the whole range of prices and wages. Their motto was "a fixed ration at a fixed price." Of course, the ration was small and the price high. But everyone was certain of his or her limited share. But British economy was caught 'napping'. They had to collect the strings almost where they had left them in 1918. They first started with the prices of the more important essentials. And, by March 1942, out of every 10 sh. spent by an average British family, about 8 sh. went to buy goods whose prices were controlled. And now Britain has almost a perfect price control system. "Price control in the present war has reached its highest stage of development in the correlation of the British policy of holding down domestic prices and the assurance by the British dominions of reasonable prices to their producers." (Montell Ogdon : *Foreign Agr.*, July 1941). The British are always slow to start—but invariably they finish first. And now and then, they even muddle through to success ! To give but a few other instances of price control measures : In September 1939, the Japanese Government prohibited all advance in prices, rents, wages, salaries, freight and insurance premia. In less than a week after the outbreak of hostilities, the Commonwealth Government of Australia fixed maximum prices for over 50 essential articles. Britain set before herself a determined ideal that "the children of that nation shall not suffer from malnutrition because of this war." British Food Administration under Lord Woolton has a glorious record. What dismal picture we get if we contrast the conditions in India ! War or no war, have we not a right to at least the 'normal' miserably low standard of life ?

In Britain, Germany, Canada and other countries, the principle of differential prices has been recognised and adopted—low and relatively fixed prices for necessities and very high and, if need be, rising prices for luxuries. Planning is centrally done while administration of the measures is through local price committees or district Economic Bodies. In Britain, food prices were subsidized to the tune of millions of pounds. In Germany, a considerable portion of the skimmed off excess profits is credited to price stabilization funds for the same purpose. Thus consumers' interests are always kept in view and producers get a fair price. Subsidies constitute a significant instrument in the technique of price control. Great Britain, with the aid

of subsidy payments, insulated the prices of cost of living articles like food and clothing.

And now, prices are all directly or indirectly interrelated. Once you accept this, the interdependence of prices rules out all piecemeal price control legislation. Of course, the 'blanket' or the 'overall' or the 'universal' type also has defects—which has not?—especially those relating to administration. Only, it has less defects than the other type. This is the lesson of experience in other countries. The American Price Control Bill was at first 'hedged in' by so many exemptions and exceptions that it was described more as a practical joke than a price control bill. (*Economist*, 6th Dec., 1941). Even U.S.A. is slowly falling in. For the first two years of war, the smallest price increase was registered in Germany. The official wholesale index rose by 5·3 per cent and the cost of living index by 6·6 per cent—of course if you are prepared to give evidence to their official version. And why this? —because Germany possessed a scientific system of price control in the early period of the war. Of course, now Britain has a better (being more flexible and dynamic) Price Control mechanism.

Also, control of prices at every stage is needed. Prices of raw materials, producers' prices, retail prices, wholesale prices—all must be brought within the ambit of the price fixing authority. Fuel, transport and labour are the most "strategic" of all prices. When Labour Minister Bevin said that he did not propose to "monkey with workers' pennies", pat came the *Economist's* stern warning : "To say that all prices except that of labour should be held down is as fatuous and futile as to maintain that all prices except that of labour should be allowed to rip." "The fact is you cannot leave wages and salaries which are the main factors in prices, to rise indiscriminately and still be realistic about preventing inflation." (Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board).

Price control necessarily implies regulation of supplies and distribution. A vigorous drive is always needed to unearth all hoarded stocks. Rationing is the logical corollary to price control. In the absence of rationing, price control would result in the early bird getting most of the worms openly—and the stronger bird knocking off all the worms occultly (in the black market). This is just what has been happening all over India in the case of the few articles whose prices have been controlled, with the exception of a few cities like Bombay where rationing is successfully working. Thus the sacrifice of the cultivator in accepting fixed prices is generally not reflected in any tangible benefit to the middle and poor class consumers. Direct controls like Price Control and Rationing, if they are to be successful, must be well co-ordinated with monetary and fiscal mechanisms. "If the price freeze operated without support from complementary steps, it would be violated in at least three ways. Without a reduction or neutralization of spendable incomes, large-scale black-marketing would spring up and inflation would continue. Without formal rationing of scarce consumers' goods, informal and most probably inequitable schemes would emerge, with the retailer as the administrator. Without an adequate wage policy, legitimate claims for subsidy due to rising variable costs would overwhelm the administration." (W. W. Rostow—*American Economic Review*, September, 1942). Authoritarian rationing is thus the only corrective to the power of the purse. Rationing of one article leads to rationing of another—price control of one commodity leads to price control of another. The whole problem of distributing the nation's resources is one and cannot be split up into air-tight compartments. Look ahead and see things as a whole.

It is instructive to note price movements in various countries. The following tables are taken from the *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, (U. S. A. Govt.).

1. COST OF LIVING INDEX NUMBERS					2. WHOLESALE PRICES (all commodities)					3. RETAIL FOOD PRICES				
U.S.A. 1935-39 =100.	Canada 1935-39 =100.	U.K. July 1914 =100.	Germany 1913-14 =100.	Year of month	U.S.A. 1926=1	Canada 1926=1	U.K. 1930=1	Germany 1913=100	U.S.A. 1935-39 =100.	Canada 1935-39 =100.	U.K. July 1914 =100.	Germany 1913=100	U.K. July 1914 =100.	Germany 1913=100
99	102	158	126	1939	77	75	103	107	95	101	141	123	123	123
100	106	184	130	1940	79	83	137	110	97	106	164	128	128	128
105	112	199	133	1941	87	90	153	112	106	116	168	129	129	129
117	117	200	137	1942	99	96	159	114	124	127	161	132	132	132
120	119	200	136	1942	101	97	161	115	133	133	164	129	129	129
				(Dec.)										
123	117	199	137	1943	103		162	116	137	128	165	133		
				(March)										
124	119	198	204	1943	103	101	163	117	137	134	166	139		
				(Aug.)				(July)						(August)

(a) The All India Index Number of all Commodities' Prices
Base—Week ended 19th August 1939=100.
June 1942=155.2 June 1943=241.7

(b) Index Number of Commodity Prices (Calcutta)
Base 1914=100.
All Commodities (Number 72) Feb. 1943=253,
Sept. 1943=349 (when the War broke out it was
just a little over 100.)

(c) Cost of Living Index Numbers (Bombay)
Base June 1934=100.
1938—106
1939—106
1940—112 1943 (Mar.)—208
1941—122 1943 (Sept.)—238
1942—157 1943 (Nov.)—243.
1942 (Dec.)—188.

The reasons for the abnormal rise of prices in India are many and varied. Roots of the evil lie very deep—in the financing of Government expenditure by inflationary methods and in physical shortage of goods. The consequences of inflation are the consequences of the stage it is allowed to reach. Currency inflation and the resulting rise in price level, unless checked in time, would gather momentum like a snowball rolling downhill. An increase in note circulation, without a corresponding development in economic activity, leads to higher prices, and 'to carry the rise in prices' more notes are issued. Of course, the saying "not worth a continental" does not yet apply to the Indian Rupee. It is rather strange that we should find in our midst some publicists who still consider the Government methods of financing their war demands as sound. Fortunately their number is extremely limited. As Irving Fisher would put it, the attitude of those few persons is comparable to the optimism of a person who, having dropped off the fourteenth storey of a sky-scraper was said to have exclaimed, just before hitting the ground, "So far so good"! Unless the abnormal increase in purchasing power is rigidly confined, price control measures cannot be successful. Also, the increased purchasing power is very unequally distributed.

You cannot quite ignore the domestic problems and still accomplish your task of beating the Japs to their knees. Surely you cannot leave the home economy to shift for itself as best as it can under these war conditions and still wage a successful war! The fighting line and the consumers at home are but two sides of the same. Till very recently the Government of India preferred to "wait, watch and warn." I doubt if there is any other country in the world where so many committees have been appointed and so many conferences have been convened! "Umpteen" Price Control Conferences held prolonged discussions and still nothing has taken shape. Nor is it the fault of the conferences. The fact is we see a lot of planning by amateur bureaucrats but no plan. In the fifth year of the war, we are just tinkering with the merest details on the outer fringe of the problem of war economy. Our Government has in the economic sphere a consistent record of "too little and too late." How apt are these words: "It has been a question of driving bit by bit—inch by inch, driving the Government along the path which necessity has at last faced them to enter upon.... What I fear is that these expedients will be put off as long as possible by Government.... until, when they are adopted, much of the usefulness which could be derived

from them is gone. I believe that ration cards for everything that matters will soon be served out to every one of us.....Prices will have to be fixed all round.....But why not do these things now? Why not do them when there is still time? No one is stopping the Government except themselves." (Mr. Winston Churchill—House of Commons—16th November, 1916). We have in India an administrative machinery that is like an edifice without the ground floor and the cost of running it is in flagrant violation of all canons of economy and efficiency. We are thus 'subsidizing' from general revenues parasitic incompetence. So far our blue-prints-waving bureaucrats have been looking at the question of price control as a spare-time hobby. It is one long doleful recital of the utter abnegation of their duties and responsibilities to the people on their part. So long as the blessed word on the lips of the Government is "agreement" in economic matters during such abnormal times, the results would be inefficiency, fiddleness, artificial scarcity and finally famine. Spokesman of the Government with their heads bowed with the enormous weight of Nothing, lounging in brocaded armchairs, are never tired of waxing over the various measures they propose to enforce 'in due course' to mitigate our war-time economic maladies—while in the same breath they carefully reiterate the multitudinous difficulties and obstacles that must be surmounted in a vast agricultural country like ours before control of prices can be successful. What they say is often not worth the wagging of their tongues. It is all a hopeless fabric of lies and a tangle of evasions which even a schoolboy can easily unravel. None denies that there are many real difficulties. Administration of controls presents a serious problem. In a sub-continent like India, conditions differ from province to province. Also, production is not concentrated either in a few localities or in a few hands. Millions of very small producers have to be dealt with—especially with regard to agricultural pursuits and cottage industries. Again, all these small agriculturists may have to be subsidized. But if there is a ruthless will to succeed, are they really insurmountable? What we cannot justify, we only seek to explain away. A bird whispers in my ear that the Government is deliberately following this policy to placate some elements in the country (profiteers, private traders, war contractors, overpaid but under-worked legion of officials.....) so that it may with impunity resort to 'strong' methods to maintain what it calls "law and order" in the land. So again, Economics or Politics?—One never knows!

EARLY HISTORY OF SILK IN BENGAL

By DEBAJYOTI BURMAN

III

The story of the English trade begins in 1657, when the Company was at last adequately provided with capital, and a sum of £3000 was ordered to be invested in Bengal raw silk, while in the following year authority was given for regular purchases of 100 bales, worth about 20,000 rupees in all.³⁶ The superior efficiency of the Dutch merchants gave them a long lead in Bengal, but it was utilised mainly for Asiatic developments. It is not known whether there was any opposition to the Dutch purchases. When the new trade was definitely established, there are no signs of local hostility to their large exports, such as we should expect to hear of if their effect had been to deprive Indian workers of their raw material, and it is more probable that the supply was increased to meet the increasing demands.

In one way, the trade was simple, for silk was a royal monopoly, and merchants could expect reasonable treatment so long as their position at Court was maintained. The Dutch seem to have been better served by their agents at the Court, but in any case they had a very great commercial advantage over the English in their ability to supply the Persian market with spices, the commodities in most demand; the English being able to offer spices, were frequently in difficulty as to laying down saleable goods in adequate quantities, and the Dutch certainly seemed the larger proportion of the silk trade.³⁷ Mention has already been made of silk factories at Delhi which sometimes employed as many as 4000 weavers of silk. In 1788, Ghulam Hussain Salim³⁸ states that silk was produced well and in abundance in Bengal. Good silk stuffs were manufactured in this country. A very good account of sericulture in Bengal has been provided by H. T. Colebrooke and Anthony Lambert in their joint treatise, entitled *Husbandry of Bengal*, first circulated secretly and then openly published by Robert Knight. The following passage from the book gives a fairly good idea of this industry at the close of the eighteenth century (1794)³⁹.

In districts to which our inquiries respecting silk have been limited, the culture of the mulberry is estimated at fifteen rupiyas fourteen anas, and the produce at 19 R. 8 a. for the bigha.*

	Sa.	Rs.	As.
Cost of mulberry cuttings 8 ploughings, with 2 ploughs each at 4 anas		1	0
Expense of planting the slips ..	2	0	
2 hand hoeings ..	2	8	
Weeding twice ..	2	0	
Rent ..	4	0	
Total outlay before a crop is obtained	13	8	
Annual.			
Four ploughings as before	1	0	
2 hand hoeings	2	8	
Weeding 5 times	5	0	
Rent	8	8	
Use of money, at 25 % on the first outlay	3	6	
	7	6	
Annual produce, if the plant be sold, (as is frequently practised).	15	14	
In Dec., 7 loads of plant, (each load as ries) at 1 Re. 7 0			
March 5½ do at 8 anas 2 12			
May 5 do " 8 " 2 8			
June 4 do " 8 " 2 0			
July 6 do " 8 " 3 0			
Sept. 4½ do " 8 " 2 4			
Rs. 19 8 as.			

From the apparent profit of 3 Rs. and 10 as. must be deducted the superintendence of the culture, and some labour which is not provided for in the estimate; such as that of gathering the crop and transporting it.

The peasant, who feeds his own silk worms, gives full employment to his family; how far their labour is rewarded may be judged from the usual estimation of the produce of silk. A frame, filled with worms from 640 cones, produces near 50 lbs weight of silk, after consuming 10 loads of mulberry leaves; consequently 1 cwt. and a half of the cones, or 2 mans nearly, may be obtained from the produce of 1 bigha of land: the best cones may be sold to the filaturettes at the rate of 18 sers for a rupiya; but a deduction must be made therefrom for such balls of silk as are of inferior quality. We have not materials for estimating the expense and produce of filaturettes. With the hand reel, 2 sers (or 4 lbs. av.) of silk are obtained from a man of cones. This reel is tedious in its operation; but labour with it is paid no better than that of spinning cotton yarn, namely, about one rupiya and a half for a ser of yarn. However the charges of filaturettes cannot be much greater; and making an allowance for the proportion of inferior silk reserved for Indian consumption, and similar to what is known in Europe by the name of floretta, the prime cost of filature silk, shipped from Europe, need not exceed 10 current rupiyas for a ser; if it sells on a medium at 25 sh. for the great lb., it might afford a considerable profit. (The production of raw silk in Bengal might be increased to supply much more than 150 or 200 tons, which is said to be the quantity now exported. Perhaps the districts to which it is limited, cannot raise a much greater quantity than they do at present: but the silk worm

36. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 139.

37. Moreland, *Ibid.* p. 40.

38. *Riadus Salatin*, p. 23.

39. Colebrooke, *Husbandry of Bengal*, pp. 92-94, 109.

*First planting for a field of one bigha.

has been tried in South Bihar, and in the northern provinces of Bengal; and, upon the result of experiment, we are warranted to presume that the production might be more generally diffused. It is at present almost confined to a part of the province of Burdwan, and to the vicinity of Bhagirathi river and great Ganges, from the fork of those rivers for a hundred miles down their stream.)

Describing the chief centres of silk manufacture, Colebrooke writes:⁴⁰

The neighbourhood of Moorshedabad is the chief seat of manufacture of wove silk; tapeta, both plain and flowered, and many other sorts, for inland commerce and for exportation, are made there more abundantly than at any other place where silk is wove. Tissues, brocades, and ornamented gauzes, are the manufacture of Benaras. Plain gauzes, adapted to the uses of the country, are wove in the Western and the Southern corner of Bengal.

The wearing of mixed goods made with silk and cotton, flourishes chiefly at Malda, at Bhagalpur, and at some towns in the province of Berdwan.

A considerable quantity (of filament silk) is exported to the western parts of India; and much is sold at Mirzapur, a principal mart of Benaras, and passes thence to the Mahratta dominions and the central parts of Hindustan.

The tesser, or wild silk, is procured in abundance from countries bordering on Bengal, and from some provinces included within its limits . . . Its cheapness renders it useful in the fabrication of coarse silks.

The conditions of silk manufacture is further borne out by Hill and Orme. Hill states that Bengal produced "cloth of all kinds, most beautiful muslins, silk, raw or worked."⁴¹ Orme says⁴²

The vocation from agriculture left a much greater number of the inhabitants, than can be spared in others, at leisure to apply themselves to the loom, so that more cotton and silk are manufactured in Bengal than in thrice the same extent of country throughout the Empire and consequently at much cheaper rates. The greater part of these manufactures and of the raw silk is exported; and Europe receives the largest share; the rest goes by land and sea to different parts of the Empire.

The extent of silk manufacture and the earnings of the Bengal peasant through this source were considerable. About 1810, Buchanan found in Dinajpore alone 4800 looms engaged in the manufacture of silk cloth, the outturn of which was valued at Rs. 9,60,000.⁴³ Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra stated, in his journal *Vividartha Sangraha*, that 10 lakhs of people in Bengal were employed in the silk industry, that 140,000 mds. of silk were produced and that Bengal's income in the silk trade was two crores of rupees.⁴⁴

There are two other kinds of worms which produce silk in Bengal, viz., the tussar (Tusseh) and Eri (Arrindy) worms: the former found in such abundance over many parts of Bengal and Assam, as to have afforded the people, from time immemorial, a considerable supply of a most durable, coarse, dark coloured silk, commonly called Tassar silk woven into dhutis and saris. This provided a cheap, light, cool and durable dress. This species cannot be easily domesticated.

The Arrindy silk worm was found in the interior parts of Bengal, in Dinajpore and Rungpore districts, where the peasants reared and bred it in a domestic state, as they did the silk worm. Their cocoons are remarkably soft and white or yellowish, and the filament so exceedingly delicate, as to render it impracticable to wind off the silk. It is therefore spun like cotton. The yarn thus manufactured, is wove into a coarse kind of white cloth, of a seemingly loose texture, but of incredible durability. Eri silk is very durable and is often worn constantly for ten, fifteen or twenty years.

The following table,⁴⁵ enumerating the raw silk trade alone during the first three quarters of the last century, is illustrative :

1801	858,825 lbs.
1811	414,404
1822	874,228
1830	1,736,231
1840	1,108,465
1851	1,511,506
	(av. for 4 years.)
1861	1,485,276
1870	1,558,246

The flourishing silk trade of Bengal continued right up to the close of the nineteenth century. Early in the present century, the crash came. China and Japan greatly improved their silk manufactures while conditions here remained stagnant due to political and economic hindrances. The import of cheap silk piece-goods increased considerably to the destruction of the Bengal industry. Big silk factories began to be established in the other provinces of India and in the Native States while Bengal stuck on to her old domestic method of production. The *Review of Trade of India*, 1904-05, states, "The exports have steadily diminished, and what was once a trade of some importance is rapidly approaching insignificance."⁴⁶ The industry to be destroyed was not of some, but of a very great importance which maintained its existence during two centuries against hard onslaughts and in the midst of a world competition.

(Concluded)

40. Colebrooke, *Ibid.* p. 109.

41. S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. III, p. 216.

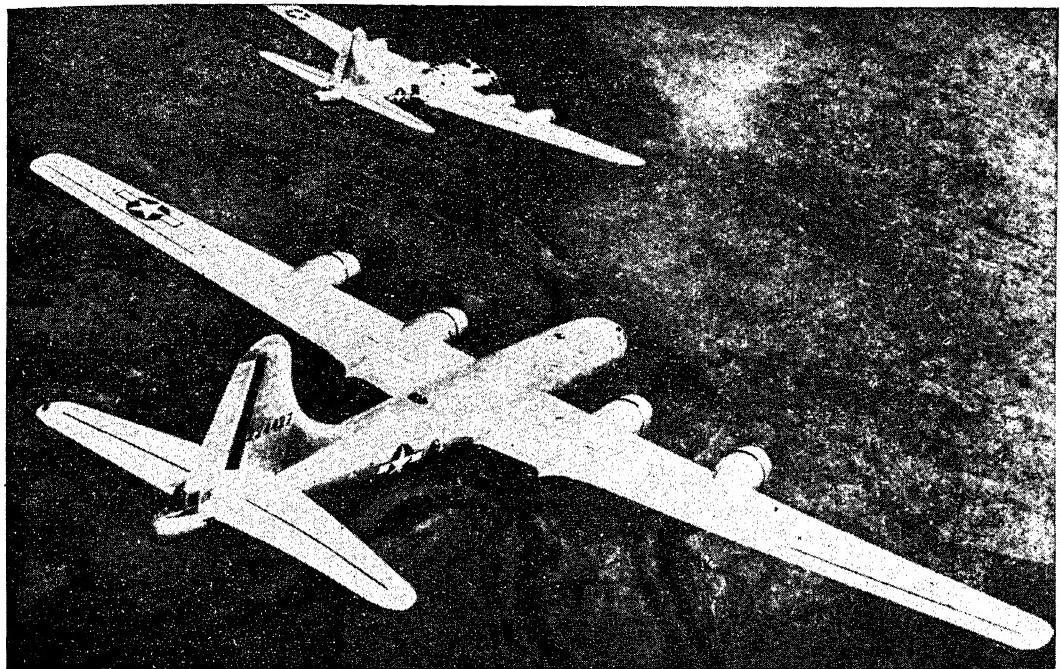
42. Orme, *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 4.

43. Martin, *History, Antiquity and Topography of Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 971.

44. R. L. Mitra, *Silpik Darshan*, 1860, pp. 32-33.

45. R. K. Choudhury, *Evolution of Indian Industries*, p. 9.

46. *Review of Trade of India*, 1904-05, p. 38.



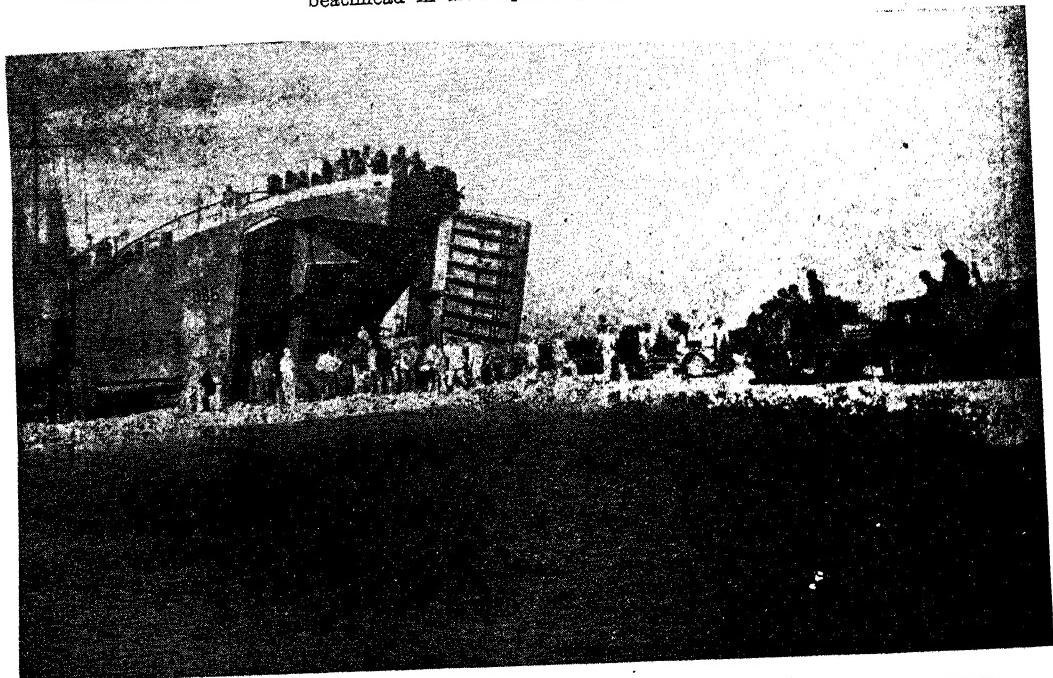
The new U.S. B-29 Superfortress, described as the largest and swiftest of all Allied bombers, will attack from much greater distance and with much more power



A floating jeep crosses the Mogaung River to the town of Kamaing, Burma.
Courtesy: USOWI



This is the type of boat that carries the attacking troops from the transports to the beachhead in an amphibious operation



Capable of carrying large numbers of troops with much heavy equipment, the huge LST (Landing Ship Tank) has been the most famous of all the Allied types of landing craft

Courtesy: USOWI

IS CAPITALISM PLAYED OUT ?

BY D. V. RAMA RAO, M.A., LL.B.

THE system of economy which the word Capitalism represents seems to have undergone considerable change since the time it was subjected to severe criticism by the early Communists. Even to-day the term Capitalism is somewhat loosely used and is capable of an elastic interpretation. Thus while the fashion among the orthodox Communists is to describe it as a system based on deliberate exploitation of one class by another for the latter's own benefit, the more rational opinion is coming to view it merely as a system that has been evolved as a result of the unforeseen and uncontrollable forces that were released by the rapid mechanisation of industry coupled with the democratic tradition of laissez-faire i.e., the doctrine of free and uncontrolled commercial enterprise.

However it might be viewed, it is true that a certain amount of exploitation has been found inevitable in the Capitalist system as practised to-day. It must be noted, however, that ever since this fact has come to be realised, progressive opinion all over the world, irrespective of any group interest, has been persistently endeavouring to control and regulate capitalist economy with a view to minimise the evils of exploitation.

There is scarcely a country in the world where the private ambitions of a group or class have not been subjected to meet with the higher interests of national welfare. Although our world has to progress a great deal before distribution can be said to have reached a stage which can be called equitable, yet, there is a marked tendency in most of the countries not only towards communisation of all essential social services but also towards a fairer sharing of all national assets.

Indeed, Capitalist economy to-day has been modified to such an extent as to make Communist criticism look grossly exaggerated. The fact that a good many countries have been able to introduce measures, which can be described as steps in the direction of Socialist economy, without changing their essentially Capitalist pattern only proves that the Capitalist system is not wanting in flexibility.

On the other hand, the Communist experiment in Russia has shown the potentialities for evil inherent in a system which can come into being only as a result of a ruthless class-war and that can be sustained by an equally ruthless dictatorship. The Russian experiment has

clearly demonstrated that it is possible for people who raise revolutionary slogans about economic exploitation to have no scruples about political exploitation. This is what Bertrand Russel says in his book *Power* (page 297) :

"Those who profess, at the present day, to be Marx's followers, have kept only the half of his doctrine, and have thrown over the demand that the State should be democratic. They have thus concentrated both economic and political power in the hands of an oligarchy, which has become, in consequence, more powerful and more able to exercise tyranny than any oligarchy of former times."

In the same chapter, a few pages after, he further says :

"The dangers of State Socialism divorced from democracy have been illustrated by the course of events in the U.S.S.R. There are those whose attitude to Russia is one of religious faith; to them, it is impious even to examine the evidence that all is not well in that country. But the testimony of former enthusiasts is becoming more and more convincing to those whose minds are open to reason on the subject. The arguments from history and psychology with which we have been concerned in previous chapters have shown how rash it is to expect irresponsible power to be benevolent."

Again (page 305) :

"Without democracy, devolution, and immunity from extra-legal punishment, the coalescence of economic and political power is nothing but a new and spalling instrument of tyranny. In Russia a peasant on a collective farm who takes any portion of the grain that he has himself grown is liable to the death penalty. This law was made at a time when millions of peasants were dying of hunger and attendant diseases owing to the famine which the government deliberately refrained from alleviating."

The experience of the Capitalist countries as well as the result of the Communist experiment in Russia point to the same moral, namely, that human nature is neither so selfless as to completely dispense with the motive of personal interest nor so selfish as to be completely dominated by the profit motive.

It seems, then, that a certain amount of exploitation, whatever economic system we may adopt, is unavoidable in the present level of human character and culture, and that it is not wise to attempt to dispense with the personal profit motive altogether as it is likely to raise its head in some other sphere if suppressed in the realm of commercial enterprise.

People who point out to the Russian Five-Year Plans and the great achievements of Russia and triumphantly declare them to be triumphs of Socialist economy would do well to remember that national plans have almost become a normal feature of most of the countries,

and that the achievements of Capitalist countries like England and America have been no less striking; nor have been the achievements of Germany and Japan less so. It may also be remembered that Japan which possessed far less material resources, could make an equally impressive march in a single generation without, however, turning Communist.

It is interesting to note that while the Capitalist countries tend to take an increasing interest in the Russian experiment and start to study it with a view to profit both by its achievements as well as its blunders, Russian economy, too, on the other side, tends to be considerably diluted from the orthodox communism as conceived by the early enthusiasts.

There is reason, then to suppose that the existing gulf between Capitalism and Socialism will not be a growing one, in future, but may very well tend to be narrower in view of recent experience gained by both Russia as well as the Capitalist countries. The fond belief, entertained in some quarters, that the outcome of the present war will be Russianisation of the world is perhaps as likely, if not less, as that of Russia turning Capitalist.

People who contend that Capitalism will necessarily lead to Imperialism and war forget that there have been highly developed Capitalist countries like Sweden and Switzerland which have continued to be free from Imperial ambitions and which, indeed, may well serve as models in this respect for the future nations. It may be noted that it is national ambition and national rivalry rather than Capitalism that have largely been responsible for the growth of Imperialism and that have led to two world conflagrations in a single generation. Just as nations are learning not to allow Capitalist enterprise to grow to the extent of interfering with the higher interest of national welfare, it may be hoped, that the lessons of this war as well as the last will pave the way for the future nations to restrict their national ambitions so as not to come into conflict with the higher ideal of international welfare.

Capitalism, it may also be noted, has not necessarily proved an obstacle either in the spread of nationalism or democracy while the same cannot be said of Communism; for like most other doctrines which prove revolutionary in one set of circumstances Communism too can easily become reactionary in another set of circumstances. It is significant that Russia under Stalin, to-day, is not only drifting from its early Communism to a more liberal Socialism but is building up a sturdy nationalism.

India, which has yet to go a long way before she can be said to have reached a national status that can assure her a worthy place in the comity of nations, can hardly afford to fritter away her limited energies on amateurish ideologies. Commercial enterprises on a scale such as the Ford's in America, Imperial Chemical Industries in England and Tata's in India,—to mention a few among others—which have proved national assets, bear testimony to the opportunities for individual talent and enterprise which Capitalism affords. In a backward nation like India where the greatest need is one of raising the low standard of living, to concentrate on production becomes a primary duty. Viewed against this background the recent Plan for the Economic Development of India sponsored by Sir Purushottam Das and the six other able authors assumes additional importance. The stray criticism levelled against this economic plan, describing it as a Fascist one, is largely due to the confusion resulting from failure to grasp the significance of the changes that have come over the world since the time of Marx. It may not be out of place, here, to point out that both the Fascist as well as the Communist plans are essentially production plans and not far different from one another.

As has been pointed out, the Capitalist system has already undergone considerable change and is likely to undergo greater changes in future. It is, however, too early to describe Capitalism as either a system outliving its utility or a force that is played out.

HEINRICH HEINE

By M. K. PANDE, B.A.

HEINE occupies a wonderful place among the nineteenth century poets of Germany. Poetry was to him not an elaborate and painful toil, but a spontaneous utterance. So diverse and varied are his compositions that his poetic genius seems to be unique. But of all his works it is in romance that he especially excels. Let us examine the following :

Die Luft ist Kuhl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fliest der Rhein
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenschein,

The air is cool—it is getting dark. The Rhine is gliding smoothly. The tops of the mountains are tipped with the gold of the setting sun.

He goes further on :

Die schonste jinyfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar,
Ihr goldenes geschmeide blitzet,
Sie kammt ihr goldenes Haar.

A lovely maiden is sitting up there, and her golden ear-rings are glistening. She is combing her golden hair.

It is impossible to bring out the freshness and charm of the poem in the prose of a foreign language, and "the attempt to do so would be like gathering up dew-drops, which appear jewels and pearls on the grass, but run into water in the hand; the essence and the elements remain, but the grace, the sparkle and the form are gone."

Every word of this poem has got, what L. Abercrombie calls the power of "incantation"—a sweet and enchanting effect which one experiences while studying the best works of the great masters. The success of Heine lies in the fact that he makes his world ours, his experiences ours, his thoughts, emotions, sensations, passions a part and parcel of our own being. He is capable of lifting us above ourselves into the region of the pure serene, which Longinus calls the sublime. Like Goethe he does not take us through the metaphysical mazes, nor like Schiller he ravishes us with the sheer charm of the poetic diction, but he delights us with an imaginative description of love, joy, tears which constitute the very stuff of poetry. He was not a poet-philosopher, but merely a poet to whom this world was not the baseless fabric of a vision, but something quite real and sound. Let us look at the third stanza of his famous poem, "The Lorelei":

Sie kammt es nit goldenem Kämme,
Und singt ein Leid dabei;
Das hat eine wundersame
Gewaltige Melodei.

She is combing her tresses with the golden comb and is singing a song—that has a sweet and compelling melody.

This little poem is full of what A. C. Bradley calls "the aesthetic experience"—an experience too fine and intangible to be put in the language of prose. So long we are in touch with Heine, we seem to be moving in a different world altogether, a world which is independent, complete and autonomous. As a poet of nature also Heine is no less great:

Die blauen Frühlingsaugen
Schauen aus dem grass herror;
Das sind die lieben Weilchen
Die ich zum strauss erkör.

The blue violet flowers are peeping out of the grass, it seems as if Spring is looking at the world with her blue eyes.

It is such a lovely image that forces itself on our attention irresistibly. Also—

Im wunderschönen monat mai,
Als alle vogel sangen,
Als alle knospen sprangen.

In the leafy month of May, when all the new buds break and birds do sing

So, on the one hand we see the rain-bow hue of romance, on the other a fresh breath of the loveliness of nature, seen in the poetic world of Heine.

Heine's patriotism also is worth noting. He says :

Deutschland hat ewigen Bestand,
Es ist ein kerngesundes land !
Mit seinen Eichen, seinen Linden,
Werde ich es immer wieder finden.

For ages Germany will stand. It is the most healthy land, with its oaks and lime trees. I shall always find it such.

How different is this healthy patriotism from the chauvinism and jingoism that has proved, and is yet proving to be, the bane not only of Germany, but of the whole world !

Germany had not gone chauvinistic during Heine's days. It was about six years after his death that Prince Bismarck became the Chancellor of Wilhem I. It is really from the date of Bismarck's accession to power that the history of modern Germany begins. Hence there is no trace in Heine's works of that baptism of fire which was to come later. Germany then was not a great power, as Heine says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind.
Germany is still a small child.

Although Germany was a small child in Heine's time, nevertheless there were signs that augured well for her future greatness. In his famous poem *Deutschland*, he says :

Deutschland ist noch ein kleines Kind,
Doch die Sonne ist seine amme,
Sie saugt es nicht mit stiller Milch,
Sie saugt es mit wilder flamme.

Germany is still a child, but the sun is his nurse, and she will feed him not on weak milk, but on the wild flames of fire.

There were signs and portents in the apparently dull grey political horizon of Germany, which Heine could not fail to see with his poetic vision. The lull was but the harbinger of the great thunderstorm that was to break over the head of Europe from across the Rhine. Within ten years of his death, Germany annexed Sleswig and Holstein from Denmark, achieved a glorious victory at the battle of Sadowa and gave a thundering knock-out blow to France. Within ten years of his death, the 'little child' to whom Heine refers in the poem, was to acquire a Herculean strength and amaze the world. Thus the poem quoted above has a prophetic ring about it.

His outlook on life was optimistic like that of his contemporary Robert Browning and unlike that of Thomas Hardy. The following quotation will amply bear it out:

Herz, mun herz, sei nicht bekommnen,
Und ertrage dein Geschick,

Neur Fruhling geift zuruck
Was der winter dir genommen.

O my heart, cease repining, the winter will
away and spring with all its hopes will come.

Such was Heine—the poet.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF GANDHISM*

BY PROF. P. A. WADIA

Prof. Dantwala whose earnestness and devotion to his country have been as much in evidence of recent years as his scholarship, attempts in this small and unambitious brochure to give us an analysis and interpretation of the economic teachings of Gandhiji. He sets this interpretation in the background of world events. Thought on social questions is making rapid strides, and whilst accepting the basic values of socialism Prof. Dantwala undertakes a reassessment of Marxism in the light of the social and economic changes of the last three quarters of a century. This reassessment leads him to a defence and appreciation of Gandhiji's economic thought. Marx, he says, was the prophet of an age ushered in by the Industrial Revolution. Gandhiji is the prophet of the age of Fascism and Totalitarianism. The days in which Marx wrote his *Capital* and issued the famous *Manifesto* were days when the working classes were ground into the dust and the mire, when millions lived in squalor and misery, disease-ridden and destined to early death, and without a share in culture and education. Socialism was the clarion call which brought a new hope and a new vision to the world's weary and heavy-laden.

The war of 1914-18 seemed to proclaim the breakdown of capitalism. Capitalism appeared to be dying by the denial of its two fundamental assumptions of private enterprise and the profit motive. The peace of 1919 however marked the triumph of European bourgeoisie in maintaining the established social and economic order. The French Press clamoured a few days after the German Army had crossed the Rhine for giving Ludendorf carte blanche to strangle the new freedom in Russia. Even Great Britain, where men protest with vehemence that they desire to maintain the old liberties, witnessed the same people banding themselves together to restrict freedom, and anxious to maintain worn-out systems of credit and exchange in order that material well-being may be confined to their class alone. Everywhere men are found to lament the growth of atheism and while they offer lip worship to a religion of brotherly love, engage in the blasphemy of keeping millions of brothers in conditions appropriate to animals and prepare for the slaughters of their neighbours by bombing planes and dreadnoughts.

The happenings in Spain and Abyssinia and China in the years that preceded 1939 revealed a social economic order in Europe based on colossal greed and ruthless exploitation. The war of 1939 witnessed again to the moral bankruptcy of a world in which National Socialism, Fascism and Communism alike are attempting to pay off the crimes of democracy—shall we call them

the failure of democracy?—in allowing untold numbers of longing, aspiring humanity to sink into ever deeper misery and degradation. Fascism and Communism have demonstrated the possibility of organising the masses. Are these masses to be organised on a basis of fear or social confidence? Dictatorship and terror are built on fear. Prof. Dantwala tells us that with the giant machines of our present age we can only have a dictatorship of giant experts and technicians. He recognises that with the socialisation of the instruments of production the *de jure* ownership will pass into the hands of the workers; but he maintains that the very size of the instruments will put the manager in complete control of them. Bureaucracy and dictatorship would thus appear to be the inevitable concomitants of an age of large-scale production. He, however, visualises, in the alternative, a society in which the instruments are so simplified that the common man can ply them and understand them, and he believes that this alternative is the only effective way in which the State will finally wither away and the Marxian dream fulfilled. Gandhiji is the great exponent of this alternative method; it involves not the condemnation of machinery as such, but its simplification and socialisation and is linked up with the conception of trusteeship in the enjoyment of property rights by the individual, which may ward off the necessity for revolution and the use of violence.

How far will the owners of property under a capitalist organisation grow alive to a sense of their trusteeship? The history of individualistic ownership of property in America has been a history of speculation in land, or the construction of rail roads or the manufacture of steel—the concentration of wealth without the slightest respect for the legal and moral rights of the millions. But, says Prof. Dantwala, the principle of trusteeship is a part of the technique of non-violence. Gandhiji would plead with capitalists voluntarily to submit themselves to the discipline of trusteeship. Show them the right course, give them a chance to mend their way. If that succeeds evil will be ended. It may be possible to avoid the use of violence and revolutionary methods by good will; but the evil of our days is not the abuse of the privileges of property, but the absence of a planned, co-ordinated and persistent social effort for the betterment of the conditions of human life which is implied in the ownership of property by the individual. This evil can only be removed by social control and ownership of the instruments of production.

Prof. Dantwala has compressed in this small volume the fruits of prolonged study and in this interpretation of Gandhism has brought to bear a sympathetic insight as well as a creative judgment.

* *Gandhism Reconsidered*: By Prof. M. L. Dantwala. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND HIS TIMES:
By Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Madras, 1943. Pages 414.

This work represents the Sir William Meyer Lectures which the author delivered in the Madras University in October, 1941. The author has dealt with the career of the great Emperor Chandragupta and has given a short account of the administration, the army, social and economic conditions and the legal system prevailing in his age.

In delineating his life the author has discussed in detail the various sources, both indigenous and foreign. He has refuted the idea that Chandragupta belonged to a low caste and discussed the various theories about it. In discussing the administrative system he has principally relied on the Arthashastra of Kautilya. It is well-known that most scholars in the present time do not accept the view that the Arthashastra was composed in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. The author, however, holds the contrary view and believes that this unique text depicts the condition of the time in which Chandragupta lived. This problem is not treated in detail in this book but the author has in his previous works discussed this question and shown a number of grounds in support of his view. He has elaborately dealt with the various aspects of law and administration with the help of ample materials supplied by the Arthashastra, and his book may be regarded in the main as an elaborate exposition of that work. The author has, of course, also treated the Greek sources in detail and compared the data supplied by them with those of Arthashastra. On the whole the author has succeeded in placing before the readers all the important materials bearing on the subject. He has also devoted a short section on the coins of the period.

There are several appendices to the work dealing with (1) Chanakya and Chandragupta Traditions (Buddhist and Jaina) and (2) Parallelism between Asoka's Edicts and Kautilya's Arthashastra. The get-up and the printing of the work are excellent. As the first great Indian emperor who aimed at the ideal of an all-India empire and succeeded to a great extent in achieving it the life and times of Chandragupta cannot fail to evoke interest in all Indians who have a regard for the past of their country. The book under review is, therefore, bound to be a popular one and will enable even those who are not professed students of history to gain a fair idea of a glorious epoch in the history of ancient India.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

MEN AND SUPERMEN OF HINDUSTHAN:
By Joachim Alva. Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1943. Pages 403. Price Rs. 11.

Joachim Alva, the author of this handsome khadi-clad volume, is an Indian Christian Nationalist from the West Coast, who as a student threw himself into the vortex of the Congress movement in Bombay during

those stormy days of "War Councils" and "Dictators", and was imprisoned. Since then his contacts with the public life of this country have been deep and varied, wide and intimate. In the tantalizing solitude and suggestive confinement of the prison-cell, the author recapitulates the fast-moving drama of India's political struggles and draws some exquisite pen-pictures of the principle actors and actresses on the stage. Gandhi and Tagore, Azad and Jinnah, Motilal and Jawaharlal, Mahomed Ali and Ambedkar, Andrews and Horniman, Naidu and Mirza Ben, Radhakrishnan, Raman and Gidney are some of the couple of dozen personalities that cross the author's mind in an impressive array, representing almost every sphere of national activity and every section of political thought, who have influenced, for good or evil, the destinies of this country during the last three decades.

Alva's sketches will easily remind the reader of A. G. Gardiner's *Prophets, Priests and Kings*, which remains even to-day the model for pen-picture artists. Alva's political zeal and literary acumen combine to make his essays informative as well as interesting. He does not pretend to cover the achievements of a life-time within the compass of a few pages, but has attempted to assess the true role of his supermen in India's national life, ignoring other facets of their personality and creativities. Even Tagore and Uday Shankar are seen in this perspective. The only measuring rod the author employs is how far these personages have advanced India's political status and rehabilitated India's national dignity. This does not, however, mean that Alva is indifferent to the cultural movements and social revolutions that have influenced, even more deeply than political agitations, the national consciousness of the people, much less to the visions and ideologies in which every fresh generation is being nurtured. In fact, looking at the gallery of his "Men and Supermen," one gets a fairly complete picture of the variegated background of India's contemporary national life. The author has a remarkable gift for story-telling. Anecdotes and personal reminiscences enlivened with sparkling wit lend absorbing interest to his sketches. Certain misquotations are, however, to be regretted, and from his numerous references to "Anand Bhurban" (sic) and "Mani Bhurban" (sic), it is difficult to infer that they are printing mistakes.

MANINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

URBAN MORALS IN ANCIENT INDIA:
By S. L. Ghosh. Published by Sushil Gupta. Price Re. 1-8, Calcutta.

The book under review is the result of the author's wide study of the subject. In it he has reviewed the science of Love in Ancient India on the background of its contemporary history. He has also tried successfully to present to his readers a faithful picture of the sex life of a society during the time of Vatsyayana. The chapter on the origins and times of Vatsyayana is short and comprehensive. It may be mentioned in this connection that a learned edition of the 'Kamasutra'

of Vatsyayana is yet an urgent necessity for the reconstruction of the fallen monument of Indian erotic Science.

SAROJENDRANATH BHANJA and S. C. MITRA.

LANGUAGE POLICY OF ALL-INDIA RADIO:
By R. S. Shakla. Published by the Provincial Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, U. P., Allahabad. Pp. 192. Price Rs. 2-8.

The propagation of highly Persianised Urdu under the deceptive name of *Hindustani* and the step-motherly treatment meted out to Hindi—even in the Province with a Hindi-speaking majority—has been a source of constant resentment among the Hindi-speaking people. The feeling is as wide-spread as genuine. The book under review throws a flood of light on the language-policy of the A.I.R. and exposes its real character with the help of facts and figures, showing the comparative difference between the various items broadcast in Hindi and Urdu, as well as their respective staff, listeners and members of the local advisory committees.

In his preface to the book, Sjt. Sampurnanand, Ex-Minister for Education in the U.P., has rightly characterised the activities of the A.I.R. as being "dictated by a definite pro-Urdu and anti-Hindi policy". The notable example he has cited is: "The death of Sri Ramanand Chatterji was announced as 'Ramanand Chatterji Surga-bash ho gaye' which, translated literally, means that Ramanand Chatterji has become residence in Surga, this word being the A.I.R. version of the Sanskrit word *Swarga* (heaven)."

Want of space prevents us from quoting more of such funny examples. We, however, do not find ourselves in entire agreement with all the arguments advanced by the author but the facts and figures collected by him go to show that the position of the A.I.R. authorities with regard to their language-policy is wholly unjustified and absolutely indefensible. It is high time that they revise this policy and remove the just complaint.

M. S. SENGAR

INDIAN LABOUR AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION: By Com. M. N. Roy. Published by Radical Democratic Party, 30, Faiz Bazar, Delhi. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1.

In this small book Com. Roy has emphasised the necessity of counting Indian Labour factor as the most important one in Post-War World Reconstruction in which India shall be an important constituent. Capitalistic methods must give way to socialistic production and distribution if reconstruction is to avoid pit-falls of the last Post-World-War attempts. Purchasing power and the standard of life of the Indian peasants must increase. Means of production should be taken out of the hands of private owners. To achieve his ideals, the author advises the Government to take up the cause of labour and do away with the middle-men and the capitalists who stand in the midway, because these classes are creating troubles in the war-efforts during the present war and will cause further trouble in Post-War Reconstruction. Even the "Scorched Earth" policy is supported by the author. It may be noted that Com. Roy is appealing to an Imperialistic and Capitalistic Government for attainment of socialism in preference to his own countrymen other than the peasants and industrial workers.

Evidently this book has propaganda value in favour of the Indian Federation of Labour which has been set up by Com. Roy against All-India Trade Union Congress, when the latter declined to lend its support to the war efforts—the war being characterised as Imperialistic and in support of the domination of subject nations.

A. B. DUTTA

MUSINGS OF BASAVA: By Prof. S. S. Basawonad, M.A., and Prof. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A.,

D.Litt., Lingaraj College, Belgaum (South India). Published by the authors. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1.

Basava, we are told, was one of India's outstanding religious teachers, a great statesman and also a man of letters. His *vachanas* (or sayings) started a literary tradition unique in Kannada literature. In this book we have a free rendering of some of those sayings into English.

We do not know how far the reputation of Basava travelled beyond the boundaries of his native district or province. The authors of this book perhaps have made him more famous than he was before. And as to the worth of the translation, no opinion can be expressed without a comparison with the original. Those who read both will be in a better position to judge. The authors' status in the academic world, however, compels us to think that it is a good translation.

But we have a small grievance. One of the joint authors is a professor of English. Yet there are so many un-English words in the Introduction to the book that one who knows only English will not understand half of it. If all those words are untranslateable into English, then why write in English at all? Again, sometimes the authors' English itself seems to be un-English. Such words as *recordation* (cf. "recordation of the vibrations of his soul etc." p. 16) and *wordable* (cf. "strain the limits of the wordable", p. 28) are needless coinages, if permissible at all. And "need not necessarily" (p. 19) has an excess of words. When one writes in English one should remember that the King's English has a right to remain pure. It ought not to be a jumble of words from all languages interspersed with freely coined new words and phrases.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE SECRET OF HINDU SANGATHAN: By Swami Dharmo Theerthaji Maharaj, President, Hindu Missionary Society. Published by Har Bhagwan, Hon'y. Secretary, Hindu Missionary Society, Krishnanagar, Lahore. Price Re. 1.

In this little book of 48 pages, the Venerable Swamiji has advocated that the ideal of Hindu Sangathan must be based on religious and social service and it must be founded on fundamental religious truths and vital social needs of the Hindus. The Hindus should organise as free men and pledge their hands and hearts to the service of their common ancestral home and the re-building of a great and free nation in which the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and all others shall mingle their efforts and aspirations for love, prosperity and righteousness bringing abiding victory and peace to all. The book is well-written and deserves careful consideration by all lovers of truth who desire to work for freedom, justice and equity and are prepared to share a common citizenship and national life with the Muslims, the Christians and others who constitute the nation.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE SHIP DOCKS: By Shankaran Palat. Published by K. Krishna Iyer Bros., Trichur (Madras). Price 2s. 6d.

Mr. Palat plans his story in such a way that he has scope for introducing a lot of stray incidents into the journey that he makes Peter Merton undertake. The young son of a baron, Peter goes to Oxford; he is lively and full of fun there. A woman's delight, Peter has a few idiosyncrasies—as easily as he bids good-bye to Anita for her jealousy and meddlesomeness, he loves and leaves Paula for consideration of prestige and money. Misunderstanding between Peter and his parents looms large, he stages a silent walk out from the family. Peter now goes on a voyage



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MARGO SOAP, MALAYA (SANDAL SOAP).

For blooming beauty

LABONNY SNOW, TUHINA (BEAUTY MILK).

For fair faces

RENUKA (TOILET POWDER).

For lingering fragrance

KANTA (PERFUME), EAU-DE-COLOGNE, LAVENDER.



CALCUTTA CHEMICAL
CALCUTTA

over the world. At this stage the book is a dull reading; however, Mr. Palat has endeavoured to brighten up the atmosphere with the presence of Rosemary. Peter returns home, joins a newspaper, and later walks up to the Parliament with the support of the paper. He now longs to see Paula and marry her, but to his utter disappointment he finds Paula already married. Poetic justice is lost sight of, the affairs stand more disappointingly realistic than the "real". It is really tiresome and unromantic to follow up the details of Peter's transference of love from Anita to Paula, and then from Paula to Rosemary.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

ENGLISH-BENGALI

IMPERIAL LIBRARY : AUTHOR CATALOGUE OF PRINTED BOOKS IN BENGALI LANGUAGE : Vol. I A.F., Vol. II G.L.

The authorities of the Imperial Library are to be congratulated on having brought out two decent volumes of this catalogue, which was a long-felt want and which will be of particular help to those engaged in compiling the history of Bengali literature. We wait with eagerness for the completion of the catalogue at an early date.

The method of spelling proper names adopted in the catalogue seems in some cases to be hideous, *viz.*, Bankim has been spelt as Vankim, Amalchandra Home as Amalcandra Homa, Brajendra as Vrajendra. Some of the books, which bear no name of the author in their title-pages, have been wrongly ascribed to some other authors; for instance, 'Kautuk-kana' and 'Bangali-charit' of Jogendra Chandra Basu, the founder of the Bengali weekly *Bangabasi*, have been entered under the name of Indranath Banerjee.

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.

SANSKRIT-HINDI

BHAKTIRATNAVALI OF VISNUPUTRI GOSWAMIN: *Editor and translator Rai Mahendranath Lahiri Bahadur, Retired Postmaster-General, Bihar and Orissa. To be had of Rabindranath Lahiri, M.A., B.L., 17, Dover Lane, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Demy 8vo., Pages 2 + 244 + 7. Price Re. 1.*

This is a popular edition of the *Bhaktiratnavali*, an anthological work containing a selection of verses, chiefly from the *Bhagavata-purana* (with at least two verses, III. 32, V. 45, from the *Haribhakti*) pertaining to *bhakti* or devotion to Krishna. The work divided into 12 sections is stated to have been composed in 1633 A.D. In the present edition the text of every verse is accompanied by a running Hindi translation and by Sanskrit meanings of the words arranged in a prose order. One would miss the author's own commentary on the work called the *Kantimala*, a good edition of which would have been a very welcome feature of the book. Sources of the verses have generally been indicated. It is, however, a matter of regret that inaccuracies, apparently due to the printer's devil, were noticed in these indications here and there. As regards the text proper, one verse which occurs twice in the edition of the work in the Sacred Books of the Hindus Series (I. 46, XIII. 5) is omitted here in chapter I, but without assigning any reason. The source of I. 105 has not been indicated in either of the two editions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

SHAILLEYA: *By Barua, compiled by Mahavir Adhikari. Rishi-Prachi-Pratichi, Delhi. Pp. 168. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a collection of ten short stories, the subject and style of which are too patently realistic. Every now and then the reader is 'shocked' into dangerous and dynamic thinking by the challenging presentation of the

working and ways of the mind of woman, against the background of the transitional period through which society is passing at present. Somehow in several stories the reviewer found the current or chain of circumstance more frozen like the stone than fluid like the stream; also the realism creating a feeling of revolution. The book, no doubt, breaks new ground, but it will be for time alone to show what will shoot up in the ploughed plot. Maybe, the undersigned has not been able to get into the writer's frame of mind.

ANTAR KI BAT: *By Radhakrishna Prasada. Pustaka Bhandara, Patna. Pp. 166. Price Re. 1-4.*

Twenty-five short stories, centred round the various aspects and expressions of our social life and 'shot through' with the red strand of psycho-analysis. As such, they are highly suggestive, but the young writer—a young graduate—has succeeded skilfully in sustaining, what may be characterized as the spirit of delicacy and dignity. His observation of emotional and mental reactions to incidents and attitudes is sympathetically critical, as his style has the vividness of veracity. Over and again, while reading the stories, the reader is reminded of master Russian story-writers.

G. M.

TELUGU

SOVIET RUSSIA: *Pp. 71. Price annas twelve. BOLSHEVISM : Pp. 29. Price annas four.*

NEW LIFE MOVEMENT IN CHINA: *Pp. 22. Price annas four.*

PAKISTAN: *Pp. 29. Price annas four. Published by the Cultural Book Club, Madras.*

These pamphlets are translations of well-known English versions. Students of politics would welcome these popular editions in their own mother-tongue.

PATA PATALU: *By T. Kameswar Rao. Published by Navayasa-Parishat, Guntur. Pp. 45. Price annas eight only.*

This is a collection of old popular songs. These folk songs would be very much appreciated by all. The author attempts to revive interest in old traditions, beliefs and customs of Andhradesa.

K. V. SUBBA RAO.

GUJARATI

APANUN HINDUSTAN: *Translated by Purushottam Trikamdas. Published by the Oxford University Press, Bombay. Cardboard cover. Pp. 148. Illustrated. Price Rs. 2. (1943).*

This is a Gujarati translation of Minoo Masani's English book *Our India*. The translator is a Nationalist, as ardent as Minoo Masani, and has done his work well, preserving the spirit of the original, which is a very informative and laborious work, giving all the information of the past and present condition of our country, economical, moral, agricultural, commercial, and industrial. It is a welcome addition to Gujarati Literature.

SURAT: *Parts I-II, M. J. Pathakji, M.A., LL.B., Professor of History and Economics, Bahauddin College, Junagadh. Published by the Baroda Government. Thick card-board. Pp. 230. Price annas eight each (1943).*

Surat has been famous in history, as it happened to be the gateway for Mecca for the Mahomedans and the scene of the first entry of the European Powers into India. Its varied and chequered career, its glory and splendour now faded, the intelligence and luxury-loving nature of its inhabitants, and every other phase of their character has been so well put and in such detail, that it is likely to prove a model work for the purpose for which it has been prepared, *viz.* to form a flower in the garland of the Sayaji series of books for juveniles.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



John Dalton

1766-1844

Exactly a century ago, on the 27th July, 1844, John Dalton, the founder of the atomic theory, passed away from this world. P. Ray writes in *Science and Culture*:

Though one of the greatest scientists of the world Dalton was not less so as a man. For, he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth; and it was by means of sheer perseverance, selfless devotion, firm determination, ceaseless labour and untiring struggle against many adverse circumstances that he rose to the high position in life—a position not of wealth, of course, but a far nobler one of benefiting mankind. Though rich in fame he always remained poor in worldly wealth. His habits were extremely simple and unassuming; he never cared for money and devoted himself unreservedly to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake.

Dalton was born in 1766 in a thatched cottage of a humble family in the village of Englesfield in Cumberland. His father Joseph Dalton was a handloom weaver.

Between 11 and 12 years of age he opened a school

in his father's barn for children of both sexes. At 15 he left his native village and walked about 40 miles to join his brother's school at Kendal where he worked as a teacher with his brother for 12 years. During this period he was also engaged in self-improvement and self-education. By hard and unremitting toil he became a good mathematician and acquainted himself with the work of Newton, as well as those of other English and Continental men of science. In 1793 he came to Manchester as a teacher in Manchester Academy (Manchester New College) and earned £80 only for a session of 9 months. For six years he served as a tutor in this college teaching mathematics and natural philosophy. He then resigned and devoted himself to scientific enquiry earning his bread by private tuition which provided him with sufficient means to meet his small needs. He continued with this mode of life till his death in 1844. At the same time he was always meditating and experimenting upon the composition of air and constitution of gases, which led to his discovery of the Law of Thermal Expansion of Gases with which his own name is associated with that of Gay Lussac. He also studied the absorption of gases in liquids and as a result thereof formulated the Law of Partial Pressure, also associated with the name of Henry. To him we owe further the discovery that gases are heated by compression and cooled by expansion against pressure.



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In 1800, he became the Secretary of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, of which he was elected President in 1817 and continued as such until his death.

He had his laboratory in the house of the Society, and his diary and manuscripts still remain in their possession. The Society also published most of his scientific papers. The Law of Multiple Proportions resulted from his examination of the composition of marsh gas and ethylene, as well as of oxides of nitrogen. For, he found that when two substances combine they do so in simple multiples of whole numbers. He showed that atomic conception of matter could satisfactorily account for all the physical properties of gases studied by him, as well as the Law of Constant Proportion formulated by Proust and that of Multiple Proportion by him. He thus adduced experimental evidences for the first time in support of the Atomic Theory of Matter.

The fundamental assumptions of Dalton's Atomic Theory can be stated as follows:

(1) Every elementary substance is made up of minute indivisible homogeneous particles called atoms. (2) Each kind of atom possesses a definite and constant weight. (3) Chemical combination takes place between atoms.

It may be said that through the formulation of Atomic Theory Dalton provided the final and absolute proof regarding the conservation of matter, and that his service to chemistry is on a par with that of Newton to astronomy.

Dalton was invited to deliver a series of lectures at the Royal Institution in London in 1803-4 when he publicly announced for the first time the discovery of the Atomic Theory and the Law of Combination in

Multiple Proportions. Dalton was invited to deliver lectures also at Glasgow, Edinburgh and other places, and received scientific honours from almost all parts of the world. In 1816 he was made an Associate of the French Academy—the highest dignity awarded to any foreigner. In 1822 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and in 1826 the first Royal Medal of the Society was awarded to him.

With the simplest possible apparatus that can ever be imagined Dalton achieved results of far-reaching consequence. A penny ink-bottle closed by a cork with a tube fixed in it, a couple of ordinary apothecary's scale and one or two thermometers serve as typical examples of the apparatus in his stock.

His habits were very simple, methodical and uniform. He practically spent every day all his time in the laboratory except on Thursday afternoon, when he would play a game of bowls with his friends and afterwards refresh himself with a pipe of tobacco. He was a very early riser and would repair immediately to his laboratory. Dalton lived a single life and used to say, when questioned by friends, that he had no time to marry.

With utter contempt for wealth Dalton lived a life of self-imposed poverty. Late in life he was relieved from the drudgery of his tuition and the worry of earning his bread by a Royal Grant of £150/-, afterwards raised to £300/- per annum.

Dalton was held in great esteem and love by his countrymen, specially by the people of Manchester who already raised in his life-time a sum of £2,000/- for his statue.

Jan Ignace Paderewski PIANIST-STATESMAN OF POLAND

Paderewski was to Poland what Tagore was to India. J. M. D'Souza observes in *The Calcutta Review*:

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This world-renowned Pianist and one of the most eminent international figures of the last fifty years, passed away on June 2, 1941, thus preceding our Rabindranath Tagore by a little more than a month. Like Tagore, Paderewski too was a highly versatile and creative genius—pianist, composer, linguist, educationist, orator, statesman, and above all, a true patriot. Like Tagore, again, he touched nothing that he did not adorn.

It is a pleasure to recall that at the Peace Table at Versailles he was one of the few statesmen who could speak with equal force and accuracy in several tongues. It is generally believed that a musician cannot be a politician, and a politician cannot be a musician. But Paderewski combined both music and politics with amazing success and he was known to the world as 'Pianist-Statesman' or 'Premier-Paderewski'. He is said to have once described his friend as "a dear soul playing the Polo" and himself as "*a poor Pole* playing the solo."

Paderewski was born on November 6, 1860. His father was a versatile amateur artist—he played the violin, he painted, and practised sculpture. His mother began to instruct him in his piano lessons at the age of three.

These early foundations were later built upon by some seven other best teachers of the time. Paderewski first played to the public at the age of 27 in Vienna, in 1887. He appeared in Paris in 1888, in London in 1890, and in New York in 1891. At the early age of about 28, he was quite an equal of Rubinstein, and played "marvellously" and with "such power and with such tender feeling." His success was rapid and tremendous, and it will be interesting to know that a concert in London rarely brought in less than 1,000. It is needless to say that in America he fared better still.

He dramatised the entire Piano Literature in a way which moved millions.

The charm and excellence which always

characterised his performances were no doubt brought about by hard work and exhaustive study.

For years he practised for ten and twelve hours a day, and at a new repertoire he would work as much as sixteen hours a day. He held that "There is no absolute rhythm," and pressed for discretionary power and freedom in the domain of the art of performance. "To be emotional in musical interpretation, yet obedient to the initial tempo," he says, "means as much as being sentimental in engineering." The orthodox critics barked for a while but had at last to yield to the master, who by dint of highly enriched orchestral effects and superb tone-colour held the musical world spell-bound. His innovations were convincing because of the logic and "single-mindedness" of purpose behind them.

His was a soul that "pined for what is not." The present age to his mind was an age of wonders, scientifically and mechanically, but he noted with grave concern that the arts were being driven into an arid wilderness.

He invested a large part of his income in founding scholarships and prizes to encourage original research and study in various departments of the Science and Art of Music.

He always held the view that music should form a part of the education of every child, the object of the musical training being to make the child musical and not always to make him a musician.

Paderewski was an internationalist because he was a nationalist, and he was a nationalist because he was an internationalist. He was not a mere dreamer. In his leisure he sought people, conversation and the atmosphere of companionship. The world owes a tribute to his magnetic personality, the multiple facets of his genius, wisdom, generosity, nobility of heart, fervour of patriotism, clear vision, strength of opinion and delicate diplomacy.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Pakistan in Ireland

In the article entitled "Totalitarian Ulster" in *The Catholic World*, W. J. Tucker exhorts Britain to do away with the devil of Pakistan in Northern Ireland:

The principal guarantees of the liberty of the subject under the British Constitution have been abolished in Northern Ireland, notwithstanding the fact that it forms part of the United Kingdom. In a code of statutory regulations which makes the executive supreme over the citizen, are provisions allowing for arrest without warrant upon mere suspicion, and imprisonment of indefinite duration without trial. The prisoner has no right of access to the Law Courts, to his attorney, or to his relatives or friends. Constitutional liberty does not exist.

No thinking Irishman or Englishman believes that such a state of affairs is an adequate answer to the Irish question. As Parnell claimed, the solution of proper government for the Irish nation as a whole can never be arrived at until there is a United Ireland. And Prime Minister De Valera will not be satisfied until the Six Counties are part of Eire and until all Ireland is entirely free from Britain. On his side is the fact that there are no natural boundaries between Eire and Northern Ireland—the border arbitrarily cuts farms in two, splits highways, divides villages. There are large areas, as I have pointed out, which wish to enter Eire. Besides, Northern Ireland is riddled with corruption, disfranchisement, electoral gerrymandering. It is an area arbitrarily determined by Britain, at the instance of intriguing politicians who desired the mutilation of the living body of the Irish nation and the perversion of Ireland's national destiny. The reason assigned for this outrage was the necessity of protecting a local minority alleged to be distinct from the people of Ireland as to race and religion. But the true reason was a political intrigue, which inflamed and exploited the religious difference as an impediment to Ireland's demand for national independence. The separation of Eire and Northern Ireland is a repetition of the British pattern, so familiar in India and Palestine, of Divide and Rule.

Britain's reputation for consistency, honor and good faith is clearly at stake. On general grounds, the Britain that has put pressure on Czechoslovakia in the interests of an allegedly oppressed minority, can hardly tell the world that it has no right to move in the interests of an obviously oppressed minority under its

own British sovereignty and within the sphere of its own legal, constitutional and effective control. Britain should take immediate steps to terminate the unconstitutional oppression of the Nationalist or Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. She should also terminate her financial support of the partition of Ireland by direct and indirect subsidies. As soon as it ceases to be a British Imperial interest to keep Ireland divided by fomenting religious differences, all Irishmen, whether Protestant or Catholic, will come together in the common love of their native land.

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To Quraishi, who has been in charge of tool designing at the plant almost since the outbreak of war, goes a good part of the credit for making gauges and other precision instruments which are playing an important part in the operations of the famous bomber plant.

Quraishi has not always been an engineer. Since going to the United States he has had a varied career which has taken him across the vast expanse of that country. He has taught school in Indiana and studied engineering at the University of Michigan. For a time he ran a dry-goods store in the small city of Cumberland, Kentucky, and before that was owner and publisher of a newspaper in Winston Salem, North Carolina. To top off this varied taste of America, he once travelled from one end of the country to the other as a salesman for a perfume company.

A member of the American Society of Tool Engineers, Quraishi went back to Detroit at the outbreak of war to take charge of the huge tooling operation at the Lincoln plant and at Willow Run, and played a vital role in getting the production lines started. He was married in Detroit and now has a young son, Brikat.

Quraishi firmly believes that the tooling up of America for war work, and the construction and equipping in a few months of huge war factories that dwarfed peacetime plants, will go down as a historical landmark in the accomplishments of that vigorous nation.

—USOWI.

Nervousness—Cause and Cure

Paramhansa Yogananda observes in *Inner Culture*:

Nervousness is a malady which can be overcome by a specific medicine—calmness. The disturbance of mental equilibrium which results in nervous disorders is caused by continuous states of excitement or excessive stimulation of the senses. Indulgence in constant thoughts of fear, anger, melancholy, remorse, envy, sorrow, hatred, discontent or worry, and lack of the necessities for normal and happy living, such as right food, proper exercise, fresh air, sunshine, agreeable work and a purpose in life, are the causes of all nervous diseases.

Any violent or persistent mental, emotional or physical excitement causes a disturbance of the

balance in the flow of life force throughout the sensory-motor mechanism and the bulbs of the senses. It is as though we put a two-thousand volt current through a fifty-watt lamp. The lamp-wires would be burned out. In the same way, the nervous system cannot withstand the assault of intense, destructive thoughts and feelings.

Nervousness appears to many as a simple problem, but it is a deadly enemy, with far-reaching results. It is difficult to heal a man of any disease, so long as he suffers from nervousness. The unbalanced life force in his body makes it a tremendous task for him to concentrate or meditate deeply enough to acquire peace and wisdom. Nevertheless, nervousness can be easily cured by any one who is willing to analyze his condition and remove the disintegrating emotions which are tearing him apart, day by day. Analysis and calmness in all situations of life will heal the most stubborn case.

Realization that all power to think, speak, feel and act comes from God, and that He is ever with us, inspiring and guiding us, brings an instant freedom from nervousness. Flashes of divine joy will come with this realization; sometimes a deep illumination will pervade the being, banishing the very conception of fear. The power of God sweeps in like an ocean, surging through the heart as a cleansing flood, removing all obstacles from our path. The delusion of matter, the consciousness of being only a mortal body, is overcome by contacting the sweet serenity of Spirit, attainable by daily meditation.

The victim of nervousness must understand his case, and must reflect on those continual mistakes of thinking which are responsible for his maladjustment to life. When the nervous man once admits to himself that his disease is not mysterious in its cause, but the logical outcome of his own habits, he is already half cured.

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Chemist-in-charge, Ayurved Baijananik Hall,
KALNA, BENGAL.

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER



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WHOLE NO. 455

NOTES

The Breakdown of the Talks and After

The Gandhi-Jinnah talks have broken down and the correspondence that passed between them during this period is now public property. This breakdown has brought out the unrealities of the problem and the unrealities of the solutions offered by both Mr. Jinnah and Mr. Rajagopalachariar in bold relief. Mr. Jinnah's attempt to avoid pointed questions put by Gandhiji asking for a clarification of the Lahore resolution on Pakistan in all its implications and his eagerness to stick to an explanation of the mere text of the resolution, shows that he himself has no clear idea about the shape of what he calls Pakistan. Gandhiji's offer of the most generous terms to Mr. Jinnah, and his earlier concrete proposals to Lord Wavell, has given Gandhiji a pull over the reactionary forces. He has proved that the British are not interested in a settlement of the Indian political question and that Mr. Jinnah is now afraid, more than ever, to face the implications of the Lahore resolution—his own demand for Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah has also gone down in the country's estimation because of the undignified petulant attitude displayed by him in his letters and in some of his subsequent press statements.

The special representative of the *Leader* at New Delhi writes :

It is not generally realized how damaging has been to British propaganda the result of Gandhiji's efforts of the past four months in finding a solution of the political deadlock. Has he not proved that Indian nationalism is prepared to wholeheartedly line up with the Allies in fighting the aggressors and building up a lasting peace? Has he not exposed the fact that the British rulers are not prepared to trust Indians even with the conduct of domestic affairs? Gandhiji has, in short, undone all that British propaganda had done during the past three years to prove that Congressmen were pro-Axis. Indeed those who had 'doped' Beverley Nichols to write that filth called the 'Verdict on India' feel that the book has appeared too late.

Gandhiji's attempt to conciliate Mr. Jinnah has also been equally damaging to Britain's *bona fides*. A standing argument against the Congress is that it wants to establish a Hindu Raj in India and that the Muslims cannot submit to it. Gandhiji's offer has proved that the Congress meant what it said in its Working Committee resolution passed at New Delhi that it would not coerce any part of India to remain within an All-India Union against its wishes. Gandhiji's offer to Mr. Jinnah did not go beyond that resolution. It has only given a concrete form to this view. Gandhiji has offered freedom to the territories having an overwhelming majority of Muslim inhabitants but subject to the important proviso that the fundamental interests of India are not sacrificed in the sphere of defence, communications and economic co-operation. Thus the familiar pretexts that Congress is a totalitarian body claiming the sole right to represent the whole of India and out to establish a Hindu Raj, have been knocked on the head. The trend of comments in the U.S.A. on the Gandhi-Jinnah talks indicates that Americans who fought a civil war to prevent the southern States from breaking away from the Union have appreciated in particular the weight of Gandhiji's arguments. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Leader* has also stated: "I hear that American opinion is satisfied that the Congress leader has made a most fair offer."

The enemies of our freedom have used Mr. Jinnah's intransigence as an argument against Indian freedom. To the extent to which neutral observers felt that there was some genuine basis for the Muslim fear Gandhiji has gone to the maximum to remove it. His offer, when considered along with its all important proviso, amounts only to the creation of a few autonomous Muslim provinces with a greater degree of self-government in respect of subjects other than the fundamental interests like defence,

communications and economic co-operation. He has not conceded to Mr. Jinnah's absurd claim of nationhood for a community which in reality is a body of religious converts. In respect of descent, language, history and political institutions, Muslims of India are an integral part of the Indian nation. Racially almost all the Indian Muslims belong to the same stock as Hindus. Hindustani is simple Urdu, and simple Hindi is easily understood by a vast majority of Hindus and Muslims alike all over the country since about 1000 A.D. The mother-tongue of the three crores of Muslims in Bengal is the Bengali language.

Both the Hindus and Muslims have equally contributed to the history and culture of India for about seven centuries and for the last century or so political institutions of both of them have been fashioned and moulded after the British pattern. For centuries together they have both been under the same Central Government.

There is no doubt that the last word about the communal question has been said on behalf of the Congress.

"Ambedkar Runs Amok"

The *Indian Social Reformer* has described Dr. Ambedkar's Madras tour under the caption *Ambedkar runs amok*. At a luncheon given by the editor of the *Sunday Observer*, the anti-Naicker journal of the Justice Party, Dr. Ambedkar analysed the causes which led to the collapse of the Party at the 1937 General Elections. The Party had held office for twenty years till 1937. The chief cause of this collapse was, in his opinion, that Justice Party men, after securing jobs, forgot what they owed to the Party and did not use the strategic positions they occupied to advance the Party's interests. He indignantly asked:

"What earthly benefit can the members of the community get if one of them happens to be an Executive Councillor? It is that fellow who draws the salary and that fellow lives in glory. If he goes there and remembers he has come there as their agent, he is there also in office in order to give a new turn to society, the going of that man is certainly worth while."

The *Reformer* then sums up:

His thesis in this speech was that the "spoils system" was the essence of democracy. In another speech he attacked Mr. Srinivasa Sastry, Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah. Mr. Sastry came in for his bitterest invective. In another speech during his South Indian tour Dr. Ambedkar outlined for the information of the Scheduled Castes a scheme which he said, the Government were preparing but which was not yet complete. According to this scheme, all the waste lands of India will be ceded to the Scheduled Castes, new villages will be created exclusively for them, and money grants provided for enabling them to develop as a political power strong enough to dominate all other communities. The Army authorities want land for their scheme to make the Army independent of civilian production in agri-

culture and industry. The Bombay Government want lands for their road programme. Other provinces may also have their programmes which require fresh land. Moreover, the waste lands are scattered over the whole of India. Then, there is the problem of finding means of reconciling the conflicting interests of the numerous castes statutorily grouped under the head of "Scheduled Castes". The Mahar will not associate with the Mang even when both have been converted to Christianity. The "Scheduled Castes" have no corporate existence outside the scheduled and the grandiose scheme which Dr. Ambedkar in the name of Government promised to the depressed classes cannot possibly be realised. If Dr. Ambedkar spoke in his personal capacity, no harm will be done, but it is a serious matter when the people are fed with false hopes in the name of the Government.

Some of the speeches delivered by Dr. Ambedkar contained threats of violence against those who might not agree with his plans, the trend of every one of them was that Governmental power would be utilised for achieving the objects outlined by him. He has declared himself a firm believer in the utilisation of Governmental power for Party ends. Government of India's silence may be continued to have amounted to acquiescence.

"Britain Has No Intention to Give India Freedom"—Amer-Asia

The New York Magazine *Amer-Asia*, commenting on the significance of the Gandhi-Jinnah meetings, writes:

"Ever since the failure of the Cripps mission, the entire emphasis of the British propaganda both within India and abroad, had been concentrated on the contention that as long as there was no unity within India she cannot be considered ready to be master of her own destiny.

"In reality, this British contention was false and unjust. The truth is that Britain has no intention of giving India her freedom—the fact has been sufficiently demonstrated by Britain's insistence that the 562 native Indian princes must agree to any future political settlement when it is obvious that these autocratic rulers will never voluntarily consent to a settlement that deprives them of British protection.

"As far as the question of Hindu-Moslem antagonism is concerned, this problem has been artificially aggravated by British propaganda and by small sections of both Hindu and Moslem communities. This is particularly true of large landowners who, after fearing a real unity between Hindu and Moslem peasants, have become chief allies of British in obstructing Indian struggle for freedom. The British Government used its supreme power to keep thousands of Congress Party leaders in jail and maintain strict censorship on the news from India. It used its extensive propaganda machine to stir up anti-American sentiment in India and anti-Indian sentiment in the United States and convince the public opinion, particularly in Britain and America, that there was nothing but disunity in India—a conclusion which is wholly untrue.

"In the daily life of the Indian people, both on the social and economic levels in the legislative assemblies, there is as much unity as in most other countries. The only time there appears to be serious disunity in India is when a hard and fast agreement between the Congress and the League is made an essential pre-requisite to the attainment of Indian freedom."

It is becoming increasingly clear to foreign

observers, particularly in the U.S.A., that if India were a free nation, the variety of economic, social and religious problems would exist just as they do in most of the countries and that they would be handled by the normal processes of democratic procedure. But since India is not a free country and since the Indian people are impoverished politically and enslaved, the most powerful weapon in the hands of the British Imperialism is the policy of divide and rule.

Churchill on India

In a review of the war situation in the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill referred to India in the following words:

"Once again India and her vast population have reposed serenely among the trumrets and hurricanes of the world behind the Imperial shield (cheers). The fact should sometimes be noted that under British rule in the last 80 years incomparably fewer people have perished by steel or firearms in India than in any similar area or community throughout the globe."

Mr. McGovern (Independent Labour Party) interjected: "Many have perished by hunger."

Mr. Churchill continued: "Well, the population has increased by 60 million in the last 10 years. It is evident that the famine which was caused by military conditions affecting transport is by no means representative of the administration under which the broad peninsula of India has met the increase of population, exceeding in speed of that of any increase throughout the whole world (cheers)."

"I think it a very remarkable fact that India has received this shelter and has been this vast harbour of peace protected by the armies and authority of Great Britain, and protected also by the care and attention of this House, in which the brave fighting races of India have at all times borne a most honourable memorable part."

Mr. Churchill's chief asset in his political career has been his contempt for truth. But the audacity of this picture of India serenely reposing behind the imperial shield, beats anything he has done or said. India as a fact is suffering all the horrors of war which Britain is suffering and more. The British people are not suffering from dearth of food. They are better off than before the war. The general health of Britain has greatly improved. The only difference is that she has flying bombs over some of her cities but the total death roll from bombs over Britain is far less than the number of people killed in the famine and the pestilence following it, both of which are direct results of the war. As regards birth rate, it has been pointed out on several occasions—and comparative figures are available in any good book on the population problem—that it is far below that in Britain or the U.S.A.

Flouting Justice

The Sessions Judge of Belgaum, in a case of police highhandedness, remarked about some serious allegations against the local police:

"Those allegations are very serious indeed, and, if true, are calculated to undermine the confidence of the public in officers whose duty it is to be the jealous guardians of law and order. In particular, the allegations of the gross abuse of the wide powers of arrest under Rule 129 of the D. I. Rules for stifling criticism in the Press, . . . deserve very serious notice and a thorough inquiry."

A lawyer correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* writes to his editor to say that what is disclosed by the Belgaum judgment generally holds good with regard to his district also. Police highhandedness, and the protection of the puffed up officials is nothing new in India. The Defence of India Rules have given the police unparalleled opportunity to harass the people. Strictures from High Courts against police highhandedness are not infrequent but not a single case has yet come to light telling the people that the Government have taken action against the headstrong officials for maintaining the dignity of the High Court. The Calcutta High Court's severe strictures on the conduct of police officials in the High Court building was lightly passed over by the Executive.

Recently, the action of the police has been condemned by the judges of the Nagpur High Court in the most severe terms. The judges remarked :

"They cannot call in all their powers of detention and in the guise of exercising those powers conduct a secret investigation into a crime. If they have information that these detenus have committed crimes or offences, they are not bound to investigate into them. They can rest content with detaining them under Rule 26 or 129 'provided the matter falls within the ambit of those Rules.' But if they want an investigation they must proceed in accordance with the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code. If they do otherwise it is a fraud upon the Act and their action is not taken in good faith. They cannot make the best of both worlds."

The facts of the case were that Mr. P. Y. Deshpande, an Advocate of the Nagpur High Court and also the Editor of the Marathi Weekly *Bhavitaranya*, was arrested and detained under D.I.R. 129 without being told what was the charge against him. It was alleged against the police that the Rule was used only as a cloak to interrogate the prisoner in respect of a dacoity in Bombay Presidency. Their Lordships also came to the same conclusion and with regard to the powers of the police of the Provincial Government they said:

"In the present case issues of facts were raised. The good faith of the police and of the Provincial Government were expressly challenged, and facts were set out which, if unrebuted and unexplained, were sufficient to support the allegations. An affidavit, therefore, was necessary and should have been filed from the start. In fact it is the complete absence of any refutation of these facts and the failure to explain them that leads us to conclude that the orders in these two cases were not made in good faith and that they are a fraud on the Defence of India Act and its Rules."

Mr. Deshpande was also long denied an

interview with his legal advisers. Different excuses were given at different times for disallowing the interview. Their Lordships described as "deplorable" the putting of some "false obstruction at every stage" and bitterly remarked:

"And all this was done to deprive a man of a little legal advice so that he might defend his liberty. All done in the name of public safety and the efficient prosecution of the war. Is the realm really in such desperate straits? Are the war efforts really hampered or endangered? We have certainly seen no evidence of it, nor do we believe that can be possible. We have a more robust faith in the might of Allied arms. But if it does, or is likely to, then why not frankly and openly take away these rights and liberties by legislation? That is done elsewhere, particularly in countries with which we are at war. Why not here?"

The flouting of justice, in this particular case, happened in a province under the sole charge and care of a British Civilian Governor carrying on the administration with the help of advisers selected and appointed by him, and directly responsible through a British Viceroy to a British Cabinet which professes freedom and justice for the "world".

Bertrand Russell on the Future of British Empire

"I am afraid there is likely to be another world war—but not in this generation"—this opinion was expressed by Bertrand Russell on his return from America to London to take up a fellowship at Trinity College, Cambridge. Answering the question as to what is likely to happen throughout the world within our lifetime, he said :

"Britain is already a secondary power but most people here cannot yet see it. England's power originally lay in her lead in industry and the fact that she possessed the largest navy. That is no longer so. Russia and America are more powerful in arms and industry and we cannot hope to compete with them. There are many well-meaning people here who are against Imperialism but they don't count the cost, we can't hope to hold down the Empire and India particularly should be freed. But this means a loss of power and money and we must face this fact."

"This transition from being a great power to being a second-rate one will not be easy. Indeed we can't hope to achieve it under present economic system without considerable hardship."

About the Far East, which he knows well, Russell said :

"I doubt if England will easily give up her imperialism there. She finds the rubber, oil and tin too attractive. Indeed we may have a deal with U.S. oil companies and other interests, a super Anglo-American commercial imperialism which will agree to share the swag. Eventually the white man's meddling with the East will have to cease. China will probably develop militarily and become strong. India, China and Japan with their enormous populations and utterly disproportionate share of power and property are not always going to be satisfied with the present arrangement."

Russell believes that a world federation determined to punish aggression can keep the

peace only if its powerful members are not themselves willing to practice aggression. Those who, like Britain, have had too large a share must be willing to make sacrifices for the sake of justice. Russell predicted that with the exception of Finland, Poland and Sweden, all European countries are likely to be diplomatically, if not ideologically, pro-Russian. The only eventual solution, according to him, is international socialism with a world government and paper currency based on index figures for commodities instead of gold.

No World Peace Without Free India

John Gunther discussing problems of peace in *Sunday Chronicle* writes, "England won't be the same after the war. It is quite possible her people may become bitterly jealous of American power, wealth and influence."

Gunther says, "There are several outstanding issues between Britain and America and more will develop as time goes. Population of the U. S. A. is 130 millions and that of Europe 400 millions. But there are 338 million people in India alone and 475 million in China. There can be no decent peace in the world—no globe peace—unless Asia is taken into consideration." Commenting on this statement a close friend of Gunther told the *Free Press Journal* correspondent that like the majority of thinking Americans Gunther believes there can be no stable peace on earth if the biggest country in Asia—India is not free.

Coupland Challenged in America

Reviewing Reginald Coupland's new book *The Indian Problem*, in *New York Times*, Kate Mitchell writes:

"Prof. Coupland's analysis of the Indian problem is open to challenge on two major points. In the first place, the Hindu-Muslim conflict is not permanent and inevitable nor is it the central problem of India....The assumption of a permanent Hindu vs. Muslim alignment in Indian politics ignores the growing demand on the part of the rank and file members of both the Congress Party and the Muslim League for an agreement on the basis of full self-determination for all minorities within the framework of a Free India."

"Even more questionable is Professor Coupland's treatment of Indian Princes.....No amount of hopeful generalities can disguise the fact that Indian Princes will not voluntarily relinquish powers and privileges guaranteed to them by their present treaty relations with the British Crown. And no division of India into regional units can make possible a workable federation between the democratically-governed areas on the one hand and medieval autocracies on the other."

Foreign Exploitation of South India

Commercial India understands that plans are afoot with investment schemes aggregating to fifty crores of British capital for the rapid industrialisation of South India after the war. The report runs :

While Indian business opinion is knocking its head over the political deadlock and crying itself hoarse demanding a National Government British Business interests are briskly planning their own and India's future. Complete schemes have been drawn up in regard to several new industrial enterprises and these schemes have been practically approved by London City interests.

According to the information now available plants will be put up near Mettum, Trichinopoly and Coimbatore for the manufacture of rayon, vanaspati, rubber goods, finished leather products and electrical goods.

The plans have been so drawn up as to avoid all competition with existing European concerns.

In the farther South, another European concern will spring up for the large-scale manufacture of automobile tyres. There is a plan for starting an enamel industry under the auspices of the Travancore state. There are fears that foreign interests have their eye on this too.

There are other interesting reports too of American penetration in Coimbatore. Coimbatore has grown into a big textile centre and if the talks between certain millowners and their American visitors fructify negotiations would have been completed for the import and erection of ultra-modern textile plants. More than half the existing mills now manufacturing yarn will be strengthened with additional spindles and there would be no further need to import mercerised yarn.

American businessmen are keen in offering technical assistance to India. The Chrysler Corporation had offered help in the development of the proposed Motor Car Industry at Bangalore sponsored by Seth Walchand Hirachand and Sir M. Visvesvaraya. American advice is reported to have been sought for in respect of the fertiliser industry to be started near Mettum. According to the *Commercial India*, one or two Indians might be leaving for America to choose the machinery. It is certainly better for the Indian industry to develop through Indian enterprise aided by American technical advice. In that case the independence of Indian industries will be retained on a larger scale. Companies started in this country under the cloak (India) Ltd. with British capital and enterprise constitute the greatest menace to the economic life of this country.

Engine Building in India

In a discussion with the members of the Indian Chamber of Commerce at Lahore, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the Planning and Development member of the Government of India, said :

Locomotives had not been made as the making of a locomotive was a long drawn-out matter. The Government had entered into negotiations already with some industrialists in the country for the manufacture of boilers. If the manufacture of boilers would prove a success it would be a stepping stone towards the making of locomotives which could not be done at once. Big boilers were being ordered to be made. The order for making locomotives was placed outside India, because locomotives were required badly.

In January 1940, Messrs. J. Humphries and K. C. Srinivasan, in their report on the construction of locomotives in India in State Railway Workshops, had clearly shown that

the moment was particularly opportune for the manufacture of locomotives in this country despite the war in Europe and had recommended such manufacture being taken up at once. They had estimated that the "all-in cost of production" of an X-E Locomotive complete with boiler and tender at Kanchrapara would be Rs. 98,000, and these could be expected to be cheaper than imported locos by about 20 per cent. In the considered opinion of these two experts, appointed by the Railway Board to go into the problem, the minimum economic size of a locomotive manufacturing works in India would be one with an average annual output of 100 broad gauge locomotives. It was further established, in their opinion, that this production capacity was not in excess of the annual demand of the railways in India for broad gauge locomotives, boilers and components. Almost five years have passed since the publication of this report and the public eye cannot discern any further action in this matter.

Sir Ardeshir's Faith in Government's Industrial Policy

In the same meeting, Sir A. R. Dalal said :

"I can tell you categorically that Government of India is most genuinely anxious to help in the post-war development and it is not true to say that Delhi is planning not for the good of India, but for the benefit of Britain. If I were convinced that the Government of India was not genuine in its intentions towards the post-war planning and development, I would not be there for a day more and would leave my job."

It is very difficult to agree with Sir Ardeshir's complacency in this matter in view of the fact that whatever little protection and encouragement has ever been granted to any Indian industry, has been obtained only after prolonged and intense pressure of public opinion in and outside the Central Legislative Assembly.

Even the Steel Protection Act, which has indirectly made Sir Ardeshir what he is to-day, came on the Statute Book only after an intense public agitation. The refusal to permit the establishment of an Indian motor car industry, and the cold shouldering of the ship-building and aircraft manufacturing projects, are matters of very recent occurrence. The development of an Indian basic chemical industry has been kept at bay in favour of the I. C. I. Discrimination in favour of the foreign, specially British, against Indian industries is being widely made not only in case of big industries, but also in respect of smaller ones. An Import Council has already been set up at New Delhi to bring in ordinary consumption goods from abroad, specially from England, instead of trying to get them manufactured in this country.

No Plan for Indian Industrialisation

The *Leader*, a liberal organ, in an editorial article, has put the following question to Sir A. R. Dalal :

Have the many reconstruction committees, which have been in operation for some years, now evolved any plan whereby the markets which will be released from the dominant position which Japan occupies will be captured by Indian industry? This is a question to which Sir Ardeshir Dalal and the Government of which he is a member will have to give serious attention. A policy of luke-warmness towards industrial development on the part of Government will not do. India has many advantages in the matter of raw materials and labour supply and with the vast sterling balances that she has accumulated during the war, she should be able to plan a design which would help her both to produce capital and consumer goods. Important as the question of a just division of the national income is, the standard of living of the people cannot be raised by ignoring the need for greater production in both industry and agriculture.

After his China tour, Mr. Donald Nelson, a former Chairman of the U. S. War Production Board, said in Chicago that it is "to the advantage of the entire world to see that China emerges from this war as a leading industrial nation of the Orient replacing Japan." America has an interest in Chinese industrialisation and proposes to help her to become industrialised. But Britain has so far produced no scheme for the industrialisation of India. Neither has the Indian Government shown any such interest. A number of Committees have been set up in the name of post-war planning, but up till now they have given the one unmistakable indication that whatever their real functions might be, they have very little to do with the development of genuine Indian industries.

Partition Question at Peace Conference

Mr. De Valera has expressed his intention to bring up before the Peace Conference the question of terminating the partition between Eire and Northern Ireland. The need and urgency of restoring the unity of Ireland is ever before the Government of De Valera. He is reported to have said that no opportunity for bringing the injustice of the present position and its bearing on the relations between Ireland and Britain to those concerned has been or will be neglected. Prof. Savory has brought up this matter to the House of Commons. He thinks that De Valera's move implies that Eire proposes to bring a purely domestic question of the United Kingdom before the Peace Conference.

The minority question has been always, specially since the last Great War, an international problem and the League of Nations had much to do with it. Partitioning of a country in the name of protection of minority rights ought to remain an international concern in the interests

of world peace. De Valera's move has a special significance for the peoples of India and Palestine. Partitioning in Ireland and Palestine has proved that the division of country provides no solution for the minority problem, it becomes instead a source of perpetual trouble and only widens the gaps of divergences. The establishment of two sovereign states in India, too, will be the ruin of India's peace and progress and will fill the country with warring camps of diverse forces pulling in diverse directions in pursuance of divergent allegiances.

The United States of America has a legion of races within her body politic but with no separate minority rights. She fought a civil war to prevent the Southern States breaking away from the Union. The present-day strength of America may be traced back to the successful termination of this civil war.

Lahore Grain Syndicate Warned

A Press Note issued by the Punjab Government runs as follows:

Since the start of rationing at Lahore, there have been several complaints from consumers in the Press against the quality and clearness of the wheat distributed through retail depots. Strong criticism has been directed against the Lahore Grain Syndicate which is responsible under the Rationing Controller's supervision for wholesale distribution. Government have made thorough inquiries and after considering all the reports received have come to the conclusion that the Syndicate's organisation has been defective, and that it has displayed inefficiency to a degree which justifies action against it.

In view of the heavy losses already incurred by the Syndicate, Government have refrained from imposing any heavy fine on them but have issued a severe warning that any future deficiencies will meet with severe action. Public have been assured that action will continue to be taken by the Government and by the Rationing Authorities to see that mistakes made by the Syndicate and others concerned with distribution are not repeated.

In Bengal, complaints against very bad and heavily adulterated foodstuff supplied at the ration shops have gone completely unheeded. Municipalities have been prevented under the D. I. R. from checking adulteration. Lakhs of maunds of foodstuffs have been destroyed owing to negligent storing. Black marketing runs rampant as usual. Ministers and British civilians in charge of civil supply have not shown the slightest concern for checking corruption, inefficiency and rank dishonesty in the distribution of essential foodstuffs.

Malaria in Europe and India

The epidemiology of malaria has been discussed by Dr. V. B. Whigglesworth, M.D., F.R.S. in an article published in the *Discovery*.

(London) for April last. The author states that devices is well within the reach of any Government or well organised body. What the South-Eastern Europe during the War of 1914-18, and the widespread epidemics that followed the return of the troops to their homelands and the movements of populations consequent upon the peace treaties, focussed attention on malaria in Europe, and the next 20 years saw the unfolding of a new and fascinating chapter in medical entomology. The result was a practical stamping out of malaria from this region. Malaria was very prevalent in the eastern counties of England a century ago, but there also it has been brought completely under control. England has been virtually free from this preventable pest except for a recrudescence in 1917-18.

Dr. Whigglesworth has explained the success of anti-malarial methods used in practice. He has cited the example of the successful workings of the scientific method in Assam and North Bengal tea gardens. The tea plantations of the Assam hills and the Dooars are among the most malarious regions of the world. The carrying species is *Anopheles minimus*, a mosquito which breeds in open grassy edged drains and streams. Dr. Whigglesworth then continues :

Faced with the problem of recommending methods of control which the tea planters could employ during the period of economic depression in the early thirties, malarialogists devised many ingenious procedures applicable in different localities. One of the most successful of these was to plant suitable shrubs along the margins of the streams so that eventually these ran through a tunnel of dense shade. No larvae are to be found in these shaded streams, and it was supposed that the female mosquito would not lay her eggs in shaded water She would not lay in moving water. Indeed her selection of the grassy margins of streams depends on the fact that she can find there both local shade and still water; and the efficacy of dense shrubs in eliminating breeding is due to the exclusion of marginal vegetation so that flowing water extends right to the edge of the stream. It is possible to exclude the mosquito from the streams either by covering them with dense shade, or by exposing them to full sunlight and clearing away by hand all the grass along the margins. It will depend on local conditions which method is the more practical.

The classic method of poisoning mosquito larvae by applying a film of oil to the surface of the water is still a valuable stand-by. The killing of the adult insect is likewise a standard method for the control of mosquitoes. It is a method of prime importance at the present time for the prevention of malaria on the war fronts. The mosquitoes are killed by regularly spraying quarters with insecticidal mixtures, usually extracts of pyrethrum in kerosene. The liquids are atomized in hand spray-guns or power-operated paint sprayers or dispersed in some gas kept liquefied by pressure.

Eradication of malaria with these simple

Britain's Health

What an independent and progressive nation can do to ensure the health of its citizens, without disturbing the present structure of the society, is best illustrated by the British White Paper on *A National Health Service*. Simultaneously it may be compared with the continually increasing deterioration in the health of millions of people on a colossal scale in a country under her "trusteeship" and the absence of any programme for upliftment.

The basic principle of the British White Paper is that everybody in the country, irrespective of means, sex, age or occupation, shall have equal opportunity to benefit from the best and most up-to-date medical and allied services available. The insistence on the maintenance of health rather than the cure of disease is a sound principle and it forms the foundation of the whole plan.

The scheme is given there in some detail. First it is the intention of the Government to disturb existing tried organisations as little as possible so that the local administration of the scheme will be in the hands of the local authorities, or more exactly of local authorities grouped so as to ensure the best possible district service having regard to geographical condition and population distribution. The main object is to weld together existing services into a comprehensive scheme, modifying it and supplementing it as necessary. The Parliamentary responsibility of the scheme will be borne by the Minister, but he will have the technical advice and the guidance of a new advisory body representing the medical profession in all its aspects, and to be known as the Central Health Service Council. In addition to this there will be another executive body composed mainly of members of the profession and to be known as the Central Medical Board, which shall be the employer body with whom the practitioner who joins the new service enters into his contract of employment.

While preparing the local plan by the local bodies, the needs of the area will have to be assessed and full hospital and consultant services, partly on its own initiative and partly by agreement with existing voluntary hospitals will be provided. All hospitals of whatever kind will have to conform to national standards of employment of their staffs, and there will be provision for inspection of hospitals. The con-

sultants associated with these hospitals are to be on a salaried basis, either wholetime or part time at rates to be agreed later.

Steps will be taken to secure the best possible geographical distribution of medical men in the light of the needs of each area. The general practitioner can operate either as an individual, normally on a capitation basis of the number of patients for whom he is responsible, or as a salaried member of a group of doctors working at a health centre. Permission to acquire a practice in an area already adequately served may be refused, and compensation may be paid to the doctor vacating such a practice.

For the patient the service will be free, except perhaps for partial payment of certain appliances, and the cost will be met partly out of rates by the local authority and partly out of the Exchequer. At a health centre under normal circumstances the whole family can receive consultation and treatment by appointment with this selected medical attendant, and in emergency by another member of the staff who happens to be on duty at the time.

The scheme strikes one as eminently rational and designed to secure a first class service to the community. The people of this country, dying in millions of preventable diseases, look at the scheme drawn up by the "trustees" for their own benefit only to be reminded of the utter helplessness of a subject nation. Britain believed that courage and power of endurance depend to a large extent upon health and that 'the health line of the homefront' may become as important as the battle line.'

Grow More Fish in Peru and Bengal

The Discovery writes :

British scientists have continually stressed the need for the British Empire to utilise to the full the fishery resources in inland waters and on the coasts of our colonies in order that the deficiency of first class protein among the natives can be corrected. It is interesting to learn that a fish farm of the type so often advocated is helping Peru to meet wartime food shortage among the fast growing population in the upper Amazon valley, the scene of development of rubber and other tropical materials needed for the United Nations' war effort. The fish farm was established three years ago, and according to the President of Peru it has already delivered to the markets of Iquitos more than 22,000 pounds of dried paicha, considered to be the largest fresh water fish of the world. Specimens of this fish have been recorded up to 15 feet long, and it is regarded commercially as the most valuable food-fish in the Amazon Valley. Because it is so valued there is a constant danger of over-fishing, so that steps had to be taken to make sure that stocks did not become depleted. So the paicha reserve, said to be the first fish farm in the Amazon River system, was set up to operate as a fish hatchery, providing small fish for re-stocking rivers, as well as a farm for mature fish.

This is what a small country in South America has done. In India, fat salaried ap-

pointments for the grow more fish campaign have been made. The Fishery Department of the Bengal Government have issued coloured and illustrated pamphlets for the guidance of an illiterate population, containing instructions which when acted upon, have led, at places, not to an increase but to a wholesale destruction of fishes. Price of fish continues to rule six to twelve times higher than the normal rate.

D. D. T.—the Wonder Insecticide

According to *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* a new plant is being rapidly constructed in the U.S.A. at a cost of half a million dollars to augment existing capacity for the production of D.D.T. (dichlorodiphenyl-trichloroethane). This compound was first synthesised in Germany seventy years ago, but its use as an insecticide was only patented five years ago by a Swiss firm. Originally used as a moth repellent, it has now proved an excellent controller of body lice and hence typhus. Its importance in warfare is so great that the first 500 pound batch produced in America was flown to an overseas battle zone. D.D.T.'s potency is said to be so great that a single application dusted on clothing once a month gives protection from disease-carrying vermin. When sprayed on the walls and the floor of a room, mosquito or any insect coming into contact with such wall or floor falls down dead. The potency in this case remains for about three months.

Britain Minds Her Own Agriculture While Indians Starve

While large parts of India have been suffering from acute food shortage and people are dying of hunger, which implies that the grow more food campaign has not yielded the results desired, in Britain there has been a remarkable increase in agricultural production. The agricultural correspondent of the *Daily Express* writes that food production in Britain has more than doubled, that the acreage of land under cultivation has increased from 6,862,000 to 11,610,000 acres, that the potato crop has been doubled and that of rye increased six-fold, and that the British farmer can now feed the population on rather more than two days out of three, instead of only one day in three which was the case before the war. As the result of a highly efficient system of food rationing and distribution, all sections of the people are getting enough food in quality and quantity to keep them in good health.

In India, particularly in the most starved province of Bengal, food problem has been mis-handled in a manner probably unprecedented in human history. The Government in the

country could not claim more than a ten per cent increase in food production as a result of the grow more food campaign on which millions of rupees have been squandered. It is doubtful whether this small increase is due to the Government campaign, or is a natural outcome of high prices for agricultural produce.

Mohenjodaro to Influence British Town Planning

Mr. B. S. Townroe, member of the British Central Housing Committee and a member of several Town Planning Committees in Britain delivered a lecture before the India Society, London, on May 26, 1943, on 'City Development in India and Britain—some comparison.' Sir John Woodhead presided. Mr. Townroe said :

"Those who bolster up their wishful hopes of a new world, planned according to their own individual beliefs of what will be the best for future generations, are infected at times with the slow poison of totalitarianism. They forget that many of their much boasted ideas are at least 5,000 years old Buried cities in the Indus Valley at least 5,000 years old, when excavated, showed they were well planned and drained. Every large house had a bath-room. The old Vedic treatises afford striking proof of the knowledge and commonsense of the early peoples of India in regulating their building development and wisdom in their municipal administration.

When we think of the great urban civilisation in the Indus Valley of 5000 years ago, we gain humility in facing the issues of to-day. From India we can learn both patience and wisdom in dealing with the re-development of our bombed cities in Europe and North Africa and the Far East in the years to come."

Long before the birth of Christ, town planning was a regular feature in the municipal life of India. Taxila, Pataliputra, Kasi, Vesali and a host of other cities may be mentioned. During the Christian Era before the birth of modern Britain, Bengal had Gaur, Pandua, Pundranagara, Tamralipti and many other well-planned cities.

Gift of Science to Humanity

Mr. D. N. Wadia, Mineralogist to the Government of Ceylon and a former President of the Indian Science Congress, speaking at Colombo on Soviet Science said that the planning of science and technology in Russia had transformed an illiterate agrarian people into an efficient industrial state.

He explained in considerable detail the organisation of Soviet scientific research from the subsidiary points serving factories, mines and farms to the Supreme Council and the Academy of Science.

Scientific research in Russia had been directed mainly to the development of its mineral resources and agriculture to such an extent that the Soviet Government maintained a corps of 10,000 geologists including 3,000 women at a cost of £38,000,000 for mineral research work alone. Investigations, he said, had for instance proved Russia's petrol deposits to be near seven hundred million tons.

In agriculture, he said, large-scale mechanisation and electrification had resulted in new breeding and culture methods. He instanced perennial wheat which sown once yielded four or five harvests.

We give here only one instance of the application of science to meet the need of the people in Soviet Russia. Immediately following the German invasion of Russia in 1941, shortage of food was apprehended and the Government of the U.S.S.R. ordered a large increase in the potato crop. This policy presented very serious practical difficulties. Apart from the huge losses of valuable agricultural land, which was by no means balanced by the loss of population requiring to be fed, it was impossible to provide the necessary quantity of seed. In the ordinary way potato crops are raised by planting seed potatoes taken from the crop of the previous year. The seed potatoes sprout at the "eyes" and these sprouts give rise to the new season's plants. After sprouting, the bulk of the seed potato rots in the ground. The order to increase potato crops meant that the growers would have to take more potatoes as seed, while at the same time circumstances demanded the greatest possible economy of existing supplies for use as food. Professor Lysenko and his colleagues at the Lenin All-Union Agricultural Academy devised a satisfactory method of overcoming this difficulty. In their method, the crowns of the potatoes, containing most of the eyes, are sliced off and used in place of the whole tuber. While normal seed must be sown at the rate of some 15 cwt. per acre, when crowns are used, only 3 cwt. is required. There is therefore a saving of about 80 per cent of the unused portion of the tuber being unimpaired for use as food. The crop is at least as good as when whole seed is used and in many cases appears to be less liable to disease. In 1942, 250,000 acres were sown in Russia by the new method, while this was increased *tenfold* in 1943. As a result 8 to 9 million tons of extra potatoes were obtained in 1943 without in any way reducing the quantity available for food in 1942. For this work, Prof. Lysenko has been awarded the Stalin Prize for Agriculture. Another value of the Russian work lies in the development of methods of cutting and drying the crowns by which they will withstand ordinary conditions of transport and can be stored for considerable periods.

The Lysenko method has been immediately adopted for potato cultivation on the American continent. In the U.S.A. the "potato eye" trade is now well established and it is rapidly coming into general use in Canada for supplying the more remote regions. The Scientific and Research Institutes and agricultural departments under the Central and Provincial Governments of India, however remain mere

onlookers. The most that a Bengal Government marketing officer could do was to tell the people over the radio that want of potatoes was being keenly felt because there were no potatoes.

Pre-requisites of an Indian Navy

New Delhi, Oct. 6.—Vice-Admiral H. Godfrey, Flag Officer Commanding, the Royal Indian Navy in an address to the Delhi Rotary Club stressed the importance of seapower to India and pointed out four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy.

"Ninety per cent of India's export trade", he said, "is seaborne. It only requires half a dozen Japanese cruisers in the Bay of Bengal to bring the trade of Calcutta, for instance to a standstill. Even an army of two million men in India can do nothing to prevent it."

The four pre-requisites of an efficient Indian navy mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey were "a corps of officers who devote the whole of their life to the service and look ahead," a fine mercantile marine, a link-up of industry for the production of war machines and popular backing of the service.

The foremost pre-requisite was, however, not mentioned by Vice-Admiral Godfrey. It is essential that India should possess a powerful navy, consisting both of mercantile marine and warships to protect it, in her own interest. That she has the wealth to spend on the building of a first class navy may be proved from the simple fact that she has been able to grant a credit for over a thousand crore of rupees to England with very little prospect of that money being paid back. It is not for nothing that all Indian attempts to build up her own navy have been systematically prevented.

Microfilms May Replace Books

J. B. S. Haldane, writing in the *Workers' Star* of Australia, describes a new invention destined to revolutionise the modern methods of acquisition of knowledge. He says:

The new invention is this. An entire book is photographed on a film.

This is not, however, an ordinary photographic or cinema film, but a microfilm only just over an inch across.

It is quite thin, and far too small to read directly. So its image is projected on to a screen with an electric light.

The reading machine is about two feet high, and can be stood on an ordinary table. At present it costs about £15 and is not for sale, though a few have been given by the Rockefeller Foundation to British libraries.

The revolutionary fact is the extreme smallness of the films. A whole book rolls up into a case a good deal smaller than a reel of cotton. You could carry the Encyclopaedia Britannica in one pocket, and the whole library of the British Museum could be stored in a fair-sized house.

Microfilms have been used for some years in America, particularly for scientific publications. But in spite of the efforts of Mr. Watson Davis, of the American Science Service, most people regarded them as an amusing toy rather than a serious invention.

But the war has altered this. It is impossible to get European scientific journals in any numbers, though single sets of many can be got through Portugal, Turkey or Sweden. But they can be photographed on micro-

Reading machines are now available in the Science Library in London, among other places, and these journals can be read from microfilms, of which here are a number of copies.

Demand for Control of the Waters of the Nile

Increasing reference is being made in the vernacular press to Egypt's claims on the condominium of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The general feeling is that time has come for the fusion of Sudan and Egypt into one kingdom.

Nationalists have been joined by the Wafdist and the Opposition Press in voicing the "Sudan for Egypt" slogan. They claim that Egypt should control the waters of the Nile. Both the Liberal and the Nationalist Parties are urging the Premier Nahas Pasha to have a round-table conference of all Egyptian parties to secure recognition by the Allies of Egypt's wartime support to the democracies. Meanwhile the Egyptian Government has decided to form a Sudan Department to deal with all questions concerning the Sudan in its relations with Egypt, and, following the appointment of an official trade delegate at Khartoum, traders have begun exchanges with the Sudan. The question of the present joint Anglo-Egyptian rule over the Sudan was left in suspense as one of the four reserves of the declaration of independence. It was also left for future negotiations under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. Foremost among these questions are now the complete independence of the Valley of the Nile, modification of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, the evacuation of British troops from Egypt and the proposed Arab Federation.

The Nationalist

We welcome our new contemporary, *The Nationalist*. In a signed editorial, declaring the aims and purposes of the new daily, Dr. Symaprasad Mookerjee candidly states, "A new journal, let us not try to disguise the fact, springs from the consciousness of purposes yet unfulfilled." Dr. Mookerjee continues:

The *Nationalist* will be found to be truly nationalist Our aim is to foster the habit of robust independent thinking in our readers which alone can lead the country out of the morass in which it finds itself today We have our faiths and our convictions. One of them is the faith in the power, the dignity, the glory of a United India, giving equal opportunities to all her children, of whatever caste, creed or community This is our creed, and this our charter; and we believe in the irresistible power for good of the cordial co-operative effort of the millions of our countrymen, irrespective of their local or circumstantial differences. In their diversity we still perceive an essential unity."

The appearance of *The Nationalist* will be more than justified if it can realise the Indian national ideal of an achievement of unity out of diversity, which is more apparent than real.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE biggest event in October has been the commencement of the American assault on the Philippines. After a task force had probed deep into the inner defence lines of Japan a landing was made on Leyte island of the Philippine group on the 19th of October. Japanese naval forces attempted an interception and the biggest naval battle of this war followed. The results of this action were very satisfactory for the American forces and according to the latest U. S. A. reports the Japanese navy has received a crushing defeat. In the air the U. S. A. airforces have been able to meet the challenge of land-based Japanese planes and as a result the ground forces received all the support they needed. Good progress was made in Samar and Leyte in spite of stubborn and organised enemy resistance. The U. S. A. landings have been made in force and General MacArthur has begun his campaign for the re-conquest of the Philippines under the best conditions possible under the circumstances.

The battle of East Asia has at last begun in real earnest though the peak is as yet far off. Up till now there have been minor engagements, limited in scope and attritional in nature. The fight in the main islands of the Philippines is yet to come and despite all handicaps the Japanese are bound to put up a fierce resistance, for here they are in force and under the command of one of Japan's best Generals. This trial round will really indicate the quality of Japan's war-machine and will further show what technical progress Japan has been able to achieve during the two years and a half that have elapsed since the capture of Manila. The re-conquest of the Philippines is not going to be an easy job by any means, although if the Japanese navy has been really crippled to the extent that the U. S. A. authorities believe, then the defence will not be in a position of advantage for very long. Without sea-borne supplies the defenders will soon feel the strain and with the command of the sea and the air General MacArthur should be able to mount his offensive to a crescendo at a fast pace, with further landings of men and material on a progressively increasing rate. But whatever the results of the naval battle might have been, it must not be imagined that the Japanese forces on land would fight with any the less ferocity or vigour. Up till now there has not been any real test of strength between the Japanese and the western Allies on a commensurate scale, and it is now imperative for both sides to measure the steel of their opponents in preparation for the final issue. Full reports of the

naval battles are not yet available, and in all probability further battles are impending. Mr. Roosevelt's announcement seems to be definite with regard to the crippling of the Japanese fleet and Admiral Nimitz is equally positive about the severe damage inflicted on it. The Philippine campaign should, therefore, proceed without a hitch to a speedy conclusion. If the Japanese are driven out of the Philippines and the Formosa waters dominated by the American naval and air armadas, then China might expect some measure of a respite in the near future. All these are, however, mere speculations at the present stage, time alone will demonstrate the reality.

China is indeed in need of relief. Seven long years of a devastating war against a ruthless enemy equipped with modern weapons against which China can only pit the flesh and blood of her sons. Unfair criticism of the Chinese forces have appeared in the press of her allies. These self-same Allies she had aided to the limit of her capacity—and beyond—in the days of their trials. Now that the tide has turned, it is easy to forget that debt of honour and to adopt a superior attitude, as is only to be expected of "superior" races. But one may be excused for speculating as to what would have happened if China had thrown up the sponge in 1942, or for that matter, what might yet happen if she crumples up now. However, let us hope that the dawn is not so very far off as it seems to be just now. For the present one can only hope that the Japanese offensive in China has come very near its end. At the moment Japan's stranglehold on China is far stronger than it has ever been before and if the offensive makes further substantial progress, America's task will be heavy indeed when the time comes for the final conflict, and, as it is, it is not light by any accounting even now.

The monsoons are over and the campaigning season is open on the Burma front. Strangely enough one hears of the possibility of a fresh Japanese offensive and that from no less a person than Mr. Churchill. The total Japanese strength in Burma has been variously estimated as being between six to ten divisions, that is to say somewhere in the neighbourhood of 150,000 men. Of these about 50,000 have been slaughtered, according to Mr. Churchill's accounting, and the remainder are said to be in a very low state of physical fitness. And as for their equipment and morale both have been repeatedly reported as being poor. If that be so, then why in all reason is there any talk of a Japanese offensive, instead of a major assault on Burma, to clear the road to China and to

relieve distress in India and to restore to us the barest minimum living conditions. It is all very puzzling indeed in whatever way the published records be looked at. Then comes the recall of Stilwell to cap all. This Allied leader had experience, some knowledge of terrain and a certain amount of success—achieved under great handicaps—to his credit. We confess we have no knowledge of "inner facts" but we must say that the reasons given for his recall in the British and the American press do not seem to be quite adequate. There is some mystery about the affair which will be revealed after the war is over, that is to say if it be ever at all.

To sum up, the positions at present in the Eastern theatres of war are as follows. In the Pacific, a new phase has been entered into by this bold bid on the part of the U. S. A. armed forces for the reoccupation of the Philippines. This is the first major assault upon the Japanese defences and much will depend on the events of the next few weeks. In China the Japanese campaign is still making headway and the situation still remains grave. The Japanese have achieved considerable success, and if they are left in undisputed possession of their fresh gains for any length of time, then serious complications may arise in the execution of the Allied plans for the war against Japan. In Burma, according to press reports, the initiative is entirely in the hands of the Allies, whereas, according to Mr. Churchill, the Japanese might possibly seize it again.

Winter is fast approaching in Europe, and in its train come weather and climatic conditions that would clamp down brakes on all large-scale offensives in those regions. In Eastern Europe this year's campaign of the Soviets is already meandering down to a slow ding-dong fight. In East Prussia the Russian advance has come to a standstill and further south the Soviets are now hitting at key points. But a great deal has been attained by the Russians within this month of October. The Germans have been driven out of Rumania and a large section of the Balkans. In the Northern sectors the German forces have been driven back across Finnish territory, beyond the Norwegian border. East Prussia has been invaded, and the Baltic States substantially cleared of the enemy. With the coming of winter the Soviets will be in a more difficult position with regard to the conduction of a Winter campaign this year. In the previous three years the Germans had to undergo all the rigours of a Russian winter in the shelterless open and with hundreds of miles of devastated country in their rear, over which transport conditions were almost hopeless. This winter the position is reversed and therefore there might be a lull in the fighting in Eastern Europe until next spring.

There remain barely three weeks more of campaigning season in Eastern Europe and there is no indication as yet of the possibility of a major break-through either in the East Prussian or the Polish defence lines of the Germans. Therefore, there is hardly any possibility of any decisive battles being fought in Eastern Europe within this year, unless the defending German forces are further substantially weakened by calls made on their reserves for service in other theatres of war. In Western Europe the Allies are still fighting hard for a decision. Aachen has been occupied after a long-drawn struggle and some slight progress made further down the line. Fresh landings have been made on the Dutch coast and Belgium has been nearly cleared of the enemy. But the fighting has been extremely bitter and progress exceedingly slow all this month. Now with wintry weather destroying visibility and clogging up the roads and fields, the defence will be in a more advantageous position and therefore progress will have to be either slow or else dearly bought. And therefore in the West too the Germans will probably be able to hold substantially to their positions for the next few months in spite of the immense discrepancy in numerical strength of the opponents, the strength of the Germans being estimated at 600,000 in the West and that of the Allied forces under Eisenhower at anything up to 30,000,000 or more. The Germans are fighting with great skill and with extreme stubbornness everywhere and there is no apparent slackening in their fighting opposition anywhere on this front either. In Italy the same slow progress in the face of bitter and skilled defensive fighting continues.

In short the German effort to pin down the offensives of the United Nations to a static condition of positional warfare still continues and winter conditions are likely to help them. Germany has lost all her satellites, with the exception of a few Hungarian divisions, her own fighting strength has also come down to below 20,000,000 according to Allied estimates. But in spite of all this there does not seem to be any cracking up of her morale or letting-down in her war-effort. There is still talk about fighting down the Allied campaigns to a standstill and of holding on till the opponents' will-to-fight is worn out. All this points to a prolongation of the war in Europe. We had remarked in these columns in a previous issue that we could not perceive any reasons for hoping for an early end of the war in Europe, and now the portents do not tend to belie our apprehensions. Allied officers are reported to be of the opinion that this struggle will continue well into 1945. So Germany's efforts at gaining time—we do not know to what end—seem likely to succeed to some extent.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR

BY KALI CHARAN GHOSH

The whole governmental propaganda machinery is at full blast in proclaiming that everything is well with the province of Bengal. Serious attempts have been made in the recent past to minimise the magnitude of the famine disaster of 1943 and to ask people to disbelieve their eyes and to discredit their own sufferings. Costly official literature inundates Bengal giving the *humanly possible exploits* of the Ministry during the famine which resulted in the death of approximately fifty lakhs of the helpless and hapless population of Bengal. Behind this smokescreen, a makebelieve rehabilitation scheme is working commensurate with the capacity of the Bengal Government for planning and its execution.

The whole province, in spite of the Government and their propaganda, is going deeper and deeper in the depths of misery in the form of economic ruin, degeneration in health, growing illiteracy, mass destitution and consequent depopulation. The weakness of the Government is noticeable in their sensitiveness to all forms of honest criticism from quarters that are above all bias or prejudice. It is passing strange that comments from persons who are fit to adorn the *musnuds* of not only the provinces but of the centre itself or to become a Minister of the Crown, who have witnessed the actual miseries with their own eyes in the huts of villages far away from town, who have relations and friends in the province itself, areresented in undignified language by the head of the executive who happens to be present here by an accident. He is not conversant with the joys and sorrows, troubles and tribulations of a people who for the dark shade in their skin are not allowed to be a citizen of His Excellency's country. His Excellency suffers from a handicap that his tours do not bring him to the doors of the destitutes and he has not the opportunity of hearing the tales of woe from the lips of the sufferers themselves. His contacts are restricted to 'loyal' subjects of His Majesty who gather round him to sing hallelujah to British rule and paean of praise to every ruling satrap of the province. The weakness of the present government is further disclosed in their attempt at hiding truth. And in their mad pursuit they did not hesitate to suppress materials for future history by prohibiting publication of current prices of rice in the districts in the *Calcutta Gazette*. Public resentment ran high against this measure, but with no effect.

The 'popular' Ministers of the province have been drawn mainly from one particular group receiving their support and inspiration from rank communalism and maintaining their existence through statements which in the most crucial days of the famine have in every detail proved to be untrue.

About the past, the less said the better; but past experience may indicate the future lines of action. It has been discovered that the present Government equipment is hopelessly inadequate to cope with any abnormal situation. The people having lost confidence in the Ministry partly due to their (the Ministry's) eagerness to satisfy their white 'masters' both in and outside the Legislature and partly to a combination of causes which are widely known and need no enumeration, look for an organisation which will combine deep sympathy with intimate knowledge of the prevailing conditions of the province. Such a body is absolutely necessary both in the interests of the government and the governed. Through such a body the Government may put their case to the public which has some chance of acceptance.

The people need it very badly for their own existence or to save themselves from further sufferings.

It is not known when the Report of the present Famine Enquiry Commission will be published and whether their findings or recommendations will be given effect to if they are unpalatable to the Government. It is for this and for many other reasons that a Central Public Organisation should be formed and proceed with its business immediately on formation.

India has become a home of chronic poverty and recurrent famines and Bengal has witnessed three of the worst famine under British rule, viz., in 1770, 1866 and again in 1943. The causes have aggravated with the growing power of the British and thorough neglect of agriculture, loss of industry, economic drain, indiscriminate raisings of bunds and high roads interfering with the natural slope of the country and obstructing the flow of flood water, etc. These have caused shortage of food, spread of malaria, economic impoverishment and occasional famines. These and some others may be termed as the *remote causes* while the *immediate causes* for each famine while differing in minor details agree in certain broad aspects. These should be gone into by the Committee. Various causes of the last famine, some of a very grave nature, have been attributed by various agencies, and it is necessary that a sifting enquiry should be made to find out the truth. It may possibly be that some of these allegations would prove false on such enquiry.

The next question to deal with is the *extent of the disaster* in respect of (i) loss of human life, (ii) economic damage, (iii) incidence of diseases or effects on the health of the population, and (iv) disruption of family and increasing dependence of the people on the State.

In the last famine the mortality figures were placed at an incredibly low level. Non-official enquiry should be directed to this end to ascertain the exact figure. This can be done in the course of investigation of cases of destitution and ill-health in each family for preventing death and giving some chance of success to the rehabilitation scheme of the Government. Non-official enquiry so far undertaken unmistakably reveals that death rate during 1943 in different parts of Bengal was throughout well over 12 per cent of the population. The sample survey carried on by the Anthropology Department of the Calcutta University places it at "ten per cent, during six months". Assuming that figures for the other six months when famine was not present was just one-fourth of this figure, it is nothing less than 12½ per cent of the whole population. A house-to-house census in Union No. 14, P. S. Magrahat, 24-Pergs, comprising 18 villages, and 1,889 family units with a total population of 10,745 show a mortality of 1,266, i.e., 11.78 per cent. A similar investigation in Union No. II, P. S. Mathurapur, 24-Pergs, discloses 1,018 dead and 112 missing or 1,130 in a population of 7,312 or 15.4 per cent. The case of Union III in the same Police Station gives a figure of 856 dead and 30 missing in a population of 7,642 or 11.5 per cent. The figures for the cyclone-affected area of Midnapore are nowhere less than 17 per cent, and mortality varied between 11.8 and 15.3 per cent in each of the five villages in five widely separated different unions in the Faridpur district where such census was undertaken by Prof. K. Mukherji, an ardent student of economics. I believe that Munshiganj and Manikganj in the Dacca district will present much higher percentages of death. On the basis of such careful investigation it can be safely said that

nearly 65 lakhs of people died in Bengal in 1943. The average number of deaths per year in Bengal is nearly 12 lakhs. The rest, that is, the excess over the average, must be attributed to the abnormal causes prevailing in Bengal during 1943.

In a similar manner the effects of the famine on other spheres of the society may be ascertained in the course of taking up rehabilitation work in hand. To prevent further death from starvation or prolonged undernourishment the Government should know the number of persons and/or families who require help for a certain period or throughout the twelve months of the year. Unless food is ready at hand, people will migrate to other areas for food and other necessities of life. The distributing agencies should comprise persons who will not have assembled for gain but in a spirit of service to protect co-villagers, and indirectly themselves and their families. The countryside, barring the holdings of those agriculturists who are fortunate in having their own stock of grains, is silently suffering for want of food and other necessities of life due to the unusually high price demanded for them, and in spite of what the Government spokesman says and reiterates at convenient intervals, deaths are not scarce due directly to starvation or the consequences of it. Here is a typical case which appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* (October 3, 1944) :

"A news from village Andharmanik within the Satkania P.S. is reported of a tragic death of the 8-year-old girl of a destitute woman Satyabhama by name. Satyabhama was a labourer and from sometime past she was out of employment with the consequence that the girl passed eleven days without food and died of starvation."

Reports of deaths of sick destitutes are published in the papers everyday. The district towns in Bengal have their own tales to tell. It is necessary that the newspapers should be allowed to print all cases of destitutes so that the searchlight of publicity may disclose the plague-spots of declining supply of food in Bengal.

The non-official organisations, which are manfully fighting disease, in one voice complain about shortage of drugs and particularly of quinine. The Government version that malaria and other diseases are on the wane is not accepted by the people. The present condition is not such as the Government want us to believe. In the district of Jessore, there were 16,606 births between January and June, 1944, and 28,517 deaths, that is there were 11,911 more deaths than births. The Government is busy counting the number of tablets that are expected to check malaria, but they are not as much successful in making arrangements for their proper distribution. Here again the necessity of an organisation enjoying the confidence of the people comes in.

After all, what is quinine to a man who is deprived of not only the requisite diet but even the normal meal? What effects medicine can produce when the patient has to live under canopy of the sky due to complete dilapidation of his hut? He has not sufficient cover and other things, to mitigate the rigours of malarial paroxysm, which might allay his distress and put him on the way to recovery.

Other remedial measures that are immediately necessary for lessening the sufferings of the people are the proper treatment of the sick, restoration of land, cattle and agricultural implements, reconstruction of huts, reconditioning of industrial tools and implements and restoration of old trade or calling. There are so many things wanting that it would be useless to try to exhaust the list and it is wise to pursue the prudent policy of His Excellency the Governor of Bengal

adopted in his last broadcast and not to speak anything about them. What is the situation regarding education in the province. Next to life and health, education has suffered the most due to causes that were *humanly possible* to prevent. There is dearth of paper, of books, writing materials, illuminating oil, etc. The young students languish from want of proper food; they have to tend the sick. Their fees are in arrears and a considerable number of them have given up their studies for pecuniary stringency in the family. The high prices of vegetables, fish, milk, oil, sugar, clothings, salt and other necessities of life, affect prosecution of studies by students of the middle class families in the first instance. Over and above such handicaps, their services are requisitioned for procurement of foodstuffs and other articles that are not available near at hand but which are indispensable for keeping body and soul together. What steps have been taken to put education on the footing it deserves? Who knows how many of the students had to give up studies due to famine conditions and what number of them are to be restored to their former position? And about the teachers, what shall I say?

Behind this programme of bringing immediate succour to the people, there must be a well-laid plan for ensuring convalescence and a speedy recovery of Bengal now lying prostrate and low. The state's duty for feeding the population in times of distress should be unequivocally declared. Effective measures for improvement in the yield of land, in methods of production and distribution are the crying need of the hour. There has been a mere tinkering with the problem so long. Bengal has already spent over one crore of rupees in the 'Grow More Food' Campaign, but with what result? There should be renovation of the departments of Agriculture, Health, Irrigation and Industries if anything tangible is to be achieved. The *nine-hundred-and-fifty-lakhs-gamble* in the shape of the Bengal Rehabilitation Scheme is before the government and a large portion of it must have been spent by this time. But the progress so far effected is not at all satisfactory. The Bengal Rural Reconstruction Department ushered into existence with great *fanfare* has gone into oblivion. What are this department's attainments? Foreign experts are pouring in more profusely than the floods of the Damodar. Special departments are sprouting up more quickly than weeds and what is the position of Bengal today regarding food, health, education and rural industries?

The province is being burdened with enormous expenditure and the finances show marks of extreme exhaustion. The Hon'ble the Finance Minister performs is paving the way for the state of Bengal to be transferred to the care of a Court of Wards. At such a juncture taxes and more taxes are necessary to meet the growing demands of administration. What Government could think of doubling the Sales Tax when prices of articles of every day use had risen by 500 per cent to 600 per cent. The agricultural income tax bill is on the legislative anvil and one does not know what further taxation measures are bothering the head of the Hon'ble the Finance Minister.

While Government is going merrily on with the help of foreigners, the estrangement between the people and the Government is getting wider everyday. If some sort of *rapprochement* can not be effected the province will gradually lose all vitality for recouping. Let a competent body be set up immediately to advise the Government on the rehabilitation scheme and look into the interests of the millions who have lost all strength not only of resistance but of giving adequate expression to their feeling of suffering and despair.



THE LETTERS OF YEATS

BY AMALENDU BOSE, M.A.

It is pleasant to watch Homer nod sometimes. In the letters of W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley (Oxon. U.P., 1940), one does enjoy meeting misspellings that would horrify a schoolmaster. The distortions of names like Elliot (T.S.) and Lennin one might overlook; but what about "sugger" (sugar), "pessimism", "dellusion", "precision", "rhythmes", "physically", "mantlepeice", "intreaguers", "negociation", "bare" (bear), "endeed" (indeed), "police", "allegded"? This "characteristic spelling"—to use Dorothy Wellesley's apologetic euphemism, adds to the value of the letters by establishing a rapport between the poet and his reader. A poet's familiar correspondence is too often inclined to be obtrusively self-conscious and oracular; sometimes it is undistinguishable from any common sequence of letters, being merely a lumber of personal details of domestic life or travels. Between Yeats and Lady Gerald Wellesley whom he met during the last years of his life, a beautiful friendship sprang up quickly despite a difference in social position, a friendship to which we owe these letters full of strong human interest. To the admirer of Yeats, these letters are priceless literary documents inasmuch as they lift "a curtain on the creative processes of a great poet" with the same degree of authenticity as wherewith they offer revealing discussions of recent poetry and events. Reading through the letters one agrees fully with Dorothy Wellesley's remark in the foreword: "Here may be seen, month by month, often week by week, the spontaneous flow of his extraordinary intellectual vitality during the last four years of his life; those years when he showed not only that his creative power was as vigorous as ever, but also that he was still reaching forward into new forms of expression."

That the earlier letters refer constantly to contemporary poets and poetry is no more than what we expect since at this period Yeats was preparing his anthology of modern verse. His dislike of Wilfrid Owen's poetry is well-known; not so known is this reaction to Ezra Pound: "I am tired, I have spent the day reading Ezra Pound for the Anthology—a single strained attitude instead of passion, the sexless American professor for all his violence". Compared to Yeats's official evaluation of Pound in the Introduction to the Oxford Book of Modern Verse, this intimate opinion is a home-truth that tells. Generally speaking, Yeats admires modern poetry and his appreciation is a worthy counterpart of the homage which younger English poets pay him. "Now that I have had all my Anthology in galley proof I am astonished at the greatness of much of the poetry, and at its sadness". To Lady Dorothy he writes: "I have found most excitement in your work, in that of Elinor Wylie, in that of Richard Hughes". He is "excited by certain philosophical poems" of W. J. Turner's one of whose poems, he says, "rends my heart". He praises Laura Riding, and "a young poet called George Barker, a lovely subtle mind and a rhythmical invention comparable to Gerard Hopkins". Evidently Yeats's literary likes and dislikes are coloured by his predispositions towards philosophy. "I want especially the names of any books that are philosophies as *Barren Leaves* is"—a personal preference that is enlivened by the shrewd judgment that behind Huxley's satire is a satire which has for theme the whole of life. He hates *The Edwardians* of Miss Sackville-West because the "hero is passive and the assumption throughout is that everybody is passive". This denunciation of the passive attitude to life in literature cannot fail to remind the reader of Yeats's now-famous rejection of passivity-inspired War-poetry, a rejection of which the dialectic appears in this extract:

"I find", he writes, "this dialogue in the *Upanishad*: 'I want to think.' 'You cannot think without faith.' 'How can I get faith?' 'You cannot get faith without action'."

It is a lack of this fundamental faith and faith-sustained action that rebukes some poetry of the Great War, and one feels that Yeats's exclusion of the Owen-group from his Anthology cannot lightly be quashed. Much less sound, however, seems to be his joyous observation of what he calls "the sudden return of philosophy into English literature round about 1925". No doubt some individual modern poets have been inclined the way of philosophical writing, Dorothy Wellesley, W. J. Turner (later works), Edwin Muir (not admitted in Yeats' galaxy), Lascelles Abercrombie and some others, yet it would be too sweeping a generalization to suggest that the movement of modern English poetry as a whole is in the direction of philosophy. The movement seems rather to be in the direction of sometimes a sardonic, sometimes a pugnacious social awareness.

Of the propagandist clamour of 'proletariat writers' Yeats had knowledge enough. A believer in the aristocracy of the intellect and the aristocracy of character, Yeats was naturally out of sympathy with the overzealous claims of communism, and more than once in these letters minces no part of his disdain for the demands made by the communists upon literature. Of a certain reviewer he writes, "Men of his kind when they take to proletarian politics copy the worst manners of the mob". Further down in the same letter he says: "When I take a woman in my arms I do not want to change her. If I saw her in rags I would get her better clothes that I might resume my contemplation. But these communists put their heads in the rags and smother." A Marxist would hardly relish Yeats's rhetorical query, "What was Karl Marx but Macaulay with his heels in the air?" (*On the Boilier*, p. 17). Amid the turbid political passions of our times, partisan critics have rushed to dub Yeats a Fascist; the truth is, to use Cecil Day Lewis' sympathetic description, Yeats belonged to the aristocratic tradition which he had inherited from Irish history and which inspired him to a sense of responsibility towards his country that was only excelled by his sense of responsibility towards his art. No doctrinaire in political opinions, Yeats thus writes in *On the Boilers*, a book which he calls in the letters in *Fors Clavigera* ("For the first time in my life I am saying what are my political beliefs"):

"I was six years in the Irish Senate. I am not ignorant of politics elsewhere, and on other grounds I have some right to speak. I say to those that shall rule here: 'If ever Ireland again seems molten wax, reverse the process of revolution. Do not try to pour Ireland into any political system. Think first how many able men with public minds the country has, how many it can hope to have in the near future, and mould your system upon these men. It does not matter how you get them. Republics, Kingdoms, Soviets, Corporate States, Parliaments, are trash, as Hugo said of something else 'not worth one blade of grass that God gives for the nest of the linnet.' These men, whether six or six thousand, are the core of Ireland, are Ireland itself."

Such a political ideology, essentially nationalist in outlook and individualist in character, is certain to incur the hostility of the Marxist with whom the individual is merely a cog in the super-wheel of the proletarian state, and yet however, the philosophy of individualism has not been proved a fallacy, neither a political error nor a moral obliquity. Yeats's Indian readers, at any rate, ought to feel that a country which is rich with centuries-long tradition, which has the living memory of a pre-

historic or early historical age of heroic glory and beauty to inspire the people in the farm-house and the work-house alike, must naturally respect the integrity of the individual above the sensationalism of political experiments.

Time and again, Yeats pleads for the heroic ideal of life. In one letter he speaks of "watching romance and nobility disappear". Elsewhere he says, "It is we, not the east, that must raise the heroic cry". He thinks that "the true poetic movement of our time is towards some heroic discipline," and, "at last, I shall, I think, sing the heroic song I have longed for—perhaps my swan-song". In that swan-song, a poem which he sent to Dorothy Wellesley under the title *His Convictions* (afterwards altered as *Under Ben Bulben*), Yeats exhorts Irish poets to an adherence to tradition and heroic nobility of character.

Irish poets, learn your trade,
Sing whatever is well made,
Scorn the sort now growing up
All out of shape from toe to top,
Their unremembering hearts and heads
Base-born products of base beds.
Sing the peasantry, and then
Hard-riding country gentlemen,
The holiness of monks, and after
Porter-drinkers' randy laughter;
Sing the lords and ladies gay
That were beaten into the clay
Through seven heroic centuries;
Cast your mind on other days
That we in coming days may be
Still the indomitable Irishry.

(Last Poems and Plays, p. 91)

Of this stubborn ideal of a heroic life which he offered younger Irishmen and himself pursued through all the harrowing decrepitude of old age and a weak constitution, illuminating offshoots are evidenced in these letters. As we read how he confronted the country priests who came to denounce "the Abbey for blasphemy, calling on the government to withdraw our subsidy and institute a censorship of the stage", all for the offence of producing O'Casey's *Silver Tassie*, we have a glimpse of the indomitable spirit that burned within the aged frame. In 1935, when De Valera, out of loyalty to the League of Nations, "ranged Ireland on the side of England and against the country of the Pope", Yeats apprehended the eclipse of his much-cherished heroic ideal through political expediency: "I dread crushing taxation, fewer and fewer people with enough financial independence for intellectual courage". With a passionate outburst he justifies his two vitriolic, Swiftian ballads on the Roger Casement episode:

"I am fighting in those ballads for what I have been fighting all my life, it is our Irish fight though it has nothing to do with this or that country. Bernard Shaw fights with the same object. When somebody talks of justice, who knows that justice is accompanied by secret forgery, when an archbishop wants a man to go to the communion table, when that man says he is not spiritually fit, then we remember our age-old quarrel against gold-brayed and ermine and that our ancestor Swift has gone where 'fierce indignation can lacerate his heart no more', and we go stark, staring mad."

The passion with which Yeats confronted the changing political and social manners about him was only the effervescence of a ceaseless inner growth and an insistent search after new, adequate, poetic forms. "I have a longing to escape into a new theme—I am tired of my little personal poetry."* He speaks of a ferment having come upon his imagination, and assures Dorothy Wellesley that if he writes more poetry it will be unlike anything that he has done. The posthumous volume, *Last Poems*, does indeed show that till the very end,

the great poet was reaching out equally to new forms and new thoughts. The dominant idea of this never-stale artist during the closing years of his life was to come by "the common speech of the people", not "the speech of the common people". We find him unsatisfied even with that incomparable penultimate style of his,—hard, austere, sharp and agile,—which appeared now to be not direct enough, not fully natural. Writing to Dorothy Wellesley, he comments on the road to poetry followed by Mallarme and several of his own contemporaries:

"It is not your road or mine, and ours is the main road, the road of naturalness and swiftness and we have thirty centuries upon our side. We alone can 'think like a wise man, yet express ourselves like the common people.' These new men are goldsmiths working with a glass screwed into one eye, whereas we stride ahead of the crowd, its swordsmen, its jugglers, looking to right and left. 'To right and left' by which I mean that we need like Milton, Shakespeare, Shelley, vast sentiments, generalizations supported by tradition."

An American writer who calls his style 'public' pleases him; it is this publicness of style that he would develop now, a style to suit his mature judgments on men and things, attaining to supple directness with equal ease in a serious poem like *The Municipal Gallery Revisited* and the magnificent nonsense verses of the *Crazy Jane* series. Some of the poems in this last volume occur also in the letters, and even a cursory study of the changes effected in the final text convinces the reader of the poet's unfailingly careful art. Besides, they prove that in the final phase, Yeats was constantly seeking to overleap the dictional and syntactical barriers between prose and verse. One might find in Yeats's latest practice a convincing vindication of Wordsworth's much-debated dictum about the essential sameness of prose and poetry. In the following passage, syntax and diction ring the same as those of good prose, and yet the glorious spirit of great poetry presides benignly upon the lines.

Infirm and aged I might stay
In some good company,
I who have always hated work,
Smiling at the sea,
Or demonstrate in my own life
What Robert Browning meant
By an old hunter talking with Gods;
But I am not content.

("Are You Content?"—Last Poems)

And these lines open up, what one is confident as the most splendid and reiterative feature of the personal life of Yeats's last days—his utter fearlessness of old age and death. "I thought", he says, "my problem was to face death with gaiety, now I have learnt that it is to face life". Writing of a doctor who attended on him in Spain in 1936, he says: "He is an amusing man; I could always tell by his face when he thought I was going to die. I have no sense of age, no desire for rest, but then perhaps the French saying is true 'It is not a tragedy to grow old, the tragedy is not to grow old'." This is the utterance of a great spirit, one whose irresistible intellectual zest confers upon old age the joy and nobility of a heroic adventure :

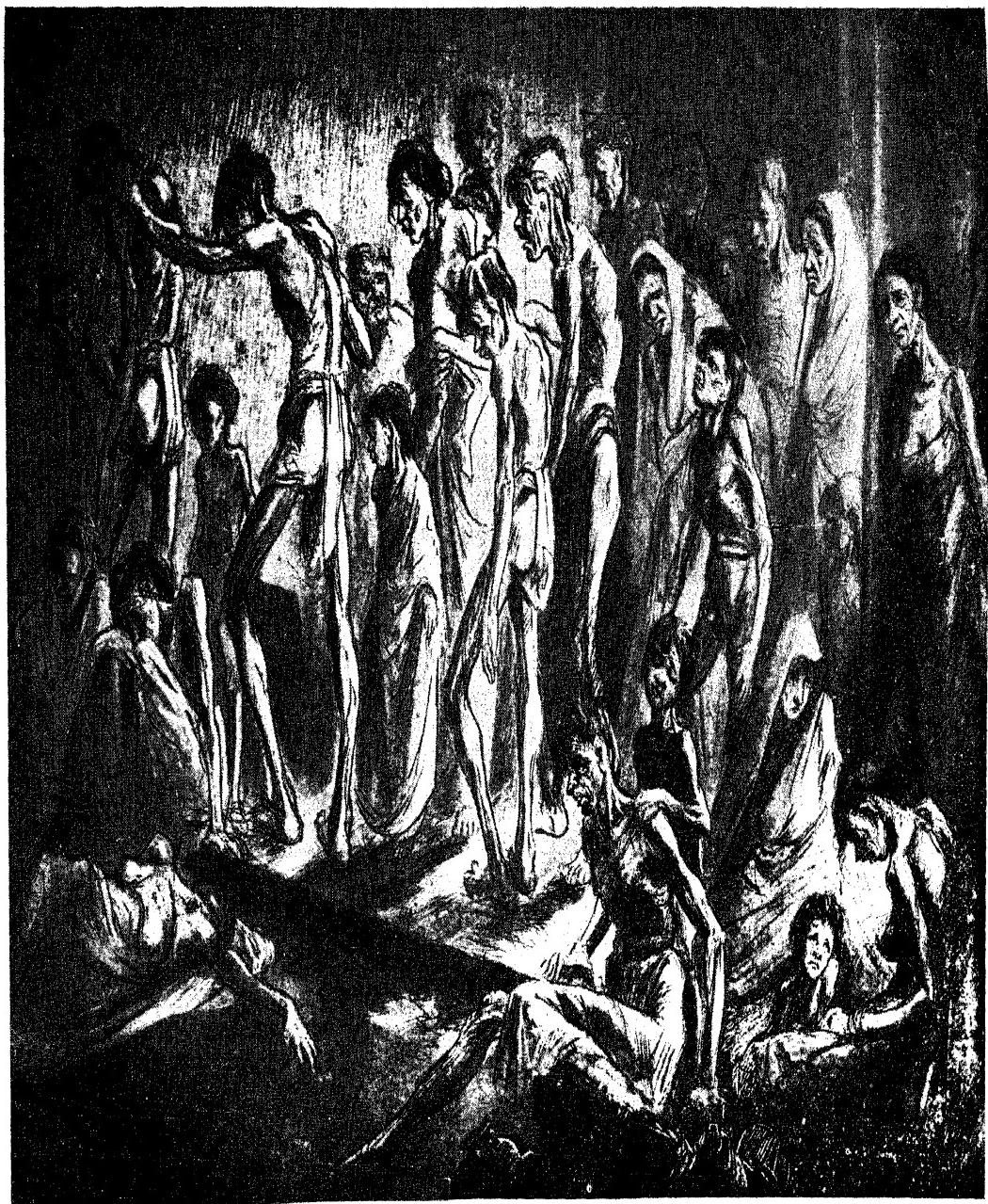
A most astonishing thing—
Seventy years have I lived;

(Hurrah for the flowers of Spring,
For Spring is here again.)

Seventy years have I lived
No ragged beggar-man,
Seventy years have I lived,
Seventy years man and boy,
And never have I danced for joy.

("Imitation from the Japanese"—Last Poem)

* Italics are mine.



When Calcutta sleeps
By Deviprasad Roy Chowdhury



The Burma Road winds through China hills



Women are now playing a vital part in Britain's transport system by manning the canal barges

AT UNCLE JAKE'S GRAVESIDE

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

UNCLE Jake was my wife's uncle. He was my father-in-law's only brother—two or three years younger than he.

Jake, he was called lovingly. It was short for Jacob. That name was given him by his parents when he was a baby. It was his "first," or "Christian" name, and was placed before the "family" name—Kinsey.

These American Kinseys were descendants of an Englishman of adventurous disposition. He had "crossed the pond" in the eighteenth century, from Suffolk, in the southern part of England. There his people had dwelt for centuries. They were yeoman farmers. His father's and kinsfolk's homes were situated not far from London. Had he been alive to-day, he could have motored from his little village to the capital of the British Empire in an hour or so.

Outside the family circle this uncle-in-law of mine was called "Doc. Kinsey." Some who knew him better addressed him as "Doc. Jake." Few Americans say "Doctor." It is too much trouble—and too formal. They almost invariably shorten it into "Doc."

Uncle Jake was a medical man. His elder brother—my father-in-law—went to a pharmaceutical college and became qualified as a pharmacist. Being younger, Jake was more ambitious—wished to do better than that. So he joined a medical college. There he applied himself assiduously to books and lectures. He followed his professors to the bedside of the patients, made a careful note of symptoms, listened to complaints, watched the treatment that was prescribed. He was equally attentive in the operation theatre when one or another surgeon-teacher sewed up a rupture, cut away a limb, or removed a noxious growth from the body. That was before surgery was divested of agony by means of anaesthesia. He passed the final examination with honours and was awarded the Doctorate in Medicine.

Uncle Jake had been dead many years when I first appeared in the small town where he had lived and worked, as did many of his kin—do so still—in Cambridge, Henry County, Illinois. He was not forgotten, however. People spoke of him with respect and affection. He had been a great healer. He had seemed to them to be actually a miracle-man. The prescriptions he had written were treasured by many of his patients, some of whom, thanks to his ministrations, were still alive. Some had been passed on to their progeny as a precious heritage. When any one developed complaints akin to those he had cured, the prescription was

taken to the chemist—often to his brother, my father-in-law—and again filled.

II

It was about this time of the year when I first set eyes on Uncle Jake's tomb. Summer was waning, just as it is now. I suppose the sight of the balsams and zinnias withering in the garden in front of my study, as I write this, has served to carry my mind back to that pilgrimage. Uncle Jake was buried in the Kinsey family burial "lot" (plot, in English) in the community graveyard, a couple of miles or so from the small town where that family resided. As we neared the grassy oblong I took off my hat in token of respect to the departed folk. Just then my eye fell upon a grave that looked different from the others round it. Tiny American flags were stuck in the earth that covered it. There was a bit of bunting fluttering over it.

"Uncle Jake's," whispered my wife's sister. "I wish you could have come a few weeks earlier," she went on. "You would have seen it in its glory. We had brought flowers by the armful and blanketed the grave with them. It did look pretty and gay."

She was young and full of life. I was moved by her enthusiasm to pay homage to an uncle who had served the community with professional skill and neighbourly solicitude.

The desire to know why this one particular grave should have been picked out for decoration—and not others in the "lot"—took possession of my heart. So I asked her:

"Was it some special occasion? Was it Uncle Jake's death anniversary?"

"As to his death anniversary," replied my sister-in-law, "I cannot say. Uncle Jake died long before I was born. We can read the date carved on the tomb-stone."

"But it was a special occasion, all right. See, over there. And there . . . and there."

I looked, in the direction in which she had pointed her finger. I saw that other graves had been decorated in a similar manner. Small American flags were stuck in the grass growing over them. There were little bits of bunting blowing in the breeze.

"This was done," she informed me, "on Decoration Day." This falls on May 30th every year. It is a national holiday—a holiday throughout the country. On that day we decorate the graves of the men who fought and bled for the nation. They are thus decorated every year. **EVERY YEAR.**"

She wished me to grasp that American idea. I was still a "green-horn" there. She,

therefore, took pains lest I forget that it was, with my wife's people, an institution. I remember it, even though some 10,000 miles now part that sweet girl from me.

III

So Uncle Jake had been a hero! He had fought and bled for his nation!! How glorious!!! I said all this and more.

"Yes," said my wife, a little older and wiser than her sister, "yes, Uncle Jake heeded the nation's call."

"A war was being fought. It was a cruel war. The United States was not prepared for it. The soldiers it had put into the field were, in consequence, being butchered like sheep led to the slaughter.

"Some one had to go to those poor people—go out to them—care for them. Who better than some one with medical knowledge and surgical skill and experience?

"The soldiers' bleeding wounds had to be staunched. The shattered limbs had to be bound up, the fever cured, diarrhoea, dysentery and other plagues that were raging conquered and eradicated. The nation stood in dire need of men who had knowledge of medicine and surgery and experience in saving life, and the will to use that knowledge and experience to assuage pain, to save limb and life. Uncle Jake had all these qualifications.

"So he went. Uncle Jake went of his own accord—of his own free will. He was not 'drafted in' (the American way of saying conscribed, or as the word is now being twisted, conscripted). Eager to serve his fellow-men, he became an army surgeon.

"He served right up to the end of the Civil War. Often he had to work in advanced positions. An enemy's bullet might any moment have lodged in his person. He might have been killed, or maimed for ever. But Providence protected him. He came back home alive—sound in life and limb, without so much as a scratch. The fortunes of war are unfathomable, aren't they?"

IV

A hundred miles or so, as space is measured in this air-age, to the south of Uncle Jake's grave, there is a tomb. It is in the same state of the American Union—Illinois. It is in the capital of that state—Springfield by name.

It is a tomb—not a grave. Not only is it the last resting place upon earth of the bones buried there: but it is also a monument to the man who left behind those bones. Built of marble-white, carefully selected, painstakingly matched marble—it, by its size and fineness, is designed to recreate before the spectator's eyes a vision of greatness that not so very long ago

was alive—dynamically, tirelessly, high-souledly active in man's service.

This memorial is to the man whose voice travelled, 83 years ago, from the capital of the United States of America to the small village in which Uncle Jake then lived and laboured. There was something in it that made "Doc" Kinsey pause in his pains and pleasures—something that drew him away from kin and crony. He resolutely left hearth and home to answer that call; and exchanged his "civies" for the army surgeon's uniform.

That call from the nation's seat of government was ringing—insistent. In it were the caller's heart throbs. In it was his great love for his people. In it was also his anguish.

The anguish was more than the echo of the agony of the men already bleeding upon the field of battle or groaning in the hospitals. It was anguish at the folly of the men who had started the fighting. Shots had been fired without parley by men perverse through fanaticism rather than criminality. They had ranged brother against brother—father was rending son. What folly could be more insen-sate—more criminal?

Before I tell of it I must say something of the man who sent out the call that drew Uncle Jake to the colours. And not only Uncle Jake. Hundreds of other doctors and thousands of attendants. Tens of thousands of others needed to fight down the madness let loose by the fanatics. Scores of women, too. For the first time in the history of the United States "home bodies" rushed to the military hospitals to "help (to) heal" the broken heroes.

That man's name was Abraham Lincoln. He was tall and gaunt of body. His face was rugged. The kindly soul within it made it attractive despite the irregularity of the features.

He was bred and born far away from the place in which his earthly remains repose. Some 400 miles, as the busy bee wings its way from the flower that yields her nectar to the hive, to the south-east of Springfield, his tiny, helpless lips first closed upon his mother's breast.

She lay upon a wretched pallet in a cabin dark as a dungeon and draughtier than a prison cell. It had been built at the edge of primeval woods by her husband.

He himself was spiritless and easy-going. There somehow was in his seed both ambition and striving. Or was the milk-stream from his mother's breast charged with these essentials to individual success and social service?

With hardly a start towards literacy and without means to buy books or even to purchase a lamp and wick and oil for it, to read

by, this son of Nancy Hanks Lincoln—Abraham Lincoln—became one of the best informed men in his Motherland. He studied law, but its practice sickened him.

Sympathy for his fellows and speech instinct with that sympathy and in flow and rhythm comparable to the brook's naturalness, won him the suffrages of the citizens. They sent him to the legislature of Illinois, to which state he had drifted. A little later he was chosen to speak for that state in the national Congress at Washington, D.C. A new party that had scored no success worth chortling about put him up as candidate for the Presidency. His personality and eloquence reinforced by his striving in vindication of man's inalienable right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" carried him to the pinnacle of political glory.

On March 4, 1861, he was sworn in as the sixteenth President of the United States. In virtue of that office, he became the Commander-in-Chief of all the national armed forces on land as well as on water.

VI

Barely a month had Lincoln been installed in the White House when shots rang out in the vicinity. In the harbour at Charleston, South Carolina, stood Fort Sumter. Almost without warning it was attacked by the rebels. Without fight the garrison surrendered. The national flag—the "star-spangled banner"—was ignobly hauled down. The "stars and bars"—the rebel emblem—was run up instead.

Yes. It was a rebellion against the joint authority. The attack had come from within—not from without—the country. The aggressors were Americans—not hostile aliens.

The figure round which insurgents gathered—Robert E. Lee—was a general who had the prestige of distinguished leadership in the recent war with Mexico. Appointed commander-in-chief by the "Confederacy" formed by states that proclaimed their secession from the American Union with its headquarters at Washington, D.C., he began functioning in rebel interests almost under Lincoln's nose. The troops under him were seasoned soldiers. Behind them were reserves of men filled with fanatical zeal for the insurgent cause.

And that cause? As it was preached, it was armed protest against the alleged usurpation by the central government of rights considered to be inherent in the various state governments—against the unwarranted, unceasing, unbearable interference by the "North" with the affairs of the "South". These geographic expressions need explanation.

A line had originally been drawn purely for purposes of boundary delimitation. Known

after the surveyors as "Mason and Dixon's Line", it formed the southern border of Pennsylvania. It was extended, from time to time, till it cleft the country in twain. The states to the north of it were known collectively as the "North"; those south of it constituted the "South". These words became embedded for ever in the United States terminology.

Slavery was the distinguishing symbol of this cleavage. It was more than a symbol. It was a storm—a tornado—or, to change the figure of speech, a Vesuvius in eruption.

In the "South" men, women and children of African or mixed Afro-American descent were still (1861) held in bondage. They were openly bought and sold. They slaved upon the plantations and in the homes. Conditions of their life and work were wholly regulated according to the will or whim of their owners. Be "Massa" (the master) ever so brutal, there was no salvation for the poor sufferers so long as breath remained in their bodies.

In the "North," slavery had been abolished. Numerous men and women there were filled with abhorrence of the system. Through individual and collective work they sought to free the "South" of this curse. Some of them afforded asylum to the run-away slaves and resisted effort to restore them to bondage. In so doing they ran grave risks—rendered themselves liable to heavy penalties.

VII

With Lincoln's election in November, 1860 and particularly after his investiture on March 4, 1861, excitement reached the climatic. Himself a son of the "South" by birth and breeding, he was a son of the "North" by inclination and choice. If any one could drive away the demon of disruption, drown the demand for "disunion"—silence the slogan-shouters of "secession,"—it was he. No one would put brain and brawn into the effort more blithely—more resolutely—than he.

He was not vouchsafed the opportunity peacefully to engage in that effort. The shots fired on Fort Sumter took away the opportunity for pacific action.

His attitude in respect of slavery he had made crystal clear. He would have no truck with it:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

So he had thundered from a public platform in Illinois when pitted in debate with Stephen A. Douglas. Though the echoes did not resound from any legislative chamber, they had

in them potency that shook the entire nation. A little later he contested the right with this very debater to be in supreme command at that fatal hour in the nation's life, and was sent to the White House. Even before the outgoing President had yielded him the place of power, he had indicated, with clarity, that he intended slavery to be

" . . . put where the people would be satisfied that it was in course of ultimate settlement."

With such a man at the helm, human bondage, upon which the plutocrats of the "South" had built their prosperity, was in jeopardy. So they feared. Through dread they rushed matters. They would force him, they thought, to his knees before he could muster strength to resist them.

Was Lincoln the man to submit to armed rebellion—to confirm and consolidate the schism. If not, what was he to do?

Yet Lincoln must have realized that the United States had been caught wholly unprepared. Wherefrom was he to get the soldiers and the money to finance operations to stem the fratricidal blood-letting? What was to happen while he gathered volunteers under the national flag and they received training? Would not Lee, with his seasoned troops, capture and hold the national capital?

It is now abundantly clear that he never wobbled—never for an instant was he irresolute on the question of union. His mind was made up. He would not tolerate disruption—particularly disruption at the point of the gun.

The attitude of the people as displayed by the "firing on the flag at Charleston" must have heartened him in that resolution. As an eyewitness—the Poet of Democracy, Walt Whitman—wrote at the time :

"Down in the abysses of New world humanity there had formed and hardened a primal hard-pan of national Union will, determin'd and in the majority, refusing to be tamper'd with or argued against, confronting all emergencies, and capable at any time of bursting all surface bonds, and breaking out like an earthquake. It is, indeed, the best lesson of the century, or of America, and it is a mighty privilege to have been part of it."*

The promptitude with which Lincoln met this attack on nationhood will for ever remain a landmark in man's executive annals. So will the inflexibility with which he prosecuted the struggle, in pursuance of his resolve to stop the split from spreading—to end disunion—to keep all national elements together—cost what it may.

VIII

It was thought in the first days of excitement that the rebellion was only one

State's (South Carolina's) madness. Whitman wrote :

" . . . It was not thought it would be join'd in by Virginia, North Carolina, or Georgia. A great and cautious national official predicted that it would blow over 'in sixty days,' and folks generally believ'd the prediction. I remember talking about it on a Fulton ferry-boat with the Brooklyn mayor, who said he only hoped the Southern fire-eaters would commit some overt act of resistance, as they would then be at once so effectually squelch'd, we would never hear of secession again—but he was afraid they never would have the pluck to really do anything.' I remember, too, that a couple of companies of the thirteenth Brooklyn, who rendezvous'd at the city armoury, and started thence thirty days' men, were all provided with pieces of rope, conspicuously tied to their musket-barrels, with which to bring back each man a prisoner from the audacious South, to be led in a noose, on our men's early and triumphant return."†

Events were to prove disastrous. "The national forces," Whitman admits, "fled from the field." He adds :

" . . . The defeated troops commenced pouring into Washington over the Long Bridge at daylight on Monday, 22nd (July, 1861)—day drizzling all through with rain. The Saturday and Sunday of the battle (of Bull Run) (20th and 21st), had been parch'd and hot to an extreme—the dust, the grime, and smoke, in layers sweated in, follow'd by other layers again sweated in, absorbed by those excited souls—their clothes all saturated with the clay-powder filling the air—stirr'd up everywhere on the dry roads and trodden fields by the regiments, swarming wagons, artillery, etc.—all the men with this coating of muck and sweat and rain, now recoiling back, pouring over the Long Bridge—a horrible march of twenty miles, returning to Washington baffled, humiliated, panic-struck. Where are the vaunts and the proud boasts with which you went forth? Where are your banners, and your bands of music, and your ropes to bring back your prisoners? Well, there isn't a band playing—and there isn't a flag but clings ashamed and lank to its staff."‡

Again he writes :

"There you are, shoulder-straps!—but where are your companies? Where are your men? Incompetents! never tell me of chances of battle, of getting stray'd, and the like. I think this is your work, this retreat, after all. Sneak, blow, put on airs there in Willard's sumptuous parlours and bar-rooms, or anywhere—no explanation shall save you. Bull Run is your work; had you been half or one-tenth worthy your men, this would never have happen'd."*

IX

What a vivid picture he paints of the men in authority in a *defeatest* attitude :

"Meantime in Washington, among the great persons and their entourage, a mixture of awful consternation, uncertainty, rage, shame, helplessness, and stupefying disappointment. The worst is not only imminent, but already here. In a few hours—perhaps before the next meal—the secesh (secessionist) generals, with their victorious hordes, will be upon us. The dream of humanity, the vaunted Union we thought so strong, so impregnable—lo! it seems already smashed like a china plate. One bitter, bitter hour—

* *Specimen Days In America*, by Walt Whitman (The World's

Classical edition, No. 361. Oxford University Press), p. 24.

† *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Ibid., p. 26.

Ibid., p. 29.

perhaps proud America will never again know such an hour. She must pack and fly—no time to spare. Those white palaces—the dome-crown'd capitol there on the hill, so stately over the trees—shall they be left—or destroyed first? For it was certain that the talk among certain magnates and officers and clerks and officials everywhere, for twenty-four hours in and around Washington after Bull Run, was loud and undisguised for yielding out and out, and substituting the southern rule, and Lincoln promptly abdicating and departing."†

Whitman left behind the opinion that:

"... If the secesh officers and forces had immediately follow'd and by a bold Napoleonic movement had enter'd Washington the first day (or even the second), they could have had things their own way; and a powerful faction north to back them. One of our returning colonels expressed in public that night, amid a swarm of officers and gentlemen in a crowded room, the opinion that it was useless to fight, that the southerners had made their title clear, and that the best course for the national government to pursue was to desist from any further attempt at stopping them, and admit them again to the lead, on the best terms they were willing to grant. Not a voice was rais'd against this judgment amid that large crowd of officers and gentlemen. The fact is, the hour was one of the three or four of those crises we had then and afterward, during the fluctuations of four years, when human eyes anear'd at least just likely to see the last breath of the Union as to see it continue."

Steadfastness to the cause of the Union required at that time an iron nerve. Lincoln staggered under the blow, but

"... recovering himself, began that very night—sternly, rapidly sets about the task of reorganizing his forces, and placing himself in positions for future and surer work. If there were nothing else of Abraham Lincoln for history to stamp him with, it is enough to send him with his wreath to the memory for all future time, that he endured that hour, that day, bitterer than gall—indeed a crucifixion day—that it did not conquer him—that he unflinchingly stemm'd it, and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it."‡

X

When Uncle Jake began his army surgeon's work, conditions were awful. The office buildings and residences turned into hospitals were already overcrowded. Tents set up to receive the overflow could not cope with the casualties coming in from the field in a steady stream. On the battle plain lay the wounded, groaning, sometimes for two days and more unattended.

Whitman tells of a soldier whom he "found among the crowded cots in the Patent Office." He had been "badly hit in his leg and side at Fredericksburgh" on 13th December.

"... He lay the succeeding two days and nights helpless on the field, between the city and those rim terraces of batteries; his company and regiment had been compell'd to leave him to his fate. To make matters worse, it happen'd he lay with his head slightly down hill, and could not help himself. At the end of some fifty hours he was brought off, with other wounded, under a flag of truce."

Uncle Jake and his brother-surgeons had to do the best they could with these casualties. Considering everything, they did marvellously well.

What a tower of strength were the women who had left their hearths and homes for the military hospitals! No praise for these "female" war-nurses—the first of their kind in the United States—could be overgenerous.

XI

My mother-in-law had stowed away in the drawer in which she kept the possessions most cherished by her a pair of epaulettes. The gold was tarnished. Not, however, the memory of her brother-in-law.

With these epaulettes sewed to the shoulders of his army surgeon's tunic, Uncle Jake had come back home. The bloody business had been done with. The attack on the Union had been broken. The secessionists had submitted. The Union had been saved. The country had not been hacked into pieces. The broken hearts would, in time, become whole again.

That early autumn day 37 years ago when that good lady and I were staying with one of her daughters-in-law and she brought out these epaulettes for my inspection, the "North" and the "South" were only expressions descriptive of American physiography—not symbols of fratricidal fanaticism. The mud of the country over which the fight had raged showed no vestige of the Civil War's blood. The bitterness had very nearly gone out of men's and even women's hearts. The survivors—and their descendants—were pulling together to make the United States of America "one and indivisible"—the grandest land in the world—"God's own country."

All this and more had come to pass primarily because of the will and work of just one man—the man placed by the people's suffrages at the helm of the ship of state—who, in the hour of mortal combat, would not bend his knee to the demon of disunion—the satan of secession. That tomb in Springfield—also that grave in my wife's natal town—and many another resting place for bones that once were moved by muscles themselves impelled by overwrought nerves, are symbols of a struggle that should never, never have taken place.

I am proud of my wife's Uncle Jake—proud of his kindly, efficient ministrations to the torn and tortured bodies of men mauled and maimed through the madness of their fellow-men run amok. He never bled upon the field of action. He did not receive even a scratch. He, nevertheless, was a hero—as true a hero he was as any general or private who, gored, suffered agonies. But for work such as he and his fellows did, in obedience to Lincoln's call, the United

† *Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

States of America might to-day be two, ten, or two hundred lands. Who knows?

Once a split is permitted to begin, one never knows where the process will end. One only knows that wreckers find encouragement as it spreads. Their ranks swell. Their heads become turned. They are obsessed with madness to divide and to subdivide.

My wife's Uncle Jake was among the legions that, at Lincoln's call, put an end to that process of rending. The UNION was, in consequence, preserved. It went on gaining strength. What nation to-day is so diverse, in respect of its elements, as this and yet, nationally, so solid—and this in a world wildly torn by disruption?

THE METTUR DAM

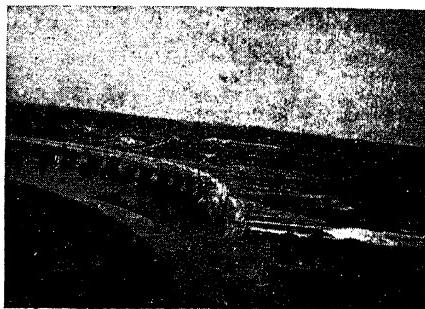
By L. N. GUBIL

The Mettum Dam constructed across the river Cauvery in South India is one of the largest dams in the world. No wonder therefore that visitors to India do not fail to include

to prevent the formation of cracks in the cement structure, and at the same time to keep the dam thoroughly water-tight whether in summer or in winter. The dam can be inspected from the



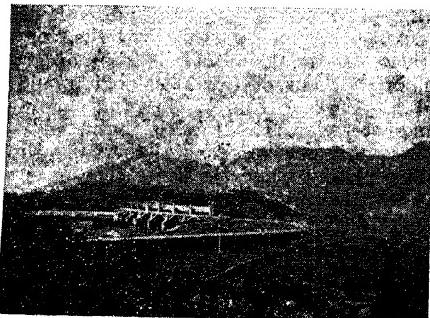
The Mettum Dam



The road leading to the bridge at Mettum

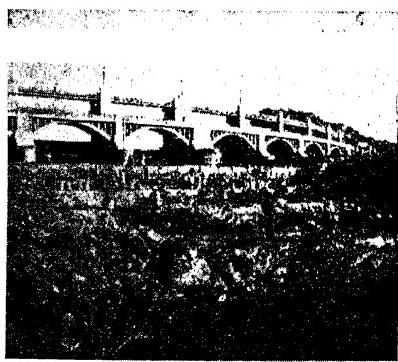
this in their itinerary. The broad expanse of the waters locked up by the dam is indeed a feast to the eyes of any visitor; but the imposing concrete structure is a special attraction to the engineer.

entrances to the hollow interior at the bottom of the dam itself. Throughout this length, vertical shafts 15 feet from one another provide for the ejection of sewage water. Thus this in-



A view of the Mettum Dam from the topmost hill

The dam carries a roadway (16 feet broad between parapets) nearly a mile long. The dam is erected to a height of a little over 200 feet and is in sections of 126 feet each, jointed to each other by copper plates, the object being

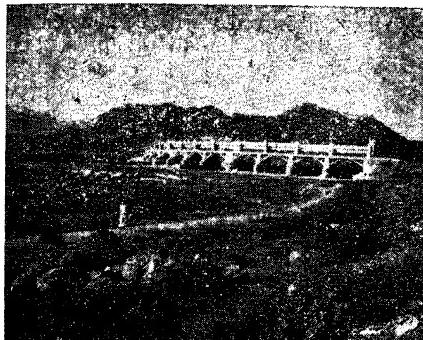


A view of the escape of surplus waters at Mettum
near vault serves the double purpose of an observation chamber and a drainage gallery.

The water impounded by the dam might on occasions be nearly a million lacs of cubic feet, and might be spread over an area of about

sixty square miles. It is, however, noteworthy of the flood waters at the Mettur Dam pro-
that both in regard to the time taken for the vides effectively for the diversion of the surplus
construction of these huge works and the cost waters.

per unit of storage, the Mettur Dam has set up The whole of South India has therefore
the lowest record—it costs on the whole five reasons to be grateful to the initiators of the
crores of rupees. scheme from Colonel Ellis downwards, who
initiated the outline of the scheme in 1910.
Another advantage of equal importance has
been obtained, and that is the utilisation of the
energy of the pent-up waters through four tur-
bines operating under a maximum head of 150
feet of water to generate electricity. The Mettur
electric supply scheme is both complementary
and supplementary to the bigger Pykara Hydro-
Electric scheme.



Another view of surplus escape

Before the construction of this dam, the irrigation of the Cauvery delta in the Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts was dependent on the capricious mercy of the north-east monsoon. But now the copious supply from the south-west monsoon has been harnessed not only to steady and regulate the supply throughout the irrigation period, but also to increase the area under cultivation in the delta. In fact, a new canal—the Grand Anicut canal—starts from the Grand Anicut (10 miles lower down Trichinopoly), which has brought under the plough no less than a quarter million acres of land previously uncultivated.

The periodical havoc by floods that used to occur in the Cauvery basin has now been the dam, has definitely taken the edge off the reduced if not completely eliminated. Regulation high summer temperature.



The Dam and the Power-house

MADAME TUSSAUD'S EXHIBITION

Story of Famous Waxworks Show

By ERIC LYNN

"Where Hitler and Stalin live together in peace," says a witty poster advertising that strange, world-famous museum of wax figures, Madame Tussaud's Exhibition. Madame Tussaud's has not lost its charm and the bomb which destroyed part of the large building during a raid has only stimulated public interest.

Scarcely any similar institution in the world can compete with Madame Tussaud's for the dramatic history of its origins. Its foun-
dress was Marie Grosholtz. Born in 1760 in Switzerland, on the death of her parents she was adopted by her uncle, the doctor Christo-

pher Curtius. Hearing of his gift for making wax models of his friends, the Prince de Conti invited him to come to Paris. There the Swiss doctor was so successful that modelling in wax became a fashionable craze, and his place was often visited by men like Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, Mirabeau, and later the American Ambassador, Benjamin Franklin.

His niece Marie proved an extremely gifted pupil and was soon even more proficient than her uncle. She was invited to Versailles as tutor to the king's sister, and here she modelled Marie Antoinette's face from life.

When the storm clouds of revolution were

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR NOVEMBER, 1944

gathering, Curtius recalled his niece from the Court to the safety of his house. But on July 12, 1789, an angry crowd approached the studio, asking Curtius to make effigies of the people's heroes for a procession. Two days later the Bastille was stormed. Curtius was sent out of Paris, leaving the young Marie in charge of the studios and exhibition.



Madam Tussaud's Exhibition is now in the hands of Bernard Tussaud, great-great grandson of the foundress. Here he is seen at work on new heads

Heads began to fall fast. The Convention called for death masks to show the people of Paris. Marie was summoned, and more or less forced to fulfil a dreadful task; one by one the mutilated heads of those whom she had known at Versailles and Paris passed through her hands—from Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to the revolutionaries who eventually became the victims of their revolution, Marat and his murderer Charlotte Corday, Robespierre, Carrier . . .

Marie herself did not escape the threat of death but was thrown into prison.

When she was freed at last she learned that her uncle had died mysteriously. She was alone in the world, her sole possession ever, Madame Tussaud's reopened in a new large number of wax models. She married a building. French soldier, Francois Tussaud, but after some years they separated. In 1802 Marie took ad-

vantage of the Treaty of Amiens and sought refuge in England, taking her two children and all her models.

She came to London and opened an exhibition in the Strand, at the old Lyceum, and then toured the British Isles for 33 years. At last in 1835 the exhibition found a home in Baker Street, where it stayed until 1884, when it was moved to the present site in Marylebone Road.

Madame Tussaud, ceaselessly enlarging her collection, lived to the age of ninety. Almost every important personality of her time was her model as well as her visitor, and "Madame Tussaud's" became one of the sights of London.

In 1925, Madame Tussaud's exhibition experienced its first great tragedy. Fire broke out, and in an hour little was left but a heap of ruins. Fortunately the invaluable moulds of the wax portraits escaped, and curiously enough the "Chamber of Horrors" sustained the least damage. People used to say at the time, "The Devil looks after his own!"

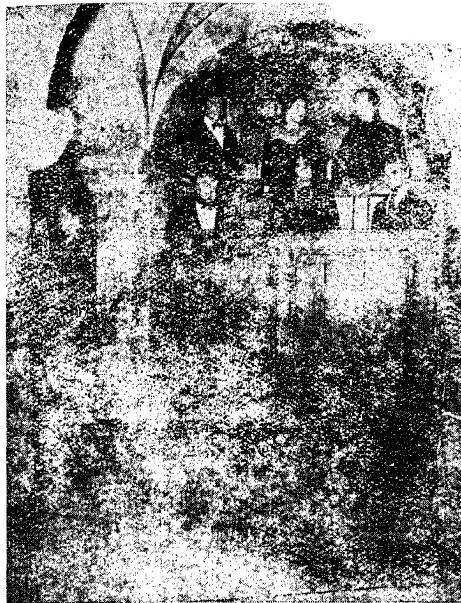
Three years later, how-



This photograph shows a portion of the historical section, with King Henry VIII and a few of his wives and courtiers. King Henry VIII and a few of his wives and courtiers. Madame Tussaud's reopened in a new

A thousand years of English and world history are represented in this exhibition, and

Marie Tussaud's rule of adding the portraits of eminent personalities as soon as they became "news" is still observed. The present manage-



In the basement of Madame Tussaud's Exhibition is the Chamber of Horrors, where are models of most of the notorious criminals of the world

ment of Madame Tussaud's, however, must use some prophetic sense as to whether people who have come into the news are likely to stay there for some time. Wax models—the heads, are now being made by Bernard Tussaud, Marie's great-grandson—are very difficult and expensive to make, and there is only a limited space for the exhibition of contemporary personalities. For this reason, the management has to study political events, and carefully pick the people who are important enough to be exhibited.

All the British Cabinet Ministers are there. A recent portrait of Mr. Churchill was made at his country house, where he gladly sat as a model for the sculptor. Many Members of Parliament, the Opposition leaders, and other men of political importance find their wax effigies at the exhibition.

Difficulties over accuracy of detail arise when a foreign statesman has to be included in the collection. When, for instance, Hitler became Chancellor of the Reich in 1933, the management asked the German Embassy in London for information about the shade of his hair and the colour of his eyes; but the Embassy,

still occupied by diplomats of the "old regime", refused to make propaganda for their new chief by facilitating the modelling of his portrait! Thus the modellers had to guess, and when, later on, a leading Nazi official visited the exhibition, he protested vigorously at what had been made—mainly from photographs—of his beloved Führer. Then he went back to Berlin, interviewed Hitler, and sent Madame Tussaud's the correct information.

Mussolini had to get a new head in 1939; apart from his increasing baldness he had taken to a new cap after his visit to Berlin. Stalin, unfortunately, had to be modelled entirely from photographs, but General Franco seemed to be pleased to become a member of the illustrious crowd at Madame Tussaud's: he sent the Duke of Alba to see to the details of his portrait. When King Carol of Rumania and President Kemal of Turkey were modelled, their respective ambassadors paid several visits to the exhibition, and saw that every detail of the uniforms and decorations was correct.

The most famous section of the exhibition is the "Chamber of Horrors". Its nucleus was Dr. Curtius' "Caverne des Grands Voleurs", on the Boulevard du Temple in Paris. Marie



Here, in an exactly reproduced setting of those days, is a model of Queen Victoria

Tussaud continued the tradition of adding the portrait of every renowned criminal to her collection, giving each a suitable background.

Here we meet Jack the Ripper; Landru, the death masks, made by Marie Tussaud, of Louis French Bluebeard; several hangmen and their instruments; the guillotine, with the original knife of 1789-93; the Iron Cage; the Electric Chair; and all the intricate instruments of ancient torture. And here, too, are the actual Madame Tussaud's dolls.

THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

BY PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

II

B. As to the genesis of social amalgamation there are differences of opinion: some think that matriarchy was the first unifying social force, others hold that the patriarchal family was the first nucleus of social order, while there are still others according to whom matriarchy and patriarchy flourished in primitive communities side by side. Since the time of Bach-hofen a class of sociologists have "been tempted to see" in the matriarchal family system the original nucleus of human social order. "From promiscuity through matriarchy to patriarchy was the scheme proposed" and I am inclined to cling to this view in spite of all that is being said to refute it. It appears extremely probable that Matriarchy (including its two sides i. Matripotesta, *i.e.* the rule and dominance of mother and ii. Matriliney *i.e.* the custom of reckoning kinship, descent, succession, and inheritance in the female line) was the earliest form of social organisation. The argument forwarded to refute this view is that anthropological researches show that in "all parts of the world we find maternal kinship side by side with institutions of paternal authority" and from this the hasty conclusion is drawn that "the family is always a bilateral unit though succession and inheritance are determined unilaterally." In other words, the argument is reduced to this: that because in many primitive societies we find traces of Patripotesta combined with Matriliney, therefore Matriarchy could not have been the first form of family order. Indeed that is exactly as it should be if we start with a matriarchal system of family building. The dangers and difficulties of promiscuity having been felt and realised by our ancestresses they founded in their cave-homes families which, of necessity, were matriarchal in form and spirit. This matriarchy in its earliest stages must have included both its features,—Matripotesta and Matriliney. With the growth in man of a sense of responsibility and inclination for settled life (both of which must have been slowly infused in his nature through his companionship with woman) the idea of sticking to one female or to one residence or settlement (founded by one female) began to find more and more favour with man but when he came to live in a family naturally he came with the authority of a lord (potesta) though the other rules relating to the family remained unchanged, which explains for the traces of matriliney in patripotestal families. Such traces, according to my views, far from refuting the theory of the matriarchal origin of human family and social order afford justification for holding the view that the first family and social order founded by our ancient but farsighted ancestresses, in course of time, came under the sway of our naturally more aggressive ancestors when through centuries of female companionship they came to realise the futility of a nomadic life. Patripotesta, where it evolved, was of a later origin and did not therefore serve as a sure indication of the patriarchal

origin of social order. Those who think that possession of authority in an organisation serves as a sure clue to its real founder overlook two things while applying that formula in this particular case, namely, i. that authority may be snatched away from the hands of the original founder by a more aggressive late-comer and ii. that the rivalry in this case (for the authority in the family) was not between two rival sovereigns (one of whom exists only to the exclusion of the other) but between members of two complementary sexes each of whom was, more or less, anxious to secure the co-operation and company of the other. In such a perspective it is not difficult to see that having founded and maintained the family (in the first stages of its growth) our ancient ancestresses (in most cases) yielded to a policy of transferring authority to their male mates as a price of their co-operation (in the constructive work of building up a social order whose significance was, if at all, understood very vaguely) which (transfer of authority) satisfied their masculine will to power and aggressiveness. It is indeed the happy blending of masculine vigour and dash and feminine submission and sacrifice that made the evolution of the family life possible.

This submission (of woman) was not a sign really of defeat but rather an index of woman's moral victory over man which lay in being able to harness the turbulent energy of man to the discipline of domestic life. It was the coronation of her king in the kingdom founded by woman's own hands and nurtured by her own sacrifice and effort. Such surrender may be unnatural as between two rival claimants to an earthly kingdom but here the kingdom was of the heart (*i.e.* family) and the founder of this kingdom (woman) was anxious to replace rivalry by co-operation. This is the explanation of the presence of patripotesta in matrilineal societies (as also, I think, of the gradual transference of the duties of family-management in Naya families from the eldest female to the eldest male).

Gradually with the evolution, in most cases, tending towards a full-fledged patriarchy, patriliney also came to be incorporated in the family system. This way of looking at the phenomenon of social origin enables us to explain why there are societies i. where patriarchy (*i.e.* patripotesta and patriliney) prevails others ii. where patripotesta prevails with matriliney still others, iii. where matriarchy (*i.e.* matripotesta and matriliney) prevails. In (i) all traces of maternal spadework have vanished, in (ii) traces of maternal origin of the family are visible but such traces are being obliterated gradually by the introduction of patripotesta, and in (iii) the maternal origin and authority are still prevalent and visible.

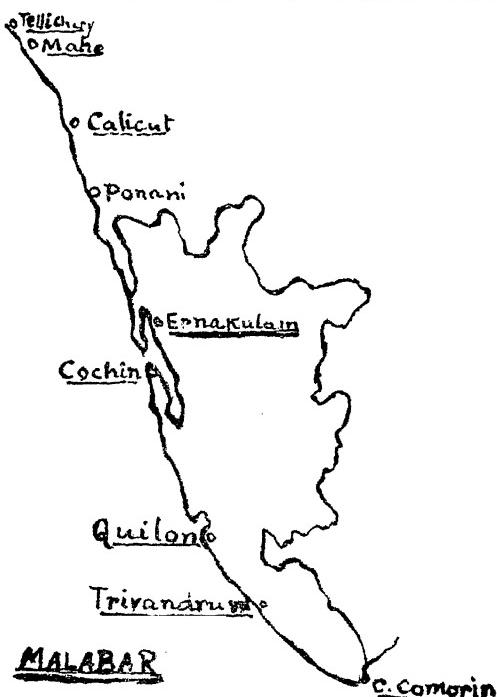
Till recently Malabar society (more strictly the Nayar society) has been a society of this last type— one of the few in which traces of its earliest origins have been retained. This is readily admitted, but

cannot be accepted is the hasty conclusion that because it has not thrown away its original traces of matriarchy and fallen in line with most others which have either accepted full-fledged patriarchy or at least patrilineal society, it is a primitive society in which cultivation of higher pursuits and realisation of nobler ideals of life are not possible unless matriarchy is replaced by some sort of readymade or improvised patriarchy. Two false ideas are responsible for this erroneous impression, one absolutely imaginary and the other with a thin substratum of fact. Firstly, "tales are still told of villages (always outside the ken of the narrator) where only women dwell, whose population is maintained by the admission annually of one male who is put to death when his procreative task is done," so that under the influence of such ghastly informations the very idea of female authority appears to us to be as something horrible, undesirable and repulsive—a thing which can be tolerated only among primitive barbarians. This obviously belongs to the domain of fiction and no serious effort is needed to reveal its hollowness.

Secondly, the races which have still retained traces of matriarchy of any type (either matrilineal or matriarchal or both) are mostly in a primitive state of civilisation. Such, for instance, are the old tribes of Australia, Sumatra, Micronesia, Melanesia and Formosa, the Garos and Khasis of Assam, the African tribes about Lake Nyassa, the Ila-speaking peoples of northern Rhodesia, the tribes of Ashanti and on the Gold and Ivory Coasts and the Iroquois of North America. When along with these primitive peoples are also mentioned the Nayar, as having the matriarchal (or matrilineal) family system it is presumed that the ill-informed (at least it is felt by the Nayar that it is being so presumed by the whole world) that the Nayar (and the Malabarians in general) are also a primitive and backward people, a presumption which the latter want to remove by rejecting the matriarchal system which is responsible for classing them among the backward primitives. But the question is: Have the Malabarians really been such a backward and primitive people as the other matriarchal tribes? Let us peep into their history for a while.

Malabar is a district of British India (5792 sq. miles in area) in the Presidency of Madras with its headquarters at Calicut. Sometimes the entire western coast of peninsular India is vaguely described as Malabar, but strictly speaking, the area in which Malayalam is spoken should be called Malabar and "it would thus be co-extensive with the old kingdom of Chera, including the modern states of Travancore, Cochin and part of Kanara." Calicut, Cannanore, Tellicherry and Cochin are the important seaports through which considerable amount of coffee, coconut-products and pepper is exported. Indeed the sea-borne trade of Malabar (especially pepper) attracted (since the earliest times) to Malabar the Moor traders who, according to some authorities, are responsible for giving the region its present name, Malabar, (written in Arabic either as Al-Malibar or as Al-Manibar) meaning "passage" or "ferry" and "may have referred either to communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being in that age the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf."¹³ Barbosa in his descriptions *inter alia* remarks: "And after the Moors of Mecca discovered India, and began to navigate near it, which was six hundred and ten years ago; they used to touch at this country of Malabar on account of the pepper which is found there."¹⁴ The Periplus (of the Erythraean Sea) mentions among local articles of commerce the pepper of Kottanara.¹⁵ Other writers have successfully shown that there was cultural and commercial contact between

Malabar and other civilised peoples of the ancient world like the Phoenicians and the Babylonians. Simcox finds the resemblances between Berber and Malabar usages so strong that it appears obvious to him that the



Phoenicians "when trading from the Persian Gulf to India, should have established a commercial colony on the Malabar coast, which has been a thriving centre of Eastern and Western Trade. . . .". Referring to the Malabar practice of dividing the day into 60 portions (Naligas) of 24 minutes and of dividing the Naligas into 60 Vinaligas of 24 seconds each and again subdividing these Vinaligas into 60 "long letter utterance times equal to 2/5ths of a second each," the same author opines that the sexagesimal system of ancient Babylon is absolutely so unique that it must have been learnt by Malabarians from the Babylonians with whom therefore, they must have come in intimate contact." Such intercourse with the civilised and progressive nations of the ancient world could not have failed to heighten the standard of cultural and intellectual attainments of a people whose native land also was considered no less advanced and progressive in those days.

Fortunately for us some foreign travellers (who had also been clever writers and shrewd observers of social habits and customs) have left records of their observations which enable us to get a glimpse into the social life of the people of Malabar. A critical examination of the records left by travellers like the Portuguese Barbosa and the Venetian Marco Polo shows that far from being a backward primitive people the Malabarians (especially the Nayar) had, even in the early epochs of history, evolved a highly efficient social system and a civilisation of which courtesy, honour, chivalry, the promotion of higher virtues and the cultivation of arts were the conspicuous elements, and that in spite of the

13. Notes by Sir Henry Yule in his translation of the Book of Ser Marco Polo. Vol. II, Pp. 332 and 390.

14. Barbosa : *Ibid.* P. 102.

15. See, E. J. Simcox : *Primitive Civilisations*. Vol. I., P. 546.

16. *Ibid.* P. 545.

17. *Ibid.* P. 547.

prevalence of matriarchy (or was it perhaps because of it?). The following narrative culled from the records of Barbosa (referred above) I believe, will be of interest to students of social life and history:—

The king and the royal family (pp 105, 106, 111, 112) :—The kings do not marry (nor have a marriage law) but each one has a mistress who is a lady of "great lineage and family" which is called Nayre. These ladies are said to be very beautiful and graceful. The children born from these ladies do not inherit the kingdom ("nor any thing else of the king"); they only inherit the property of their mother. The kings' heirs are their brothers and nephews (sisters' sons). The kings' sisters do not marry, nor have husbands, and are very free and at liberty to do what they like with themselves. The kings' sisters and nieces are held in great honour, guarded and served and they possess revenues for their maintenance. The coming of age of the kings' sister or niece is celebrated (when she is 13 or 14 years of age) when a young man of noble family is summoned, who on his arrival is received with great honour and entertained. He is then required to "tie a gold jewel to the neck of the damsel", which she wears all her life as a mark of her having performed these ceremonies. After this she is at liberty to choose with whomsoever to live. The princesses mostly prefer to live with Brahmins who belong to the priestly class. Then follows a description of the one thousand woman attendants of the king and their nocturnal temple procession of light escorted by the nobles and other men-folks. The courtesy and chivalry of the men, the beauty and grace of the women, and the neat tastefulness of the whole festival succeed to breathe through the interval of these long centuries a fragrance of delicacy, a perfume of poetry and a rhythm of refinement which must be rare even among people who have been known as the most refined in history. I cannot therefore check the temptation of quoting the passage in a foot-note.¹⁸

The Brahmins (pp. 121, 122) : The gentle Brahmins are priests, who "do not eat flesh or fish" and are much respected by the people. They are not punished for any offence (under the law) but their chief, "who is like a bishop", chastises them in moderation. They marry only once. The eldest brothers only are married who keep their wives "well-guarded and in great esteem". Widows are not married. If the wife commits adultery he husband "kills her with poison." The younger brothers do not marry "nor can marry". They sleep with women belonging to the nobility who "hold it a great honour because they are Brahmins and no woman refuses them."

When it becomes known to him that the wife of a Brahman is in the family way he gives up all carnal

relations with her and luxuries and remains so till the wife gives birth to her child. The Brahmins alone can be the king's cooks. They are also the king's messengers and they can pass from one part of the country to another unmolested even if the kings through whose territories they pass may be at war. The Brahmins are well-versed in many arts, well-read in law and possess many books and as such the kings honour them.

The Nairs (pp. 124, 126-31, 133) : "In this kingdom of Malabar there is another sect of people called Nairs, who are the gentry, and have no other duty than to carry on war and they continually carry their arms with them, which are swords, bows, arrows, bucklers and lances." They are of good lineage, smart and very proud of their nobility. They do not associate with peasants and do not eat or drink in any house save that of the Nairs. They are not married and they are inherited by their sisters' sons. The Nair women are "all accustomed to do with themselves what they please with Brahmins and Nairs but not with other people of lower class under pain of death."

When a Nair girl attains majority (puberty) respectable young men are sought for by the girl's mother. Beautiful girls get several such suitors, each one of whom "has his appointed day from mid-day till next day at the same hour" and "so she passes her life without any one thinking ill of it." Both the parties (the girl and any one of the suitors) are at liberty to cut off connection when he or she likes. The children of the unions remain with the mother and are brought up by the mother's brothers. Even if any man knows that a child is his, he is not recognised as such by him or by the society, for "it is said that the king made this law in order that the Nairs should not be covetous and should not abandon the king's service."

The Nair boy is sent to school at the age of seven where he first learns "feats of agility and dancing" which make his limbs supple from childhood. Then he learns gymnastic and then the use of weapons. A group of very skilful men, known as Pancars (captains) teach them these arts. When the Nairs enter into the service of a king they promise to die for him. When the Nairs go to war they are paid 4 Tavas per head per day as long as the war lasts and during the war they may touch peasants and eat and drink with them. The king is obliged to maintain the mothers and other family members of Nairs who may die in war. Wounded Nairs get free treatment at the king's cost until they are cured.

The Nairs live outside the towns separate from the people, "on their own estates which are fenced in." It is a sort of self-sufficient citadel. They do not drink and command princely respect from the people. Even a poor Nair will expect from the richest peasant the respect due to a king. They have great privileges in this matter, and the Nair women even greater with peasants. "If a peasant were by misfortune to touch a Nair lady, her relations would immediately kill her and likewise the man that touched her and all his relations."

This is done to avoid "all opportunities of mixing their blood with that of the peasants." There is another restriction on the freedom of Nair women, namely, "no Nair woman ever enters the towns under pain of death"¹⁹ except once a year . . . On this night more than twenty thousand Nair women enter Calicut (accompanied by their male relatives) to see the town, which is full of lamps in all the streets which the inhabitants set there to do honour to the Nairs, and all

18. "The king has a thousand waiting women, to whom he gives regular pay, and they are always at the court, to sweep the palaces and houses of the king: and this he does for state, because fifty would be enough to sweep. These women are of good family . . . And these women give a great feast to the king when he newly comes to the throne, after he has finished his year of mourning and abstinence . . . These thousand women have each got a brass dish full of lighted wicks, and 'between the chandeliers are many flowers. And at nightfall they set out from the temple with their idol for the King's palace, where they have to place it; and all come in procession before the idol which is set upon the elephant, in bands of light, with the beforementioned salvers, and many men accompany them with oil, with which they replenish the lamps. And the nobles, their admirers, go along with them, talking to them with much courtesy; and they remove the perspiration from the ladies' faces and from time to time put into their mouths the betel, which both men and women are constantly eating; and they fan them with fans, because their hands are fully occupied with the salvers. And all the instruments are sounding, and there is a great firing of rockets, and they carry some burning shrubs, so that it is a very pretty sight."

Barbosa : *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112 and 113.

19. This shows that the Nairs guarded very jealously not only their aristocracy but also their matriarchy, for the only possible explanation for not allowing Nair women to go to towns and visit their mates' homes and relations is the apprehension that they may, in moments of emotional weakness, feel inclined to linger on and gradually become permanent members of their mates' families and thus bring about the ruin of Nair matriarchy.

the streets are hung with clothes." On this occasion the Nair women come to see the houses of their mates where they are received amidst entertainments with great affection and courtesy and are invited to chew betel and "it is held to be a great politeness to receive it from friends."

Much respect is shown by Nairs to their mothers and elder sisters who are treated like mothers. Nair women do not mix with any one during three days every month when a woman has to prepare her own food in "separate pots and pans." After three days of their confinement they are washed in hot water and afterwards they bathe many times each day from head to foot. "They are very clean and well-dressed women, and they hold it in great honour to know how to please men."

Fashion of justice (pp. 116, 118, 120): In Calicut there is a person appointed by the king, known as the 'Taluke' who administers justice in the city and submits a report to the king. Justice is administered according to the qualities of the persons because "there are diverse sects and laws amongst them." The nobles enjoy exemption and privilege and they "cannot be taken and put in iron" for any offence. But if it is established on the admission of the guilty noble himself that he has killed any one or a cow or committed adultery with a low caste or a Brahman woman or spoken ill of the king, then the king calls four respectable men in whom he has confidence and empowers them by a written warrant to kill the guilty noble wherever he is found without fear of punishment. There is another judicial officer in Calicut who, with the aid of his subordinates in villages, administers justice in the country districts, in all matters excepting where capital punishment is awarded. No woman in Malabar dies by sentence of law. If however, a Nair woman who has committed adultery falls in to the hands of the king's officers (before being killed by her relations) the king commands her to be taken and sold out of the kingdom to Moors or Christians (a crude form of royal mercy). Commenting on the state of security which prevailed in Calicut, Abdur Razzak in his "Matla u-s Sa'dain"

mentioned that such security and justice reigned in that city that rich merchants brought to it from maritime countries large cargoes of merchandise, which they deposited in the streets and market places, and left them with no further guards than the customs officers, who took a 2½ per cent duty if anything was sold, otherwise offered no kind of interference.²⁰

Administration—Nor was the country according to the whims of an absolute despot... complete authorities mention of the "working of the quasi-parliamentary or constitutional checks upon the arbitrary power of the Rajahs." Mention is also made of General Assemblies which were summoned by the Rajah and in which propositions were discussed and measures were "rejected or adopted by unanimous silence or clamour". The predominating position of the Nairs was discernible also in the administrative system of the country. "These Nayars being heads of the Calicut people, resemble the parliament and do not obey the king's dictates in all things, but chastise his ministers when they do unwarrantable acts."²¹

What has been stated above is, I believe, enough to show that in the hey-day of her matriarchy Malabar has not only not been a backward country inhabited by a primitive people but (making allowances for the peculiarities of olden times) by a people whose social progress and cultural attainments were of an order which made learned authorities acknowledge their parity with such progressive peoples (of the old world) as the Spartans, the Lycians and the Egyptians. If today the Nairs have lost their virtues of courage, honour and leadership and have become effeminate and superstitious (as some authorities think) the reason for this general degradation of Nair character has to be sought for elsewhere than in their matriarchal system.

(To be continued)

20. *Vide H. Elliot's History of India*, Vol. IV. Pp. 98-99. Abdur Razzak was sent by Sultan Shah Rukh as his ambassador to the Bijanagar Court (1442).

21. *Simcox : Supra* P. 548.

DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE AND POST-WAR SECURITY

BY S. M. BOSE, M.A., LL.B. (CANTAB.), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

The end of the beginning of Great War II has naturally turned the thoughts of men to the vital question as to what should be the outcome and the best way to secure the ideals laid down in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms. Talks of a world federation, of a union or closer union between the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China filled the air. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, representing the U.S.A. and the United Kingdom respectively, in the famous Atlantic Charter, have laid down certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they based their hopes for a better future for the world. They declared that "they accept the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". In Clause VI they declared that "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries and which will afford assurance that all men in all lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want". In Clause VIII they declared their belief that all the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force.

In pursuit of the principles so laid down which embody the deep ideals of all the democratic peoples of the world, millions have fought and laid down their lives in the hope that their supreme sacrifices will not end in vain. Some way must be found to carry out these ideals.

Various plans have been suggested, for the idea of the League of Nations preventing war has now been shattered. The Covenant of the League has completely broken down in practice, and the whole machinery of the League for the preservation of peace has collapsed. The reasons for this are obvious. The League was founded upon a complete acceptance of the principle of National Sovereignty; the Sovereign Governments were independent of each other but were bound by solemn covenant to take measures to restrain threatened war and to redress grievances which might lead to war. The inherent defect was that the League could not reach any binding decision unless unanimously arrived at by all its members. Further, the increasing strain imposed by the ever-growing complexity of life on the time and energy of National Governments was another important reason for the failure of the League. In all these Governments, the same body of men have to attend to national as well as to international questions. The League was, in fact, a conscious attempt to model a world society on the principle which seemed to yield

such admirable results in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Another idea in the minds of British statesmen was that the British Commonwealth which was the bastion of the world defence to-day might well become the basis of greater world unity to-morrow. The burden of Commonwealth defence rested entirely on the United Kingdom. The Dominions, though they claimed and got equality of status with the United Kingdom in virtue of the Balfour Declaration were content to remain under the shelter of United Kingdom in matters of defence measures for obvious reasons. But the official and universally accepted doctrine that the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminster have, in fact, as well as in law, given Dominion Governments, Legislatures and Electorates, control of the issues of peace and war was a dangerous illusion. The Dominions were primarily concerned with their own domestic affairs, leaving matters of defence mainly to the United Kingdom. The task of maintaining peace, not merely for its own people but for those of all the Dominions continued to rest on the Government of the United Kingdom. The burden was too great and the Commonwealth was unable to prevent the two Great World Wars.

The burden of prevention of war depended on British statesmen, and it was felt in 1941 that European Reconstruction will be Great Britain's task. The fallacy lay in the assumption that problems of European Reconstruction are confined to Europe.

The fundamental idea among all Commonwealth politicians was, as stated above, that Great Britain and a fragment of Ireland were to sustain the cost of armaments, both sea and air, to give that sense of security which she was able to give to the three communities from Waterloo to the close of the 19th century. The desire to find a way by which men and nations can live together in peace was becoming more and more insistent, and it was felt that the doctrine that war must be for ever a part of man's destiny was unacceptable. After the League had fallen in ruins, it was thought that the voluntary co-operation among the members of the Commonwealth might prevent further war; but this co-operation of free and equal nations did not prevent war from breaking out in 1914 and in 1939. 'Co-operation' therefore was not enough. 'Collective security' was not enough. That the idea of preservation of peace based on voluntary co-operation among equals was a delusion and a snare, was proved by the outbreak of two Great World Wars. Such outbreak showed that it was essential to have an element of compulsion to force the states to keep the peace. Politicians talked of co-operation and influence; but as Washington said "Influence Is Not Government". International difficulties cannot be solved by voluntary co-operation only; in the background, there must be an element of force to be used in the last resort by a Central Government of the United Nations.

Lord Lothian, in his famous Burge Memorial Lecture in 1935, said:—

"There is only one way of ending wars and of establishing peace and that is, by introducing into the international sphere the principle of the State, that is, by creating a federation of nations with a Government which can wield the taxing, executive, legislative and judicial powers, and command the allegiance of the individual in super-national sphere". The theme of Lord Lothian's lecture was—"Pacifism is not enough, nor Patriotism either."

So the only feasible plan for carrying out the idea what was acceptable by all the democracies of the world is that outlined by Lord Lothian and Lionel Curtis. As Lord Lothian says, the real cause of our troubles is that nations are living in a state of anarchy towards each other. The covenant of the League of Nations disguises but does not end anarchy, because it leaves intact the root of anarchy—National Sovereignty.

National Sovereignty has been the hidden hand which wrecked the League ideas; for it implies that every nation sets its own interest first. Thus the National Government limits the supreme devotion of its members to itself. As Curtis points out, this defect can not be finally cured until the whole human society have been organised in one International Commonwealth. There must be a transition from *National Sovereignty* to an *International Sovereignty* based upon the choice of the members of the National Governments and charged with special rights and duties.

Certain "Federal Union" proposals of Streit, Dr. Jennings, Mr. Mackay and Sir William Beveridge have advocated union on all points, but as Curtis points out this is not practicable and the scheme he advocates is one for union of the Democratic States limited to the problems of defence and security. These eminent thinkers believe that the day of national states is over and so there should be an international union of all the states on all matters. But, as Curtis points out, national states must continue to discharge permanent and necessary functions in human affairs. It is impossible to think of a human society, in which all the racial elements have been mixed up into one mass, following one common way of life. The supreme unity which human society should attain is one in which its component nations are highly differentiated in composition as well as in structure. But a chief impediment is the insecurity caused by the state of anarchy between the various nations; for human society is now fragmented into about 60 sovereign states, and between these 60 sovereignties, a state of anarchy exists, resulting in world wars. Further, an important point against such wholesale union as advocated by Streit and others is that no such International Government could have either the detailed knowledge or time to control conditions determining national compositions and structures. On the other hand, the cabinet of each nation at present is dangerously over-burdened by having to deal with questions of security (including foreign policy) and also domestic questions. So Curtis advocates a *via media*. State Governments are to be kept, but the functions at present discharged by them must be divided into two parts. Control of social affairs in their widest aspect should be left to National Governments. An International Government formed by them must confine itself to questions of security and all matters which are inseparable therefrom. This International Government should have power to make security a first charge on all the resources of the component nations. So Curtis advocates that the independent democratic countries should unite with Great Britain for purposes of security and defence. They should form an International Government with the above duties. There should be a joint foreign policy, a joint defence policy and a common budget for defence purposes, contributed by the component states in such proportions as may be determined. There should also be a joint legislative body to decide on defence questions only, which would discuss the foreign situation, the danger of war, the necessary measures of defence and the proportion of individual state revenues to be devoted to joint defence. There should also be a joint executive body for defence questions only responsible for framing the common budget for defence purposes to be laid before the legislative body. These joint legislative and executive bodies of the International Union should be given by their National States sufficient authority to make defence and security a first charge on the individual state's revenue, the National Governments distributing their respective burden amongst individual tax-payers. This International Legislative Body is to be elected from time to time in all the states thus united. It is suggested that this International Union might include the members of the Commonwealth of Nations and also European Democracies like Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway. Representation in this Inter-

national Legislative Body might be based on taxable capacity, the smaller nations being granted certain weightage in voting power.

Under the scheme thus outlined all domestic questions including the incidence of taxation would rest with each National Legislature, the Union Legislature is only to decide what total sum is to be spent in order to ensure the union as a whole against dangers of future wars, and thus to give to the constituent nations that sense of security without which they can not manage their domestic affairs in security. Each nation might elect their members to the Union Legislature by some system of proportional representation.

In recent times, the approaching end of this war has drawn particular attention of all thinkers to the vital problem of post-war security and there has been a conference at Dumbarton Oaks in which representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China attended, and a certain tentative scheme which may be called the Dumbarton Oaks Plan (or briefly, the Plan) has been formulated. Roughly, there is to be a Security Council of a new League called 'United Nations', of eleven members consisting of the above four states and later on France and six other states elected for two-year periods. This Council will have full powers to put down aggression by every means, including air, naval and land actions, without reference to the views of the "United Nations" (the new League). Certain measures are suggested as to how the disputes are to be settled. Then there is to be a General Assembly consisting of all the members of the League. It is to have their right to consider general principles of co-operation in keeping the peace including those governing disarmaments and the regulation of armaments. The General Assembly is to elect non-permanent members of the Security Council. Members of this General Assembly will take the action recommended to them by the Security Council for carrying out certain non-violent methods for settling quarrels amongst nations, e.g., diplomatic and economic pressure and severance of diplomatic and economic relations. Then there should be a third body set up—an International Court of Justice to which the Security Council might refer justiciable disputes amongst states. Finally, there is to be a fourth body—the Secretaries of the "United Nations" run by a Secretary-General, the Chief Administrative Officer, who has the right to bring to the notice of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten international peace.

Such are the rough outlines of the Dumbarton Oaks Plan, the details of which have not yet been settled. On the questions left open Great Britain, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and China will prepare complete proposals which will serve as a basis of discussion at the full United Nations' Conference.

It will be noticed that the Plan conspicuously diverges from the covenant of the League of Nations, and that there is a resolute attempt, as the *Time* says, to isolate security from other aspects of international co-operation and to provide a more realistic machinery for dealing with it. In this respect, the Plan agrees with Curtis's scheme. The most obvious improvement is in the proposals enforcing the will of the United Nations by collective action against the aggressors. The Plan, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, is not a very ambitious one : it is not a super state but an instrument of co-operation between nations more limited, more practical, but less aspiring than the League.

It will thus be seen that the Plan is a practical one agreeing with Curtis's proposals that there should be an International Government charged exclusively with questions of security and defence. The Plan is not an ambitious one or one embracing a total union of all the functions of Government as proposed by Streit and others.

Certain suggestions are put forward regarding the Plan.

(1) From the newspaper reports it appears that Britain is to be one of the permanent members of the Security Council. It is not clear if this means only Great Britain or as it ought to mean, the members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. This must be insisted upon because the Dominions including India must have a seat along with Great Britain in his Council.

(2) Perhaps it might be better to start on a small scale—Union at first comprising of all the members of the Commonwealth of Nations including India, the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., China and the smaller democratic states in Europe like Holland, Belgium and Norway. The list of members of the new League might be revised after every 5 or 10 years.

(3) It is essential that at the outset none of the members of the axis including Bulgaria, Finland and other states which have actively helped the axis powers should be included in the new League. This might be revised by the members of the General Assembly every 10 years. This is very necessary as the axis powers and their satellites are imbued with anti-democratic Hitlerian principles and, it is apprehended, it will take very many years before this autocratic state of mind is radically eradicated from their minds.

(4) An objection may be raised to the Plan on the ground that it is very much an affair of the big powers. This in its very nature, must be so ; because the main burden of ensuring peace of the whole world must inevitably fall on them. Further, the big powers represented in the Security Council are all thoroughly imbued with the principles of Democracy ; and under the stress of the present war they have been moulded into a common form and their idiosyncrasies and angularities rounded off. So the further point as to how a charge of aggression against a permanent member of the Security Council is to be dealt with will, it is apprehended, hardly arise ; because each of these big states, who have fought together and have come to close contact with each other, are very unlikely to act in an oppressive manner. It can not be that the British Commonwealth of Nations, made up of so many peace-loving and thoroughly democratic states, should ever cast covetous eyes on any other states. Similarly, one can not realise Russia's or China's doing the same.

(5) So it would appear that the principle of the Security Council is really Lothian's and Curtis's idea of an International Government over the various component nations, charged with the duties of security and defence. The real question that does not appear to have been decided at the Conference is how is the financial burden taken up by the Security Council, to be discharged. We are to frame the budget and who will enforce payment. The logical thing would be as advocated above by Curtis, i.e., the Security Council should have the power to frame the budget for security and defence purposes and to be entitled to get money from the component states.

(6) As to how the members representing each of the components of the Security Council are to be chosen does not seem to be clear. The suggestion of Curtis is that there should be general elections to be held from time to time in all the component states. There are many reasons why the Dominions should be given a more generous representation than they would have on a strict basis of population.

(7) It may be remarked that the Security Council, as in Plan, combines the Executive Body and the Legislative Body proposed by Curtis.

(8) The weak point in the Plan as reported, is that the members of the General Assembly are to undertake to make available to the Security Council, on requisition and according to the special agreements among themselves, armed forces and facilities and help necessary to keep the peace. So these armed forces will be under their own National Governments and so under

their control. This will not be conducive to harmony or to speedy action, as there will be divided control. Further, this will mean that each of the component states will have to keep in full their armed forces and so bear the heavy cost of armaments. The better scheme will, as suggested by Curtis, be that the component states should contribute their quota for the defence budget prepared by the International Government; that Government should directly control the armed forces that may be necessary in the opinion of that Government. This scheme will make it unnecessary for the National Governments to keep any armed forces beyond those essential for internal security; further, the absence of a large armed national force will certainly mean less chance of clash with rival forces of other nations. The fact that the national states will be relieved of keeping armed forces would be likely to lead to the spread of specific ideas amongst each nation. After all, what is wanted is the spread amongst the peoples of the world of ideas of peace and love. The adoption of Curtis's scheme will mean that each of the United Nations will be, to a large extent, relieved from the heavy and expensive task of maintaining armed forces. Thus will be fulfilled the object underlying the Clause VIII of the Atlantic Charter that there should be general disarmament and peace-loving peoples will be relieved from the crushing burden of armaments.

(9) Finally, it is to be noted that the General Assembly of the United Nations is to act on the

principle that the organisation is based on the principle of equality of all peace-loving States. But just as all men are by nature unequal, so are the States. It would be a mistake to confuse *status* with *stature*. Equality of status is necessary, as among the Dominions under the Statute of Westminster; but equality of stature is very different. Is it expected that the U.S.S.R. will have the same weight as States like Panama or Peru? No constitution can possibly prevent the overwhelming influence of the Big Four.

Any way, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference is a striking attempt to carry out the ideas of a world state empowered to prevent future wars. It is a noble attempt to make the world safe for the peace-loving peoples of the world so that they may be assured of living out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

India must be represented as permanent member of the Security Council. By her services to the cause of freedom during the last and the present Great Wars, by her enormous resources and potential wealth, by her civilisation, and by her moral and spiritual outlook on life, India is eminently fitted to serve the cause of humanity.

The object of this article is to call upon the people of India whole-heartedly to take up the idea embodied in the Dumbarton Oaks Plan; for they must force the hands of national politicians who, in blinkers, only see what is supposed to be the good of the country, who cannot rise above narrow provincial outlook, and would deify the idea of a Federation of States.

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.—
EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

LITERATURE AND AUTHORSHIP IN INDIA :
By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of English, Lingaraj College, Belgaum, University of Bombay. With an Introduction by E. H. Foster, George Allen and Unwin, 1943. Pp. 46.

The book under review is a short critical survey of the intellectual and literary life of the Indian people since 1800. The learned author has given us a fine analysis of all those forces and factors which have contributed to the growth and development of modern Indian literature. The dissertation will be of particular use and interest to foreign readers who will find in it an admirable introduction to the study of modern Indian vernaculars.

Dr. Iyengar's account of the Bengali Renaissance and his estimate of the Western influence on Indian literatures are exceedingly suggestive. His observations on English education in our country show a breadth of outlook and commendable critical acumen. While he has pointed out the evil effects of "Macaulayan education", he has at the same time recognised the value of its immense contribution to "Indian political and cultural renaissance". The book is at once informative and suggestive.

INDO-ANGLIAN LITERATURE : By K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar. Published for the P. E. N. All-India centre, Aryasangha, Malabar Hill, Bombay; The International Book House, Ltd., Ash Lane, Fort, Bombay; 1943. Pp. 70. Price Re. 1/8.

The book contains a critical estimate of the Indian writers of English verse and prose. The author has taken

into consideration the nature of the education which fostered the growth of Indo-Anglian literature and has brought to bear upon his study materials that are not much handled today. His observations on the works of Toru Dutt, Manmohan Ghosh, Aurobindo Ghosh, Sarojini Naidu and Rabindranath Tagore speak of a fine discriminating taste and sound literary judgment. The bibliography has been prepared with care and will be of great use to the students of this rather fascinating subject.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

SOVIET RUSSIA : By K. Gibberd. Published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1942. Pages 75. Price 1 shilling net.

SOVIET STUDIES : By Ela Sen and Alex M. Reid. Thacker Spink & Co. Ltd., Calcutta, 1943. Pages 88. Price Rs. 2-8.

SOVIET ASIA : By Violet Conolly. Oxford Pamphlet on World Affairs No. 62. London, 1943. Pages 32. Price 4 d. net.

This handbook, published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs shortly after Russia was drawn into the present war on the side of Allies, offers a very concise, illuminating and, at the same time, critical estimate of the conditions existing in the Soviet Union after 25 years of the Communist regime. This book was primarily intended for men and women of the Armed Forces in Britain who wanted to know something of the conditions of a country that had remained, in spite of large-scale propaganda abroad, a closed book to most foreign observers and that had by the force of circumstances become a powerful ally. The author's presentation is

facts and figures regarding the various aspects of contemporary Soviet life and culture is objective, free from any ideological bias either in favour or against the political philosophy or social organization of the Soviet State. Mr. Gibberd has not indulged in any facile generalization or drawn upon any political predilection in presenting the achievements of the Soviet regime or in pointing out the defects and paradoxes that are perhaps inseparable from such a vast experiment in social revolution which the Communists had undertaken in Russia. A typical observation of the author is about the Russian Communist whom he describes as follows : "Well-trained in Communist doctrines, his mind packed with statistics, blandly ignorant and rather contemptuous of conditions in other countries, the Party man or woman is ready at any hour of the day or night to instruct compatriot or foreigner alike. He is never non-plussed and rarely ruffled. His convictions are like granite, his outlook materialistic. Religion he despises, psychology he does not understand, except in so far as he has learned some technique in propaganda ; his whole being is merged in the creation of a new social order. It is not difficult for the easy-going citizen from another kind of society to see his limitations. On the other hand, it is he who has made the new Russia, and it is because of his limitations that he has succeeded. He is the product of a revolution which felt the world to be in arms against it. A more peaceable world and a prosperous and secure Russia might have produced a new kind of Communist." (Page 39). The author has thrown interesting sidelight on certain aspects of life in the Soviet Union today which generally seem lost in the swelling tide of new literature on Russia inspired by Russian victories on the battlefield. His observations on the family life and marriage, on religious worship and observances, on the material conditions of the peasant, on the education of children and status of women and similar topics are shrewd and critical instead of enthusiastic or platitudinous. Mr. Gibberd's comment on the pattern of Soviet culture which is being forged through regimented and standardized channels leading towards a dull uniformity and which, he fears, may ultimately stultify the rich diversity of the traditional cultures of each national group within the U.S.S.R. deserves to be carefully studied by all those who are interested in the future trends of Soviet culture. The author concludes with a note of warning : "Although there are no aristocratic or wealthy classes in Russia there is a concentration of power and privilege of the Communist Party, and this seems likely to produce a tendency to conform to Moscow appearances and Moscow culture, similar to the desire shown by all provincial and colonial people to imitate the metropolis. This, however, is hazarding a speculation for the future, and since the future is always liable to produce unforeseen factors that upset previous calculations, it can have no more validity than all other conjectures that people are constantly tempted to make about the next stage in the progress of modern Russia."

Mr. and Mrs. Reid have produced a readable book on Soviet Russia. Mr. Reid has travelled widely in the Soviet Union just before the war broke out in Europe and had an opportunity to study the mood and manners of the Soviet people on the eve of a great trial they had to undergo both in the national as well as international spheres. Mrs. Reid has made an intimate study of Russia, and is an ardent exponent of leftist thinking in this country. The pen pictures of Soviet life in the great cities as well as in the villages that have been so neatly and warmly drawn by Mr. Reid in his travelling reminiscences are real and vivid, while Mrs. Reid has given several lively and interesting chapters on the Soviet child, the new women of Russia, etc. The joint authors have attempted in this monograph to lift up to the reader only such facets of Soviet life in peace and war which might lead to a deeper understanding of

the spirit of the Russian peoples, and have done well to avoid the pedantic dialectical jargon and those endless statistical details depicting economic and social progress achieved in the Soviet Union during the last quarter of a century. It is this quality of human approach which makes this book at once lively and convincing, although the reader will come across here and there certain provoking statements regarding Soviet foreign policy and Russia's role in the post-War world which at best may be characterised as out of tune with the general appeal of the book.

Miss Violet Conolly, the distinguished authoress of *Soviet Tempo* and an expert on Soviet economic policy, has written this highly informative pamphlet on Soviet Asia. Russian expansion into Asia, which bears some striking resemblances to the development of the North American continent, began nearly 300 years ago, and was completed in the latter half of the 19th century by the acquisition of the eastern Pacific seaboard and the conquest of Turkestan (Central Asia) to the east of the Caspian. But it is during the last twenty years, under the energetic direction of the Soviets, that the organization and development of the hitherto almost untapped resources of Soviet Asia has taken place. It is partly owing to this organization and development that the Russian armies have been enabled to maintain their powerful resistance to the German invaders, even after the loss of large industrial areas in European Russia. Miss Conolly who has widely travelled in these obscure regions has presented in this pamphlet an intimate and interesting account of the economic and social transformations that have been achieved there in recent times.

MONINDRAMOCHAN MOULIK WAR-TIME RESTRICTIONS—SUPPLEMENT NO. 1 : By K. M. Desai

Mr. Desai has done well in bringing this supplement to his War-Time Restrictions. Government, both Central and Provincial, is legislating with such speed that it is impossible even for a lawyer to keep himself abreast of the tide of legislature. Mr. Desai's supplement will lessen his labour in this respect.

THE INDIA CHARTER : By J. F. Kotewal. Pp. 458. Karachi. Price Rs. 10-8.

The book claims to be a description of the vicious circles—small and great, constituting the Indian political deadlock, including an exposition on the Hindu-Muhammadan communal problem and its corollary, Pakistan, with suggestions as to how platforms of communal unity can be evolved, the circles snapped, the problem and the deadlock solved.

The main features of the solution of the Indian problem offered in the book under review are the acceptance of Pakistan in principle, namely, the grant of freedom to Muhammadan majority provinces to remain in or keep out of the Federation of United India, the concession of the same freedom of choice to Indian States and equal representation of Hindus and Muhammadans on all legislative and public bodies and in the public services. The inter-communal relations are to be governed by a treaty renewable every 25 years. The argument is pro-Muhammadan. It contains some good suggestions with much that is trash. Its chief merit lies in the extracts and quotations—which would help a busy public man in getting them easily. It is nicely printed with a useful index.

J. M. DATTA

THE YOGA OF THE SAINTS : By V. H. Date, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Bombay-7. Cloth bound. Pp. 207. Price Rs. 6 only.

We have read this book with mixed feelings. It has won a Doctorate for the author from the University of Bombay and has been blessed by well-known names

in philosophy and literature. Naturally such a book should compel our admiration. But when one reads a chapter like the sixth on *Types of Devotion*, one feels that the author does not go far enough and deep enough in philosophy. We are sorry to have to say this. But surely, "Pada-sevana, that is resorting to the feet", or "Namaskara, that is bowing down or prostrating before God or Godlike persons, without any thought or hesitation," is not philosophy fit for University consumption.

The author must have read a lot of Sanskrit. But in using Sanskrit words, he does not follow the generally accepted mode of transliteration. And the use of the word 'sakhyatva' (P. 114) to mean friendship is definitely a defiance of grammar.

We are constrained to say that there is a touch of medievalism in the author's presentation of his thesis. And in going through the book, the mind is oppressed with a sense of inadequacy and sometimes even of crudeness.

By the way, do our dealers in Indian Philosophy who speak so much of other-worldliness and God-realization, really accept them as guiding principles of life? If they did, could they seek worldly fame and academic honour? Is not there an inherent contradiction in a Vedantist expecting some economic profit or social value or telling the world of ignorant men that the world we see is not real? We mean no disrespect to, or reflection on, any one in particular. But the superior truth that the world we live in is an illusion is so often paraded before us, that the question becomes pertinent.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE WOMAN UNDER THE HINDU LAW OF MARRIAGE & SUCCESSION: By Hansa Mehta. Pratibha Publication, Peoples' Building, Bombay. Price not mentioned.

This little pamphlet contains two lectures delivered by the learned author on the two Bills relating to the Hindu Law of Marriage and Succession at Vanasthali Vidyapith. A glance at the proceedings of the Imperial Legislative Council will convince the reader that in every session, an attempt is made to bring some sort of bill to make changes in the provisions of the present Hindu Law. The rules of Hindu Law as observed by the Privy Council in the case of Sri Balusu Gurulinga Swami vs. Sri Balusu Rama Lakshana (1899) reported in 21 All. 460, are an admixture of morality, religion and law and it is not often easy to determine where religion ends and morality or law begins. These changes may displease the orthodox section of the Hindu community, but on the other hand it is contended by some learned scholars that the Hindu Law as found in the Smriti text-books "was never meant to be applicable to all the Hindus living over the length and breadth of this ancient land". They therefore suggest that the only cure for this state of things lies in the enactment of uniform and simple codified law. The present Hindu Law, as administered by the Indian Courts, has been slowly built up in the course of ages on a solid foundation of accepted rules and established usages and customs interpreted by commentators and Judges and altered here and there by modern legislation.

The views advocated by the learned author in the book under review deserve careful consideration.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

THE NIGHT IS HEAVY: By Krishan Shungloo. Published by Free India Publications, Lahore. Price Rs. 3.

There are 29 poems, most of which have been written, as the author says in his note, while a student at Oxford. To quote him, "These poems are essentially subjective. They tell of my struggle with life and its ugly realities."

In many a way Mr. Shungloo discards conventions associated with the particular vehicle that he has chosen for expression of his thoughts. He uses no capital letter; he frees himself from restrictions of punctuation, he aims more at delineation of scenes, actions and thoughts with exactness than with fairness and justice. There is undoubtedly no good poetry in the expressions like "love measured in big salvarsan doses", "the golden embrace of sex-scented limbs", "women bare their breasts for silver pieces", but there are life, vitality and vigour in Mr. Shungloo's poems, which will surely entrap any reader's attention. Mr. Shungloo is altogether more a poet of power than a poet of beauty.

DARK TESTAMENT: By Peter Abrahams. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Price 7s. 6d.

First published in 1942, *Dark Testament* contains 14 sketches from life as the author saw and felt, and five stories. This is among a few of the works that the British publishers have in the recent years put on the market—they are all by the colonial writers of the day, or they are at least of some colonial interest. These publications, besides opening up new vistas for colonial reciprocity and imperial consolidation, have unearthed the ways of life and feelings among the people of the unrecognized countries like India, Australia or the Dark Continent.

Born in 1919 and brought up in the slum suburb of Johannesburg Peter Abrahams, the author of the book under notice, worked in a tin-smithy when only nine years old. "At this stage somebody told him the stories from Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*; these fired his childish imagination, and he presented himself at the coloured Government Aided School, so as to learn to write stories like Lamb's *Tales*." His school career, and then his wandering about South Africa "taking part in the political struggle against racial oppression"—have formed the central theme of the sketches, which he captions, "I Remember . . ."

Anybody who will read the stories of Peter Abrahams must like them not only for the strange atmosphere they present, but also for the people who have been dressed up as characters in the stories with their own problems, their own ways of life. Deep in pathos, still shining with humanitarian love and sympathy—characterization by Peter Abrahams is quite a lively art in his hands, both sweet and simple. His themes are collected mostly out of dejection and despair, out of shame and disgrace done to the dark by the white people, out of illiteracy, poverty, slum life.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY: By Pandit V. Krishnamacharya under the supervision of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon). The Adyar Library. Crown 8 vo. Pp. viii + 210. Price Rs. 10.

This contains two alphabetical lists: one of the titles and the other of the authors of Sanskrit works, manuscripts of which are possessed by the Adyar Library of Madras. The titles are followed by an indication of the names of the authors and their genealogy where available. The special branch of Sanskrit literature under which a particular work falls is indicated by abbreviations, a list of which (with the exception of श्वर् standing for श्वरः) is appended. References as to important manuscript libraries of South India are made in cases where other MSS. of the works described here are known to exist in these libraries. Titles not met with in the Catalogus Catalogorum are marked with asterisks. There may be minor inaccuracies here and there specially owing to defective



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and imperfect titles occasionally met with in MSS. It is true the work only serves to rouse curiosity of the readers which it cannot satisfy for the lack of any detailed information. But still it will be very useful to all those who have to work with manuscripts, placing, as it does, at their disposal a bird's-eye view of the valuable contents of the library. How one would wish to have such lists for other big manuscript collections all over the country! Unfortunately, however, up till now very few manuscript libraries have brought out such lists, not to speak of complete catalogues.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DEVENDRA NATH TAGORE : By Joyesh Chandra Bagal. Published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 248/1 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 112. Price 12 annas only.

This book is No. 45 of the series entitled "The character-sketches of Bengalee literary men" published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, the premier literary association of Bengal. The writer has made a name for himself as a wide-awake student of affairs, and a researcher into certain phases of 19th century Bengalee life. In the present booklet he has tried to draw up for us a short sketch of the life and work of Devendra Nath Tagore, better known as the *Maharshi*, who has gained a historic significance more as one of the creators of an atmosphere in which flowered men and women with newer sensitiveness to national self-respect and richer human values. Limitations of space must have been responsible for failure to build a fuller background of the developments that have been re-making India since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Devendra Nath was fully conscious of this mission as the quotation made from his auto-biography in p. 55 of this book goes to show. Herein we find the fountain-head of the inspiration that has made the Brahmo Samaj the progressive force that it has been in the life of our people.

But as a sketch of "the Maharshi" as a literary man, of literature made into an instrument for releasing forces of change and awakening over the country, the book is a success. The chapter—pp. 84-107—gives us clues to the many books written by him that will enable readers to follow up their studies with a view to understand the life and times of Devendra Nath Tagore, of those activities that are the seed-plots of modern India.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

VICHITRA MANIPUR : By Nalini Kumar Bhadra, Indian Associated Publishing Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1944. Pages 88. Price Re. 1-8.

The author who knows Manipur and Manipurees intimately has produced a timely and interesting book on this picturesque land on the borders of Assam and Burma, which has recently come into prominence as a crucial battlefield in the war against Japan. The author reminds us that the historic and cultural ties of Bengal with Manipur are varied and rich. This book is not one of those records of subjective impressions, half imaginary and half fantastical, gained while travelling in a foreign country but reveals the true spirit of a people through a painstaking analysis of their racial, cultural and spiritual characteristics. This has been possible because of the author's deep-rooted sympathy for and understanding of the inherent simplicity and goodness and the artistic and chivalrous temperament of the Manipuri people. The author's style is picturesque and fascinating. The book contains a chapter on "The Lampi" based on Colonel Chapman's book of the same name which describes the construction of the new

Silchar-Bishenpore Road. Dr. Kalidas Nag has contributed a delightful preface to the volume.

MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK

EUROPE—(ENGLAND AND GERMANY) : By Kshitish Chandra Banerjee. Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pages 171. Price Rs. 2-8 only.

The author of this book, with Rs. 11 and a cycle, started for his world tour in 1933. The present book is the second part of his travels in Bengal, the first part being confined to Italy and France. He has also written several books in English which have been well received by the public. Unlike ordinary tourists he mixed freely with the masses in the cities and country folks and thus he is in a position to give the benefit of the first-hand knowledge of men and things as he has seen in foreign lands. Nothing good or bad escaped his keen eyes but he is never unsympathetic towards foreigners. As a matter of fact he was very well received by the ordinary people both in England and Germany. As he finished his travels before the present war broke out we have a very clear picture of the German life and temperament of the time.

We have no doubt that the readers' labour in the perusal of this book will be amply paid for in pleasure they will derive by going through the narrations. The book is nicely bound and well printed and it is written in an attractive style.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

BUDDHA-CHARIT (PART II) : By Suryanarayan Chowdhury, M.A. Published by Sanskrit Bhawan, Kathotia, P.O. Kajha (Purnea). Pp. 164. Price Re. 1.

We had occasion to review the first part of the translation of Lord Buddha's life by Asvaghosh in these columns last year. Now has come the second part, which, also, has been based on the English translation of Dr. Johnston. The translation has been quite good and in simple Hindi, which makes reading both easy and interesting.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

KADHA LAHARI : Edited and compiled by Sri Siva Sankara Sastry. Published by Andhra Pracharam Limited, Rajhmundry. Copyright reserved. Pp. 207. Price Re. 1 only.

This is a good collection of short stories. Almost all the writers included in this book are wellknown in the literary field. The stories are of varied character and are extremely entertaining. The most enjoyable piece is 'Baki'—a short story full of humorous situations.

There is sanity and restraint in most of the sketches and from the literary standpoint some of them are remarkable.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

APNUN VADODARA (Our Baroda) : By Ramesh Ranganath Gautum. Published by the Publicity Department, Baroda, 1945. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 68.

The fifteenth session of the Gujarati Literary Conference was held at Baroda during the Christmas holidays of the current year (1943). A large concourse of persons who were interested in Gujarati Literature had gathered together and the distribution of this brochure, which sets out the beauty and utility spots of the capital city of His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwad was a welcome step and the reader will be interested to find very useful information therein. It should be preserved as a memento.

K. M.

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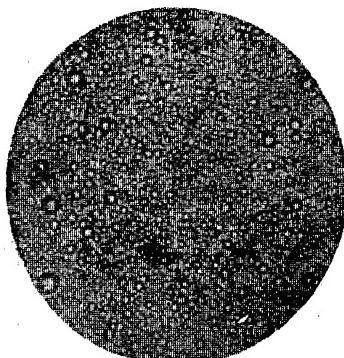
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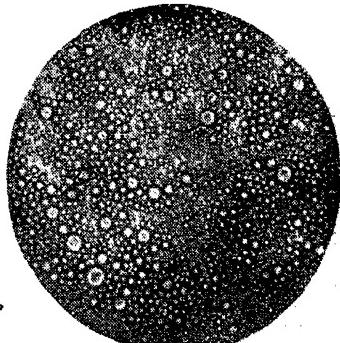
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



A Moment With Lin Yutang

The conflict in the soul of modern China is mirrored in the conflict in the mind of one of her most gifted living sons. Khwaja Ahmad Abbas writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It was with considerable misgivings that I met Lin Yutang. Would he belie my mental picture of him based upon the impression created by his books? But he did not. He is as wise as the compiler of *The Wisdom of China and India* can be expected to be; he has the serenity, sense of humour and love of life of *The Importance of Living*; his conversation is flavoured *With Love* (of human beings) and (gentle) *Irony*. In him is the agelessness of *Moment in Peking* as well as the tempestuous fighting spirit of *A Leaf in the Storm*. As one talks to him one feels his transition from the gay and gentle philosopher who wrote *The Importance of Living* to the embittered and disillusioned idealist who wrote *Between Tears and Laughter*. The experience of his people during the last seven years has changed both the content and the tone of Lin Yutang's writings, and I think it has changed him personally, too.

Like Nehru of India, he too is a joint product of the East and the West, and citizen of the world, his feet planted firmly in the soil of China, drawing wisdom and spiritual nourishment from the Good Earth, but his eyes fixed on the Western horizon. Like Nehru, gain, it is not the outward glitter of material prosperity that draws him to the West but, rather, that spirit of curiosity and the scientific outlook that are the real contributions of the West to the structure of world thought.

Men are what they are because of what they have experienced and Lin Yutang's life is the key to his character and his attitude to life.

He was born forty-nine years ago in Amoy on the south-east coast of China, the son of a humble Christian pastor. The family was poor but the father was a great scholar both of the Christian scriptures and of the Chinese classics and there was a literary atmosphere in the house where young Yutang grew up. It was this atmosphere, rather than serious study, that was the making of the future writer, for he took school work lightly and was known for his indifference to text-books. But, growing up in a house that was poorly furnished but stacked with books, words acquired a fascination for him. He read everything he could lay his hands upon—except the text-books, of course! Soon he wanted to write himself and when he went to St. John's University in Shanghai for his B.A. degree, his contributions to the college magazine attracted attention for their light and breezy style. After graduation in 1916 he was sent to Harvard where he took his Master's degree in comparative literature. From America he migrated to Germany where he studied philology in the Leipzig University from 1921 to 1923. This was the period of the severest economic crisis in Germany and the sensitive young man from China had his cloistered student life constantly disturbed by the grim spectre of poverty that he saw everywhere.

It is interesting also to observe the peculiarly varied influences of Chinese classicism, care-free American

college life and serious German study producing an intellect that is mellow, analytical and vigorous. With all that, when he returned to China and joined the Peking National University, Lin Yutang was only a brilliant young professor of philology and comparative literature.

The Peking University at that time was a centre of progressive thought and the minds of all educated youths in China were filled with democratic ideas. An obscure Doctor Sun Yat-Sen had fired their imagination—most of all, that of the young Professor Lin. When the Revolution broke out he left the University and joined the "rabble" that was to overthrow the ancient Manchu dynasty.

In 1927 he quitted all jobs and decided to devote his time entirely to writing.

With the help of some friends he started a weekly paper *China Critic* which he edited and, under the pseudonym of "The Little Critic," he wrote in it a memorable series of articles.

These writings attracted considerable attention both in China and abroad and led to the writing of Lin Yutang's first great work, the monumental *My Country and My People*, that appeared in the United States in 1935, and still remains the best introduction to China.

The Test is Poland

The New Review observes :

The action along the Russian front during August was limited to a series of attacks and counter-attacks; such a mutual probing of the front usually heralds a big offensive but most of the fighting was on a reduced scale except for the key-point of Siauliai at which a breach would be fatal to the Nazi armies in the Baltic countries. Hitler in forcing his generals to hold fast to the Baltic countries committed a huge blunder which Mr. Churchill said even the 'military idiots' across the Channel would not perpetrate. Blunders and defeats wrought untold havoc. The discontent of some Nazi generals rankled into disaffection. Turkey became frigid, Bulgaria turned hostile and Rumania rushed to the help to the victorious side.

What is most perplexing on the eastern front is the Polish question which came to a climax with the Soviet approach to Warsaw. Many dislike unpalatable old truths and prefer to shift their point of view as if it always meant progress, but one must never tire of repeating the basic fact that Poland was, is and will remain the test of our war achievements. What makes matters so complex is the unpredictable policy of Stalin. Long ago he had dreamed of establishing Wanda Wasilewska and her Union of Polish Patriots as the government of Poland. Then as her subservience to the Soviet became by far too patent, he gave her up and he took to the Polish National Council which emerged from the Moscow backstreets under the obscure Morawski. His plan would be to base the Government of Poland on the Polish regiments now in Russia and a National Council that would take possession of the liberated country, possession being mine points of the law. Then the Government-in-exile would be told : 'Either you join us or you stay where you are.'

But President Mikolajczyk cannot easily be brushed aside. He has his heroic legions in Italy and France and his Underground Army in Poland; on the other hand, he is determined to avoid civil war at all costs. A tireless pilgrim of Polish nationalism, he went to Washington and came back a sad man; he went to Moscow and came back sadder still. He then played his last triumph: as the Russians approached Warsaw he ordered his Underground Army to revolt. The Polish Underground captured most of the town, but the Russian attack was not pursued and the Polish Underground as forced back into the old city, where they hold on thanks to munitions dropped by R.A.F. planes coming from far away Italy. It was the first time that the Soviet command did not support guerrilla warfare behind the Nazi front.

The Polish puzzle is becoming a tragedy; the solution is in the hands of Stalin. He has given proof of elasticity in some directions. Recently he passed new regulations on marriage and maternity which a Komsomol girl summarised in the slogan, 'More children, fewer careers'; he has come to bank heavily on Russian nationalism and patronises a new film about one whom children of Tsarist days called 'Ivan the Terrible' and whom communist youths are taught to call 'Ivan the Good'. But politically he is rigidly dull and cannot fancy a democratic system that would not be according to the Soviet pattern.

Gandhiji's Religion

The Aryan Path observes :

The Discipline of Yoga of the Gandhian ascetic is a fourfold one. The Triad of Service, Truth and Love requires a Quaternary for manifestation. This Quaternary Gandhiji has put forth as the Square of Swaraj. In *Harijan* of January 2, 1937, he speaks of "Ramraj, i.e., the sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority"—and that can be realised by the nation only if a fourfold Self-reliance is practised. Swa-raj, Self-rule, means the Triad of the Soul, the God within, the Inner Ruler, has become the Master of life and of all possessions of life. Life in Matter means a life of possessions and these are (1) Political, (2) Economic, (3) Social and (4) Spiritual. Writes Gandhiji :—

Let there be no mistake about my conception of Swaraj. It is complete independence of alien control and complete economic independence. So at one end you have political independence at the other the economic. It has two other ends. One of them is moral and social, the corresponding end is Dharma, i.e., religion in the highest sense of the term. It includes Hinduism, Islam, Christianity etc., but is superior to them all. You may recognize it by the name of Truth, not the honesty of expedience but the living Truth that pervades everything and will survive all destruction and all transformation. Moral and social uplift may be recognized by the term we are used to, i.e., non-violence. Let us call this the square of Swaraj which will be out of shape if any of its angles is untrue. In the language of the Congress we cannot achieve this political and economic freedom without truth and non-violence, in concrete terms, without a living faith in God and hence moral and social elevation.

By political independence I do not mean an imitation of the British House of Commons, or the Soviet rule of Russia or the Fascist rule of Italy or the Nazi rule of Germany. They have systems suited to their genius. We must have ours suited to ours. What that can be is more than I can tell. I have described it as Ramraj, i.e., sovereignty of the people based on pure moral authority. The Congress constitutions of Nagpur and Bombay for which I am mainly responsible are an attempt to achieve this type of Swaraj.

Then take economic independence. It is not a pro-

duct of industrialization of the modern or the Western type. Indian economic independence means to me, the economic uplift of every individual male and female by his or her own conscious effort. Under that system all men and women will have enough clothing—not mere loin cloth, but what we understand by the term necessary articles of clothing—and enough food including milk and butter which are today denied to millions.

This brings me to socialism. Real socialism has been handed down to us by our ancestors who taught, "All land belongs to Gopal, where then is the boundary line? Man is the maker of that line and he can therefore unmake it." Gopal literally means shepherd; it also means God. In modern language it means the State, i.e., the people. That the land today does not belong to the people is too true. But the fault is not in the teaching. It is in us who have not lived up to it.

I have no doubt that we can make as good an approach to it as is possible for any nation, not excluding Russia, and that without violence. The most effective substitute for violent dispossession is the wheel with all its implications. Land and all property is his who will work it. Unfortunately the workers are or have been kept ignorant of this simple fact.

—*Harijan*, January 2, 1937.

Improvements of Rice Yields in India

S. P. Aiyar writes in *Science and Culture* :

At present, the main problem is to adopt practical measures. One may recommend the use of high yielding varieties, the provision of adequate water supply and the intensive use of fertilizers. The difficulty in adopting these suggestions is the inadequate supply of each of the items required.

Even assuming the simplified formula that much improvement in the yield of paddy is possible by the use of ammonium sulphate and superphosphate alone one is faced with the problem of supply. If every sulphuric acid plant in India were to divert its total production of acid to the manufacture of superphosphate from bones for 2 or 3 months a large stock may be accumulated. Ammonium sulphate is a more difficult problem as the existing Indian resources are quite small. Substitutes, such as oil cakes, may be useful but, in the author's view, cannot adequately replace ammonium sulphate.

The quantity of fertilizer to be applied must be adequate for the purpose in view. The minimum rate of application should be between 40 and 80 lb. of nitrogen and phosphoric acid per acre, preferably in the form of ammonium sulphate and superphosphate respectively. It will be useless to apply smaller doses over a wider area if increase in yield is the paramount consideration. It must also be mentioned that manuring the seedbed is of doubtful value for increasing the yield of crop.

While such temporary war time measures are in progress fundamental researches should be initiated to discover the full facts about paddy nutrition and fill up the numerous gaps in our knowledge of this subject. The time is opportune, as war conditions have brought into prominence the insufficient food supply in the country and the weak position of the rice-eating areas. It is hoped, therefore, that fundamental researches would receive encouragement and adequate financial support.

Racism and the Colour Problem—Far and Near

G. A. Chandavarkar writes in *The Indian Review* :

During the last two or three centuries, with the enormous expansion of the whiteman's political and economic domination nearly all the world over, there has been a corresponding rousing of the race con-

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ness among the "ruled coloured people", with the result that the impact has either led to clashes of varying intensities or in some cases to a happy intermingling of the races for their mutual benefit. Of late, however, both the race problem and the colour problem have become so acute that they have become world-issues, on the equitable solution of which depends largely the future peace of the world. On the one hand, the irreconcilable protagonist of the white man proclaims that "The black man can never understand the whiteman, nor the white the black, as long as black is black and white is white." On the other hand, the subjugated coloured man feels that mere ethnological differences can by no means be a bar to his attainment of political equality or economic freedom. He has no faith either in the "ruling race theory" or in the view that "the whiteman's mission is to farm the world." It is also noteworthy that queer notions of racism have led to strange and unhappy results in world's history. At times, peoples belonging to the same race with varying political aspirations have come into terrible conflicts, e.g., the Jews and the Arabs among the Semitic races, the Germans and the British among the Teutons and the Chinese and the Japanese among the Mongoloids.

Certain races, imbued with the notions of capitalistic imperialism or of race superiority, look down upon the coloured people with callousness.

They look down upon the coloured people with supreme callousness, so much so that they are considered not only unfit for "self-determination" but also not quite worthy of even disinterested partnership, because of the existence of peculiar communal differences among them.

Such an attitude has naturally led to disquieting situations. No amount of pious wishes expressed in solemn conclaves or clauses embodied in charters can stem the rising tide of race consciousness, nor can huge armaments and the terrible weapons of destruction at the command of the powers achieve their purpose. Psychological causes underlying this strange malady deserve to be diagnosed and remedies applied. Else, the edifice of future peace of the world will have been built upon sand.

When once power over the weak is attained, will to retain it persists. Gradually self-assertiveness even of the weaker makes him resist the wish of the stronger not to part with power. Inferiority complex developed in the subjugated owing to fear or terror eventually becomes a passing phase. Desperation ultimately takes its place. Even the notions of a lower standard of living of

the coloured races have no rational basis, because the criterion differs. Can it be argued that a life of "Plain living and High thinking" is inferior to a life of feverish existence, hurry-burly, bustle, restlessness and the multiplication of luxuries of modern times? Clearly then, racism is a great impediment in the path of pan-humanism. Hence it is that Dr. Boas says "Racism as a basis of social solidarity is against the cultural interest of mankind." Mutual goodwill and the shedding of mistrust and distrust backed by feelings of give and take are perhaps the only antidotes to the malady eating into the vitals of the powers that be, be they in Central Europe or Australia or South Africa.

In the British Dominions where out of seven people, six are coloured the problem is of vital importance.

In different regions it has assumed different forms. In Australia, it has arisen out of economic causes, such as wage-rivalry. In South Africa, it is alleged to be the outcome of inequalities in the standard of living. In India, it is the *conception of a particular type of political freedom* that has made it so complex and even embarrassing at times. Researches of linguists and orientalists have established the fact that the Britisher and the Indo-Aryan originally belong to the same race, viz., the Caucasian. Only long residence in hot climates has given rise to differences in the externals, just as it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon race in Australia centuries after may undergo such marked ethnological changes as to disbelieve the oneness of their original stock. Culturally, Indians are not backward. What then is the impediment in the path?

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The Problem of Power

The problem of power is the major problem which confronts humanity to-day. *The Month* writes editorially :

Science and invention have placed at man's disposal frightening instruments for the display of power. Yet, the problem of power cannot be solved, in the final instance, by power-politics, though it is true, as we have already insisted, that diplomacy, based upon power-politics was able to maintain the peace of Europe more effectively and for a longer period than did the ideals of 1919-1939, only half-accepted and half-trusted. However, in the long run, power cannot solve the problem of power. For some time, after the war, there will have to be an armistice regime that will disarm Germany in Europe and Japan in Asia, and will allow Germany's neighbours and Japan's neighbours to develop their resources and to provide, and have provided for them, reasonable security against aggression. This armistice regime may last for ten or more years; and at least a generation will have to pass before the fears and hatreds engendered by this war will have been finally dispelled. The Allied Powers that will dispose of an overwhelming military and material superiority when the war is concluded, must keep the peace for the time being, and they must do their best—in the interests of an eventual peace settlement—to discipline their national and imperialist ambitions for the world's common good. However, they will have to be looking ahead and thinking in longer terms. A short-term policy there must be, involving the occupation of the enemy countries, with whatever punitive measures will be deemed just and necessary. Europe, and indeed the entire world, must be given the chance of reviving, of gathering strength, and conducting their affairs normally. But it has to be recognized that this is merely a short-term policy—to be followed by a new ordering of international relationships, on the basis of generally accepted moral principles. The major defect of the League of Nations, as we knew it from 1919 to 1939, was just this uncertainty about moral principles, however peace-loving may have been its general attitude. Rarely has Mr. Christopher Dawson written so well on this subject as in a recent short article in the *Bulletin of the Sword of the Spirit*. His argument is the following :

"The establishment of a true international order depends therefore on the recognition of an international law which rests not on the power of the Great States nor on the will of the majority but on the immutable rock of the moral law. This law of justice and truth makes a natural appeal to every human being and it is therefore the immanent source of social order both in the national and international sphere, both for the City and the World. It is only when this moral basis of international order has been secured that it is possible to realise a truly organic conception of the society of nations. Every nation has its own genius and its own tradition of culture which it strives to preserve at all costs as a sacred inheritance. But this legitimate will to natural self-expression may become a form of collective selfishness which sacrifices the rights of others to its blind will to power, unless peoples have a clear sense of their moral responsibility to the whole—to the society of nations in general and to their neighbours and partners in particular. It has been the weakness of modern nationalism to undervalue or to ignore these

wider social responsibilities and to regard national citizenship—the relation of the individual to the sovereign State as the one all-inclusive relation to which all other human and moral rights must be sacrificed. But it has not always been so. In the past the rich diversity and spontaneity of local and national tradition was combined with the consciousness of a common European culture and with the acceptance of common Christian standards. Christendom was in fact a true international society—a family of nations, united in spiritual kinship and acknowledging a common spiritual law. And it is hard to see how an organic international order can be created unless the primacy of the spiritual is restored. A materialist, international order will inevitably be a region of power, as we see in the totalitarian States to-day; and in so far as it is a reign of power without spiritual purposes, it will only breed fresh wars and lead us back to a more complete catastrophe."

Wise words which bring us back to the fundamental difficulty. Superior power is necessary to overcome aggression, which itself has been and is the misuse and exploitation of power. Power may only be overcome by superior power; but the problem of power cannot be solved, ultimately, in this way. The one solution lies in the dedication of power to nobler ends and for higher and more abiding values. You can resolve the frightful situation created by power only by transcending the whole sphere of power, that is, only in terms of moral, human and finally spiritual principles.

Science and Religion

In an article under the caption, "The Church and Science", in *The Month*, F. Sherwood Taylor observes :

In the second half of the XIXth century science had grown so important, universal and influential that the scientist began to say, "This mechanical model of the universe represents all concerning which we have knowledge," from which agnostic position it was a short step to the atheistic position of to-day, in which science is not opposed to religion, but considers the question of the existence of spiritual beings to be something outside science, and therefore as not being a matter for serious discussion by scientific men, in which class nearly everyone who interests himself in scientific discovery wishes to be included.

There has not been merely a change in the standards of interpretation of the Scriptures; there has been a new world-picture which has become implicit in the common talk and journalism of the day. The man in the street may not understand the foundations or the conclusions of science, but he has accepted its standard of evidence and its method. There has indeed been a change of front. Until the XIXth century, the feature of the conflict we have been discussing was religious intolerance of scientific views. The boot is now on the other foot. Science has become the repository of inviolable dogma—not as to fact but as to method. The religious are the heretics. The man of science has constructed a creed which is not the weaker because it is held implicitly.

Where is the blame for this state of affairs to be laid? I do not think Galileo, Descartes and Newton had any idea that they were the founders of a worldwide system of atheism—yet the essential mischief had

been done before its popularisers, from Voltaire to Huxley, had got to work. Was the Church to blame, I wonder, for its failure to see what was coming, and to meet it? It is not easy to see what could have been done—except to do much sooner what has now been done, namely, to give a generous welcome to scientific progress, to adopt a liberal view of the possibility of the re-interpretation of the Scriptures, in such a manner as to relinquish nothing of the faith, yet give the fullest scope for teaching and research. May we not think that if the Church had, from the seventeenth century till to-day, encouraged, financed and promoted science, as she did philosophy in the middle ages, science might to-day be glorifying God instead of belittling man.

My terms of reference are historical: it is not for me to look to the present or the future. But I must say that the greatest of present-day religious tasks is the analysis of the cause of aversion between religion and science: and the construction of a scheme or discovery of a method whereby science may take its full part but no more in the affairs of man and of Humanity. As Art and Religion co-operated in the painters and builders of the middle ages, so science and religion must co-operate to-day in us. We barely know how they can be persuaded to co-exist in man's mind; but the consummation of a marriage between them is a task on which every apt intelligence should now be bent.

The Paper Industry of India

In the article entitled "Paper-making Materials of the British Empire" in the *Journal*

of the Royal Society of Arts (August, 1944), we read the following under the heading 'India':

The paper industry of India has been long established, the first mill commencing operation as early as 1825. In 1870 the first mill of importance started production. This was followed at intervals by other mills, and by 1900 the paper produced in India amounted approximately to 20,000 tons. In 1925, there were nine mills in production. Up to this time the staple indigenous raw material for pulp production was sabai grass (*Ischaemum angustifolium*), common in Northern and Central India. Although India has a large population the paper demand is relatively small. Nevertheless the country's requirements represent a fair-sized industry, and in order to increase the production of home-made pulp it was necessary to look for other material than sabai grass the supplies of which were limited and not capable of further expansion. Through the outstanding work of Raitt, bamboo was shown to be a suitable material to meet the local demand in many respects. A protective tariff, imposed in 1925 on imported paper which competed with Indian-made sorts, greatly assisted the paper industry and enabled bamboo pulp to be developed as the main local material. A further tariff in 1932 on imported wood pulp had the effect of countering the increased use of this material. The mills then began to increase the production of bamboo pulp, which had already established itself as suitable for writing, printing, bank, ledger and other classes of paper. Sabai grass having its own characteristics, is retained for some classes of paper, and is the chief material employed in the United Provinces and the Punjab, where adequate supplies of bamboo are not available. Otherwise bamboo is the main indigenous material employed. In the years from 1925 to 1931 the average annual production of



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bamboo pulp was about 2,000 tons, grass pulp about 10,000 tons, imported wood pulp 17,000 tons. By 1939, the production of bamboo pulp had risen to about 33,000 tons, sabai grass pulp amounted to 22,000 tons, while the imported wood pulp had fallen to approximately 13,000 tons.

There were in 1939 some twelve paper mills operating in India, producing 73,000 tons of paper, as compared with 27,000 tons in 1925.

Recently it has been shown that "kraft" pulp can be made from bamboo, and production on a commercial scale has commenced.

Attention has been given to materials for mechanical pulp. Projects for the establishment of newsprint mills in Kashmir and Tehri-Gahrwal States, employing local fir and spruce, are under consideration. India imported prior to the war about 35,000 tons of newsprint, some 25,000 tons of paper board, and about 40,000 tons of other kinds of paper.

The Future of Civil Aviation

In an article under the above caption in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* (July, 1944), Sir A. H. Roy Fedden regrets that the average Britisher lacks the spirit and interest in being sufficiently air-minded as compared with the ordinary man in the street in the United States :

The adventurous spirit and gallantry of our youth in the air, so finely brought out in the present war, and the innate engineering sense and ability of our technicians to improvise and develop a particular line of thought to a logical conclusion, are outstanding qualities of the British character, which will contribute in no small way to our future success in civil aviation. It may, however, be worth while looking at one or two of the unsatisfactory trends in our make-up which we must guard against, because undoubtedly we have certain characteristics which might be inclined to hold us back in civil aviation, just as we have others which will tend to spur us forward.

Firstly, I would note the general apathy of the average Britisher towards civil aviation, as compared with, for instance, the ordinary man in the street in the United States. We are all justly proud of the magnificent work of the Royal Air Force and of the success and supremacy of British made military aircraft, but even so, the average civilian does not visualise that he is going to fly very much after the war; he does not look upon it as his inheritance in the same way that his forefathers looked upon the sea. I do not think that he can be entirely blamed for this, for he has not been properly educated on the subject, and moreover, British

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civil aviation at the outbreak of war was not in a state to thrill him very much.

For the future it is imperative that we build up a good national air morale, and that we lay down a well considered policy on air line operation, giving a strong and virile lead which can be understood and approved by the man in the street, both at home and in the Dominions. There is every hope that the apathy towards aviation will change when our Air Force personnel come back into civil life.

Surgeons Hail New Metal in Saving Lives

James C. Loary writes :

Tantalum, a rare metal costing about Rs. 210 pound, is the newest addition to the resources of medical men in caring for the casualties of war.

Tantalum which is element No. 73 in the table of out of which everything in the world is made, is apparently the long-sought answer to the search for a "perfect surgical metal," according to a number of U. S. Army and Navy surgeons.

It is a bluish-white metal, strong, tough and malleable, more than twice as heavy as iron, and named by a Swedish scientist who tried to isolate it nearly 150 years ago but failed. Some was made about 35 years ago, but it was not until 1922 that modern metallurgical methods made it possible to produce it on a commercial basis. The only producer in the world at present is the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation in the U. S. A German chemical firm formerly produced some of it, but British bombers are believed to have eliminated that plant. Two factors give tantalum its value in surgery—its high resistance to corrosion and its easy workability. (USOWI).

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NOTES

C. R. Throws New Light on Communal Problem

Out of evil cometh good. In his address to the Nagpur University Convocation Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar has given a masterly analysis of the Muslim League's attitude towards Pakistan and the Congress view-point on it. This restatement of the communal case would, we believe, be of the utmost help in stemming the drift which is pushing the peoples of India to the sure abyss of destruction. Two significant passages from his speech are quoted below. Analysing the League attitude C. R. says :

By all means let us prefer to let things remain unsolved rather than agree to anything dishonourable or tyrannical, but it is not dishonour or submission to tyranny to allow the majorities in any area to be in more than subordinate charge of the affairs of those areas, which is the offer that we made to Mr. Jinnah and with which he is not satisfied.

Muslim leadership has, in my humble opinion, shown an incapacity for courageously following up its own declared policy. It is ever the case, that we show more courage when demanding something which the other party will not give, than when it arrives and claims our acceptance and responsibility. The dangers and troubles of a sovereign separate State become more obvious when it is offered than when it was demanded and refused. The Muslim League obviously prefers controversy to the responsibilities of government. It finds a sense of success in functioning as a well-disciplined party in opposition to any advance towards democratic rule in India, which is easier than the undertaking of a separate state in the present world. It is not the champions of unitary Government, nor the Akhand Hindustan leadership, but the Muslim League itself that has dealt a severe blow and caused a set-back to the Pakistan claim. If the League's contention is that Pakistan cannot maintain itself without the inclusion of non-Muslim areas within its boundaries, it is a fatal admission against the case for separation and makes the argument for united India unanswerable.

Then he states the Congress case very ably in these words :

If we wish to advance in our programme we must seize such opportunities and such power as and when

they come, and use them to heal the diseases that have developed in the body politic.

We should use them to build up the habit of a common purpose cutting across clans, creeds and communities and to establish social and economic conditions that will help us to become strong as a united people and sustain the responsibilities of freedom. The cry will be raised that this is defeatist mentality and that I advocate surrender. Of such clap-trap we have had more than enough. To give up an illusion is not surrender but wisdom, specially when that illusion leads us to leave the field free to Imperialism and those that thrive on it, to corruption and the full play of all anti-national forces. The confidence that if we seize opportunities and take up power and responsibility we can build up is not defeatism but the contrary of it. Subjection has developed diseases of all kinds and I firmly believe that they cannot be healed by merely remaining in the wilderness and allowing reaction to do full mischief. By all means, let us keep our arm and our inherent right to a revolution intact. Let us not be committed to a course that takes us away from the goal and the path leading to it. But let us not discard precious opportunities for building up.

We may not agree with many of the tactical methods of Rajaji, but we are in full agreement with the views he has expressed herein and we believe that with his masterly vision and control over expression he has thrown a flood of new light on this vexed problem. New vistas for those who desire to bring about an end of the communal scourge has at last been provided.

What Denial Policy Cost the People

There is no true opinion that the Bengal Government's Denial policy had been one of the primary causes of the last terrible famine and the pestilence that followed in its wake. The magnitude of the muddle and its cost in human life and suffering was already known, the cost in money has now been revealed in the report of the Public Accounts Committee of the Central Legislature on the Accounts of 1942-43. The Report has been signed by Messrs C. E.

Jones, Raza Ali, Md. Azhar Ali, Ismail Ali Khan, A. M. A. Ghani, F. H. Paricha, T. Chapman-Mortimer, Habibur Rahaman, L. K. Maitra, H. M. Abdullah and Sir Ratanji Dalal. No accounts in respect of a sum of Rs. 1,22,00,000 purported to have been spent on account of the enforcement of Denial policy could be obtained from the Bengal Government. The Committee makes the following comment :

It is, however, the expenditure in Bengal on the Denial policy and other similar measures which has caused us the greatest misgiving. We understand that there has been great difficulty in getting any kind of accounts at all for this expenditure and such as have been produced do not satisfy the standards of Audit. We realise that the conditions under which this work was done were of the utmost urgency and abnormality. We also recognise that some confusion was only to be expected in the circumstances and we are willing to make all allowances for it. But we do not see any excuse whatever for such neglect of elementary financial precautions as we are told prevailed in this matter in Bengal and which is one of the causes for it now being difficult for any adequate accounts to be produced. All that we desire at present is that the Auditor General should investigate fully into the facts of the situation and which is now held in suspense. At the same time, however, we feel it our duty to place on record our view that if this further investigation reveals that the control of the Bengal Government was, through negligence, so lax as to give rise to serious doubts as to whether the money was actually spent on the purposes for which it was meant, we shall hold ourselves at liberty to recommend that the Central Government should not accept debits which do not satisfy the reasonable demands of Audit.

A few significant remarks of Sir Cameron Badenoch, made in the course of his evidence before the Public Accounts Committee, are still more significant. He said :

Sir Cameron Badenoch: That is not the total expenditure. Possibly from the nature of the expenditure it has been almost impossible to exercise any audit. These denial measures were carried out through the Bengal Government and I asked the Bengal Government to carry out investigation by a special officer. It was done in the case of one district. The whole thing has been done most unsatisfactorily. There is a good deal of more money than this under the Suspense Head. Eventually I got accounts of rice. They were not satisfactory accounts. There were discrepancies naturally because of the removal, but in connection with these means of transport—boats and cycles—it is a dreadful

Chairman: Against this figure of Rs. 1,22,00,000 have you any idea how much is kept in Suspense?

Sir Cameron Badenoch: I could not tell you how much. There is a terrific confusion between this and compensation for land required for air fields and so on. The total Suspense outstanding against Bengal was at one time over 3 crores, and I have had the greatest difficulty in getting accounts for . . . The trouble is we are in the hands of the Provincial Government and it is very difficult to repudiate what they did. Of course one has got to take into account the circumstances existing at that time. But the Public Accounts Committee laid down two or three years ago that no circumstances really justify the neglect of elementary financial precautions,—getting proper receipts for money and paying money only to authorised people. There are certain fundamental things that should never be neglected and these elementary precautions were not taken.

Chairman: I think strong comment is certainly called for by the Public Accounts Committee and we will ask the Auditor General to report for next year on the extent to which he had been able to straighten this out with reference to the Suspense heads relating to Denial policy in its various aspects.

The manner in which this huge amount was spent may better be told in the words of the Auditor-General himself. He said, "The trouble was that the Provincial Government issued an order to Treasury Officers under one of the Treasury Rules which allows them to disburse money from treasuries without any authorisation from the Accountant General and anybody who went to the Treasury was given some money." The Accountant General came and did his best to get some order but he failed. He has no control over the treasuries. Sir Cameron emphatically told the Committee : "I can say that lakhs and lakhs were issued from the Treasury to all sorts of people and now we are trying to get accounts for that and we are finding it exceedingly difficult."

The Problem of Asia

Roy's Weekly quotes an article by John Gunther on the problem of Asia. The author states that there can be no decent peace in the world, no global peace, unless Asia is considered. Problem of Asia splits into three, each a problem of vast and complex dimensions : Japan, China and India. Declaring that Japan, like Germany, must be beaten, disarmed and made incapable of waging further wars, Gunther puts the following question :

America and Great Britain are pledged to cut Japanese territory down to the home islands. This presumably means that we shall return Japanese-held territory to its original owners, with the Dutch, British and ourselves taking the Japanese-held Pacific islands.

But what of Japan's "Allies"—Indo-China, once held by France; Thailand, once an independent nation? There is no hint as yet as to the future disposition of these territories.

Gunther wants to be brutally frank about China. In his opinion, China at present is not a nation; "it is a vast sprawling amalgam that aspires to nationhood. Control is divided between the Central Government of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists, who have set up their own quasi-republic in the great Chinese north-west." Explaining American interest in China, he states :

China is the great land mass behind Japan. Victorious China will control the Asian mainland fronting on the Pacific. It will most emphatically be to our own selfish national interest that China shall be united, progressive, strong and stable. After all, the root cause of American entrance into the war was China. So it doubly behoves us to aid her to achieve a stake in keeping the future safe.

Gunther's statement about India is also equally frank. He says :

The great bulk of nationalist Indians want complete independence after the war; most British statesmen think the most that should be given to India is dominion status. If no compromise can be whittled out, *India may explode into revolution, even though most Indians are unarmed, ill-equipped, poor and hungry.*

More and more Americans are becoming perplexed and worried over the Indian problem. They ask themselves :

"If this is indeed a war for freedom, and if the majority of Indians do indisputably want freedom, is it fair to keep freedom from the Indian nation?"

Thousands upon thousands of American officers and troops are getting to know India. It is to be hoped that that their opinion will lend its weight toward a fair settlement of what is beyond doubt one of the most difficult and dangerous problems of the world.

[Italics ours—Ed. M. R.]

Linlithgow Now a "Crusader for Freedom"

Lord Linlithgow has at last entered the arena of home politics. Appearing in the role of a "crusader for freedom" the ex-Viceroy revealed himself as a determined foe of the "dreary ordinance and oppressive governmental restrictions." In the course of a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, after hinting that the Party truce has not been observed by Liberals and Labourites as religiously as by the Conservatives. Linlithgow writes :

"Controls, coupons, queues, forms-filling and endless irritations of bureaucratic meddling, the virtual disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative—these constitute the principal and inescapable attributes of Socialism. I shall be surprised if any considerable proportion of the electorate, which for five years has had to endure such a punishing sample of these dreary ordinances and inhibitions, is found ready to receive with enthusiasm the invitation to bind the whole clammy mass of them round our necks for ever."

Four hundred million people of India, who groaned under Linlithgow's long term of Vice-royalty smarting under controls, unable to secure coupons, standing for days together in queues for a handful of rice or a quarter pound of sugar, suffering the endless irritations of a bureaucratic meddling, with a complete disappearance of private liberty and personal initiative, dying of hunger in millions and suffering from pestilence in hundreds of thousands, may well ask in the words of Cobett : "To what shall we impute your remarks ? To drivelling or to hypocrisy?"

Replying to Linlithgow in an article to the *Daily Herald*, Michael Foot cites the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in support of this judgment. He writes :

Among the thousands of political prisoners now in Indian jails is an old friend of freedom and a long-standing enemy of Fascism called Jawaharlal Nehru. British Labour movement knows him well. In the intervals between imprisonments during the past 25 years he has visited this country and we have learnt to respect and honour him.

If Nehru is a traitor then Treachery like Liberty is a word which has lost its meaning. Not all the

Viceroy's ordinances, not all his lugubrious sophistries and plausible pretences, not all the answers in the House of Commons can convince us that Nehru is an enemy of Free India. Why then is he behind bars?

Because he wishes to help govern his own country and because his ideas for gaining that end do not precisely accord with the immaculate legal maxims of the Scottish Laird; he is there because he doesn't like foreign rule even when tempered by Linlithgow's quality of mercy ; he is there because he has a brave heart, and an independent spirit. *These are not crimes in our catalogue.* But we suspect that Linlithgow, who has made justice retrospective, has a taste for applying the same principles to other matters besides.

Michael Foot's brief but trenchant review of Linlithgow's Viceroyalty covers such topics as the postponement of elections, extension of bureaucracy, ordinances, etc. He writes : "For seven long years he was at it, but if censorship between Britain and India is less severe than that which he instituted between India and Britain and his words in praise of liberty ever reach Indian ears they are likely to strike a somewhat jarring note." Foot then reminds the British public of Lincoln's famous words: "We all declare for liberty but in using the same word we don't all mean the same thing... The wolf and the sheep aren't agreed on the definition, especially where the sheep is a black one," and concludes : "It was unfortunate that we sent to India not a Lincoln but a Linlithgow. Happily the episode is over, but at least until Nehru is free we might be spared his lordly wolfish homilies on liberty."

A Nagpur Judgment

Delivering judgment in the contempt of court case filed by B. N. Saoji against Syed Masumali, Superintendent, Nagpur Central Jail, for failure to forward his application to the High Court while he was detained in the Nagpur Central Jail, Mr. Justice Sen and Mr. Justice Bose made severe comments on the actions of the Jail Superintendent. In the same application for contempt of court proceedings the High Court had already censured Lt.-Col. N. S. Jatar, Inspector-General of Prisons. The learned Judges observed :

"We have been treated with scant courtesy and statements offensive in tone and temper and reckless in its disregard for truth have been put in after careful deliberation and thought. It is impossible for us to overlook this persistent aggravation of the contempt. It is all the more impossible because of the tendency we have marked of late in more cases than one of attempts to ignore the authority of this Court to trifl with it. It is necessary to make an example. Leniency has been misunderstood in the past and will therefore be misplaced. Forbearance and patience only evoke worse and worse recklessness. We accordingly sentence the Jail Superintendent to a fine of Rs. 250 or in default 14 days' S. I."

We refrain from taking a more severe action and from imposing a sentence of imprisonment because it is evident that the man in the Superintendent's position would hardly have adopted this wholly wrong attitude

had he not been encouraged in it tacitly or otherwise by those in authority. We trust that this will serve as a warning and an example."

It should be remembered that this flouting of justice happened in a province where no Indian scapegoats function for the present. The province is now under the dictatorial administration of a British Civilian Governor.

Import of Consumer Goods

Replying to a series of questions, put by Mr. K. C. Neogy in the Central Legislative Assembly, about the import of consumer goods the Commerce Member said that

Certain trade organisations representing Indian manufacturers had represented that the import of consumer good was likely to have an adverse effect on Indian industries especially those which had been created since the war to make good the shortages in imported consumer goods, owing to the higher cost of the Indian made articles. The suggestion had been that Indian industries were hampered in meeting such competition owing to the difficulty of obtaining raw materials. Government, however, imported consumer goods only when it was established on the basis of information received from trade sources and the Government departments concerned that even after the grant of all possible assistance adequate supplies could not be indigenously manufactured to meet the immediate need.

Neither Government nor the trade associations concerned nor any other body possessed complete statistics of the production of indigenous industries, the Commerce Member added. Government made full use of all information available with trade associations and other bodies regarding the desirability of Indian industry which was assisted in every way open to the Government of India having regard to the difficulties of transport, fuel and similar shortages and the overriding priority accorded to defence projects. Factories established in India by non-Indian manufacturers received the same degree of assistance as other industries. Requests for export of their goods were dealt with on the same lines as requests from other industries.

In reply to a supplementary the Commerce Member declared that there was no chance in present conditions of a dumping of consumer goods in this country or a disturbance of the price structure of the consumer goods manufactured here. Government of India's step-motherly attitude to Indian industries together with their eagerness to import consumer goods from abroad at a time when shipping space for the import of food is not easily available, supports an apprehension that although dumping may not be started *in the present conditions* its appearance in the near future may not be unlikely.

Another fact deserves special mention in this connection. *Commerce*, Bombay, reports that President Roosevelt and his advisers are discussing with the British delegation, headed by Lord Keynes, a supplemental second phase Lend-Lease proposal made by Premier Churchill to the President at the Quebec Conference, which, if agreed to, will permit the United Kingdom to acquire at least \$2,500 million

worth of *non-military* supplies for re-sale in its export trade.

Plan to Divide the World Between U. S. A. and U. K.

Sir Chunilal Mehta, Chairman of the Indian group of businessmen attending the International Business Conference at Rye, U. S. A., challenged the British-American proposal to peg world currencies to the British-American standard after the ratio had been determined between these two. Sir Chunilal said :

"We will be leaving each individual nation to the mercy of either the United States or the United Kingdom and that would amount to dividing the world between two great nations." He said that British manipulation of currency during the war had cost Indians dearly. The accumulation of sterling balance by India had been through the sweat, blood, toil and tears of the Indian people. The purchases in India by the Government of India for war purposes and on behalf of the British Government and the United Nations for war effort had been made at very low prices compared with the prices at which the supplies were available to the civilian population in India. Had the Government of India paid for the material and goods purchased for the war effort on the basis of the cost of living in India, the accumulation of sterling by India would have been about three milliard instead one milliard pounds as at present. It was a known fact that millions died of starvation in Bengal last year and no more proof was necessary to indicate the privations the sacrificing Indian people had undergone during the war period.

Sir Chunilal protested against any attempt to maintain the rupee at the high gold ratio and said that the liquidation of India's blocked sterling balances must be considered by the conference.

Sir Chunilal's statement followed statements made by Mr. G. L. Mehta and Mr. A. R. Siddiqui who emphatically declared that any attempt to stifle Indian industries by the formation of international cartels would be resisted. As regards raw materials and foodstuff, the Indian delegation has put forward the view that no international arrangements for equal access to raw materials would be acceptable to India which would preclude India's own industrial development and would involve un-economic prices for its agricultural products.

Mr. Eric A. Johnston, President of the United States Chamber of Commerce, presiding over the opening session of the conference had said : "The world of to-morrow must not be restricted to a world of high walls, high suspicions and high animosities. We tried that system and it does not work. It will be a world of competition to be sure but this competition must be constructive, not destructive. The world will never prosper if its commerce is dominated by a few great nations." These are good words indeed, but subsequent reports about the conference indicate that this well-meaning presidential address has been duly recorded and shelved and plans for an economic exploitation

of the post-war world jointly by the U.S.A. and U.K. are in preparation.

Rupee Ratio Revision

A special cable from London to the *Indian Finance* is responsible for the news that Lord Catto may soon be under fire over the question of a revision of the rupee-sterling ratio. The following is a summary of the cable :

Now he is Governor of the Bank of England, but from June 1940 to April 1944 he was Financial Adviser to the British Treasury. Hence there is a disposition to hold him largely responsible for the policy which, as the end of war approaches, leaves Britain saddled with huge sterling indebtedness to India and such Middle-eastern countries as Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Persia and Syria.

The gist of the rising complaint is, firstly, that Britain could have greatly reduced this colossal commercial indebtedness if she had promptly concluded Lend-Lease arrangements, especially, with India. Secondly, she need not have maintained the pre-war relationship between sterling and the currencies of these countries.

It is argued that the currencies of all these countries became heavily inflated and the Treasury pretence that they are still at pre-war parity with sterling was a costly and inexcusable myth.

The money market editor of the *Financial News* suggests that if the prices of goods in India and Britain are compared, then, the real foreign exchange value of the rupee would have been about six pence instead of 1 shilling 6 pence. Its maintenance at an artificially high rate has resulted in India being credited with something like three times as much sterling as she should have been.

The *Financial News* contends that Eastern countries would not have suffered any unfair disadvantage if foreign exchange rates had been adjusted. "They would merely have been deprived of entirely unjustified war profits which they have gained by this for the revision of the amount is on balances owned by Governments and Central Banks. The holders should be persuaded to agree to a scaling down of these claims sufficiently to cancel unearned surpluses arising from artificial exchange rates."

This last sentence may or may not foreshadow a change in official policy regarding unwieldy sterling balances now owed to overseas owners.

Signs are already multiplying that debtor Britain's financial experts are racking their brains to find a way out so that the sterling balances may be wiped out by a book adjustment instead of a transfer of wealth to the creditor countries. The *Financial Times* fore-shadows a scheme which will completely fritter away India's balances held in London. Government of India have no dearth of henchmen who would gladly be "persuaded to agree," in the name of India, to a scaling down of these claims sufficient to cancel "unearned surpluses" arising from "artificial" exchange rates. Legislation with retrospective effect is a common practice to-day.

Food Problem and Rehabilitation in Bengal

The debate in food in the Central Legislative Assembly has proved the untenability

of the filing Mr. R. G. Casey, Governor of Bengal, made the other day at "persons of public standing and influence" outside Bengal, who, in his opinion, made statements of "most doubtful validity" on Bengal's food situation after "short visits" to "limited areas." Food problem in Bengal was trenchantly criticised in the Assembly by persons of long public standing and influence who cannot certainly be called "outsiders." The strongest critics of the Bengal food position, namely, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Mrs. Renuka Ray, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Mr. A. C. Datta and Mr. A. N. Chattopadhyaya are all Bengalees and Mr. T. J. Griffiths spent the best part of his official career in Bengal. They have all made it abundantly clear that even after a year of the deadly famine, problems of food supply, food prices, procurement of food malnutrition, adulteration of food and pestilence following the famine—all continue unchecked. Rehabilitation of famine victims still remains a myth.

Speaking on the problems of rehabilitation and pestilence, Mr. Neogy said :

According to calculations, Mr. Neogy said, 1,300,000 people lost their lives from hunger in Bengal last year. He added that in his broadcast six weeks ago, Mr. Casey stated that 275,000 were on the dole, but they knew that if 275,000 were on the dole, very many more were starving.

The Governor also mentioned that malaria had unfortunately reappeared in epidemic form. But Dr. B. C. Ray had characterized it as wholly inaccurate to say that malaria had reappeared. It was there all along. At least 40 per cent of the people in the province were stricken by this disease.

Mr. Neogy contended that during the first five months of the year 2,559,000 were treated in hospitals. He emphasized this was only the figure of persons who went to hospital and one could judge from it how many more people were silently suffering and perhaps dying without any treatment. The Public Health Minister had stated that so long as people were not supplied with nutritious food it would not be possible to solve the problem of malaria successfully. The situation in Bengal, he said, was very grave, indeed.

Mrs. Renuka Ray also spoke about her own experience in the matter :

Mrs. Renuka Ray said that she recently toured the interior of Bengal. In many villages she found men, women and children utterly destitute. They were not the proverbial beggars but people who only two years ago owned homesteads but today they were wandering from village to village starving. Many families in the villages sold their daughters to get food. Death from starvation had no doubt now declined but malnutrition was taking a heavy toll.

She referred to the very acute shortage of milk in the country and demanded that a complete ban be put on the slaughter of cattle. She said that in the U. K. Government paid a subsidy of £117,000,000 for the supply of free and cheap milk to children. She urged the Government of India to give generous subsidies for the supply of milk.

The Medical Poll Taken by the Calcutta Relief Committee

We give here the substance of the experiences of qualified medical men in Calcutta

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of the quality of foodstuff supplied through ration shops and its results on public health. In September last, on behalf of the Calcutta Relief Committee, its President Dr. Bidhan Chandra Ray appealed to practising medical men to supply him with facts gleaned from his field of practice for the preparation of collected scientific data to ascertain the mischief done to public health through the consumption of bad quality ration supply. Replies were received from practising medical men, including some of the foremost physicians of the city, from the following wards: Wards 1-6, 8, 10-14, 16, 18-23, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, i.e., from 24 out of the 32 wards. Seven questions were put, the results of which are summarised against each question put. All the replies were in the affirmative, not a single reply in favour of the ration supply was received. The following are the summary of replies from all the wards :

Q. 1. Have you observed any particular deterioration in the health of the people in your locality or among your clientele since the introduction of rationing in the city? Please state specially the nature of such deterioration and to what extent it could be traced to the type of food that is being distributed,

Reply: Yes. Deterioration of digestive capacity, loss of weight, susceptibility to infection, diarrhoea, gastritis, indigestion, mucous colitis, dysentery and other intestinal troubles, difficulty in eradicating protozoal infection, incapacity of a progressive nature.

Q. 2. Making due allowance for seasonal aggravation of intestinal troubles have you any reason to believe that there has been any unusual increase in the number of cases complaining of stomach and intestinal troubles?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 3. Have you heard your patients to attribute such troubles to the bad quality supply of rice or atta? Does your diagnosis of the cases confirm the contention of the patients?

Reply: Yes.

4. Do you really believe that, there has been an unusual increase in the incidence of diarrhoea, dyspepsia, dysentery and various other kinds of bowel complaints in recent months which could be definitely attributed to bad supply of rice and atta?

Reply: Yes.

Q. 5. Have you any other points to mention regarding the health of the community in Calcutta since the introduction of rationing in Calcutta?

Reply: General look sallow, unusual hyper-acidity, increase in infant and maternal mortality, causing dysphagia, general deterioration, malnutrition and anaemia, epidemic dropsy and jaundice, natural resistance losing.

Q. 6. Do you believe that 90 per cent families in the city are suffering from chronic malnutrition and under-fed condition owing to abnormal rise in the price of vegetable, fish, egg, meat, milk, ghee; salt and oil?

Reply: Yes, according to some percentage higher.

Q. 7. Owing to universal sabotage of the health-soil of the province—do you apprehend a greater incidence of sickness among your clientele? Do you think any epidemic as the influenza of 1918 may visit us?

Reply: Yes.

Some of the remarks made in conclusion of their replies are given below :

An eminent physician from Ward 11 writes:

(1) Sometime back I received from the Government Rationing Store of my area a supply of *atta*, which seemed to be decomposed and contained worms. I sent a sample to the Calcutta Corporation Health Officer who declared it "unsuitable for human consumption." I forwarded a copy of that letter to the Rationing authorities, when they asked me to write to the Technical Adviser of the Department. On enquiry I learnt that the so-called Technical Adviser was not a scientific man but a loaned employee of the Bata Shoe Co. Ltd., who has been employed for advising on distribution. Some months ago, the Sanitary Board, Government of Bengal, drew the attention of the Civil Supplies Department to the necessity of chemical and bacteriological examination of foodstuffs before they were issued to the consumers. On the above occasion, I drew the attention of the Secretary, Public Health and Local Self-Government Department, Government of Bengal, but I have not had any information whether the advice has been put into practice.

(2) It is well-known that there is no technical background in the storage methods of the Government. The present supplies of *atta* are often bitter to the taste and frequently causes griping in the individuals consuming it. Supplies of rice have slightly improved in quality, but pulses are still of inferior quality. Adulteration is being widely practised but there is no agency to examine and check it. There is no doubt of a quantitative shortage of food but of a great qualitative deficiency also. This is bound to react unfavourably on public health. If you study the present mortality figures in Calcutta, you will notice an enormous increase in deaths from preventable diseases, particularly in the poorer groups and in the earlier age periods. Their adverse influence is bound to undermine the health of the population. If no effective and prompt steps are taken, I am afraid the situation is likely to go from bad to worse. To my mind, the Government organisation is technically incompetent to manage a situation, unless and until the whole organisation is overhauled and science is brought to the aid of man.

Sangli State Peoples' Conference

Mr. Madhavrao K. Bagal, Chairman of the Kolhapur States People's Conference, presiding over the eighteenth session of the Sangli States Peoples' Conference, observed :

"We cannot separate the States from united and indivisible India, and India from the world. We cannot, therefore, remain aloof from the great organisation in British India, i.e., the Indian National Congress. Efforts on the part of the States' subjects to attain freedom by depending only on the organisations in the States are bound to suffer defeat. By co-operating with the Congress alone we would be able to liberate our Nation. As a beginning in this direction the Deccan States must organise both for constructive and political programme."

Concluding Mr. Bagal said : "The Praja Parishad must not become a parliament of a few chosen persons. It must go deep into the hearts of the masses, awaken them and be ready as a fighting body for the poor. It must level all distinctions."

Political movements in the native states is a matter of very recent origin. Barring a few progressive ones, most of the states are still in

their semi-primitive feudal condition. Great care had so long been taken both by these states and by the representatives of the paramount power to prevent any percolation of modern political ideas within their borders. The continual increase in the number of State Peoples' Conferences unmistakably show that all attempts to cordon the states off from any invasion of modern ideas have been unsuccessful. The sooner these organisations link up with the premier political body of India, the better for the country.

Indo-Soviet Trade Plans

A *Globe* agency message from London states that preliminary negotiations are proceeding for the establishment of closer economic relations between India and Soviet Russia.

Following developments since the war began, there is now passing a steady flow of all kinds of materials from India to Russia and it is being urged that the foundations thus laid should make for permanent interchange of goods and raw materials.

Extension of rail and road facilities, specially *via* Persia, and the possibilities of the development of an air transport in the not distant future, have overcome communications difficulties which impeded Indo-Soviet trade exchanges before this war.

Road Development in India

New Delhi, Nov. 11 : The proposed creation of a Central Road Board was among the questions discussed by the Standing Committee for Roads which met in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Sir Edward Bentham today. A conference of the Chief Engineers of Provinces and States held in Nagpur in December last had recommended the setting up of a Central Road Board with adequate authority and powers, guided by an Advisory Council, to deal with the detailed policy and day-to-day administration of road planning and programme, and to serve impartially the interests of the Central Provincial and State Governments. The consensus of opinion in the Standing Committee was in favour of the general idea but the Committee desired that more progress should be made in consultation with the Provincial Governments concerning the scope and nature of the organisation before they pronounced an opinion. The matter, it is understood, will also be considered by the Policy Committee for post-war transport.

The Standing Committee approved a number of schemes of road development to be financed from Provincial allocations in the Central Road Fund.

Before this war, road development in India had been completely neglected. Little construction was taken in hand while large sums accumulated in the Central Road Fund. Instead of launching a road development plan, which, if scientifically done, would have opened up the hinterland by providing feeder roads to railways, the central authorities were busy stifling the road traffic in the interest of the railways. Provincial governments also betrayed an equal-

ly lamentable lack of foresight. With the same administration in office, it is difficult to believe that things would change for the better.

Indian Scientists Address M.P.'s.

The London correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* cables that the Indian scientists addressed the members of the House of Commons when they visited the House. The attendance was however not very good. All of them addressed the gathering which was much impressed by Dr. Meghnad Saha who gave the latest information about India.

All of them stated that India was a very poor country but they asserted that she was rich in mineral resources which can and must be exploited. They had no doubt that if that was done, India would become, to a very large extent, a self-supporting country. They were convinced that to do that it was necessary for India to have complete political and economic freedom, and national freedom, therefore, had become the most vital and urgent problem for India.

Grow More Food Campaign

Mr. J. D. Tyson, Secretary, Education, Health and Lands, gave figures in the Central Legislative Assembly "to refute the criticism that the grow more food campaign had been a complete failure." He said :

The average area under rice in India in the three pre-war years was 73.8 million acres. After one year of the grow more food campaign the area increased to 75 million and last year it was practically 80 million acres. At the present moment the indications were that this area would be fully maintained if not increased. The pre-war average of the area under all foodgrains was 195 million acres; after one year of the grow more food campaign it was 204.5 million acres and last year it was 206.3 million acres.

Proceeding to give figures of production of Foodgrains, Mr. Tyson said that under rice the three-year pre-war average was 26.5 million tons. In the first year of the grow more food campaign it was 24.8 million tons; in spite of the increase in the area, a decrease in production had occurred because of natural causes. Last year the production was 30.6 million tons. This meant an increase of 4 million tons representing twice the quantity that we used to import from Burma. The production of all foodgrains increased from the pre-war average of 55.5 million tons to 57.5 million tons one year after the grow more food campaign and 61 million tons last year.

Mr. Tyson explained the help that the Centre had given to the provinces in the distribution of seeds, extension of irrigation excavating tanks, digging wells, and so on. As regards the epidemic situation in Bengal, he said there had been improvement since the last session. The cholera mortality in January was 3,000 a week had declined to 700 in April and 232 in October.

Mr. Tyson was clever enough to talk of huge figures in millions of tons but did not give the percentages. From his data it appears that after one year of campaign area under rice increased barely by 2 per cent with the produc-

tion was less than the previous year. For the present year, he claimed some 6 per cent increase in area with barely 10 per cent increase in production.

The grow more food campaigns in England and Ireland may be profitably compared with the Government of India's campaign. The data have been supplied by the League of Nations' study on *Food Rationing and Supply in 1943-44*. The following is a summary made by the *Indian Finance*:

Before the war it is well-known that two-thirds of the British food supply was imported. By 1943 over two-thirds of the national requirements was grown at home and the League report further says "the national diet has become less varied but had been but little reduced in terms of calories per head, and from a nutritional standpoint, had been improved." Great Britain could increase the total area devoted to food-grains from 4 million acres in 1939 to 7·6 million acres in 1943. 4½ million acres have been improved under Britain's draining programme. Figures for 1943 reveal that the area under wheat alone was raised by 35·6 per cent to nearly 70 per cent over the pre-war level. With the labour force remaining more or less the same as before the war, production was nearly doubled owing to planned intensive farming and by increased mechanisation.

Ireland, a country with a small reserve, tackled her food problem with equal efficiency. Irish farmers were obliged to keep a minimum proportion under the plough and this was raised from 12½ per cent to 20 per cent in 1942, 25 per cent in 1943 and 37½ per cent in 1944.

Irrigation in India

Addressing the Institution of Engineers, India, at New Delhi, Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, outlined a post-war plan of irrigation and hydro-electric development which he considered 'vital to the relief of India's scarcity.' Sir William said :

By means of new irrigation (aided by artificial fertilizers) and improved methods of agriculture, India had to grow seven million tons of additional foodgrains to nourish the five million who were born every year and to raise the standard of nutrition. He fixed the irrigation target as five million tons of foodgrains yearly and estimated that to achieve this 20 million acres should be brought under irrigation.

Discussing the various methods of expanding irrigation, Sir William Stampe said that storage reservoirs might be constructed in the river catchments to conserve the surplus monsoon water which could be released at suitable times. This would 'stabilise' the canals fed by the rivers concerned and the canal power stations could be operated at full capacity throughout the year. Not only would this cheap power directly increase prosperity through irrigation but it could foster the development of village industries thus raising the rural standard of living and providing employment.

Sir William Stampe emphasised the need for adequate training facilities in India, especially in regard to the advanced design of modern hydro-electric works and transmission systems. Whilst he welcomed the suggestion to establish a large college in Southern India, he recommended that a number of federal colleges should be founded where civil and electrical engineers, who would have to execute these hydro-electric works, could be trained together.

But the problems of irrigation are not the same for all the provinces. A scheme suitable for the Panjab or Sind may be completely useless for Bengal. The irrigational needs of Bengal were clearly stated by Sir William Willcocks, the builder of the great Nile irrigation works, in a series of Readership Lectures delivered at the Calcutta University in 1930. He said :

That the "overflow irrigation" of the ancient Bengal rulers is the only one adapted to Bengal is amply borne out by what has happened in the last 70 years. The Irrigation Department has tried its hand at every kind of project it could imagine except "overflow irrigation." The resulting poverty of soil, congestion of rivers, and malaria, have stalked the canals and banks, and the country is strewn today with the wrecks of useless and harmful works. This has been aggravated by the fact that such works should have been executed by engineers, agriculturists and public health authorities working in accord, and there has been no attempt at working in accord. Overflow irrigation with the muddy waters of the river floods is the only kind of irrigation on which engineers, agriculturists, and public health authorities can be in absolute accord, for it enriches the soil, combats malaria and relieves the congestion of the rivers in flood. We may be quite sure that the ancient irrigators of Bengal did not hit upon it at once, but adopted it after trials and experiments lasting over many years. And we may rest assured, after seeing the results of seventy years of abandonments of it, that there is nothing before the country but to return to it.

The overflow irrigation of Central and Western Bengal, which at one time poured health and wealth over an area of 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 acres of land, is represented in the last published Report of the Bengal Irrigation Department, viz., that of 1927, by an area of under 2,000,000 acres.

Gag on Indian Journalists

Hannen Swaffer writes in the *Daily Herald*, about the censorship in India under the caption *Gagged Men* :

'Gag on news in India has now spread even to gag on private conversation about censorship by Indian journalists in London.'

'Not only is it true unless printing of this sentence suddenly alters this rule—that words written in this column, vital as is their interest to that dependency, will never reach India. It is also true that if reprinting of these paragraphs when cabled is stopped in India, Indian newspapermen who send them must not even discuss the fact when they meet, say, in the Ministry of Information, nor can they tell any British journalist about it.'

Swaffer then puts the question: "How if such Hitler-like suppression goes on can Britain and India ever understand each other?" Authorities in London and New Delhi do not seem to be warm about the prospect of a development of genuine understanding between the two countries.

Communalism in Education

The *Sylhet Chronicle* quotes an extract from an article, under caption *Educational Re-organisation of Assam*, by Mr. G. A. Small, ex-

D. P. I. of Assam, in which Mr. Small makes and broadening the base of India's social economic and the following observation regarding communalisation of education in that province:

"What Pakistan means to a Hindu minority has been clearly shown by successive Saadulla Government. The teachers in our college—Lecturers or Professors—should be the best men available; but since 1941, when I retired as a protest against the policy of Government, out of 20 appointments in the Assam Educational Service, 9 have been given to Moslems with only 2nd class M. A. degrees, and they included appointments in History, Mathematics, Economics and Civics, in all of which subjects, numbers of first class men are available.

"The damage done to Education in Assam by the appointment of inferior men throughout the department from the highest posts to the lowest will take generations to repair."

Corruption of education by permitting recruitment of men on communal considerations with much less educational qualifications continues uninterrupted as part of a well-planned policy of denial of education.

Unity Amidst Diversity—the Goal of Indian Culture

Presiding over the Punjab Hindu Conference held at Ludhiana, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee struck at the fundamental note of our culture when he reminded his audience that the achievement of unity amidst diversity is the goal of Indian civilisation. Whenever Tagore had occasion to speak or write on the history of India, it was this note which he brought out in bold relief. History of India has never been a chronology of the dynasties and the dynastic wars alone, it is the history of the masses and the common man of a social system which ensured him a life of sufficiency. The veil round the history of India wrapped by British writers has now been torn down by the Indian schools and our own civilisation stands unfurled to us to-day against its proper mass sitting. Dr. Mookerjee said:

"I do not ignore that Hindu-Muslim differences are a reality. I do not forget that though no doubt foreign rule has helped to accentuate them, they have not appeared on the Indian scene for the first time since the advent of the British. India according to her tradition and history has remained the home of followers of diverse religions, faiths and creeds all ultimately being assimilated in the mighty stream of Indian culture and civilisation. This unity amidst diversity has been the keynote of Indian civilisation. Indian history gives us many examples of unique achievements in art, literature, religion, social and political advance when unity was the dominant note of Indian life.

"Today the communal problem in India can be solved only if the representative of each community genuinely agree to extend an equal right of citizenship to one and all irrespective of any religious or other consideration. The constitution of the country must guarantee full protection to the religious and cultural rights of the minorities. If any particular minority is backward, there must be ample provision for the educational and economic advancement of the people concerned. This advancement is necessary not only for the sake of the affected people but also for strengthening

Discussing present-day realities, Dr. Mookerjee said:

"Today India's first and foremost claim is for her political independence. We want nothing more or nothing less than that we should live in our own country breathing the air of freedom just as Englishmen claim to do in their own native land. Neither education of the right type nor her economic and industrial expansion consistent with the welfare of the masses is possible unless real political power vests in the people themselves. At every step we witness an irreconcilable clash of interest between India and her rulers, who know well the art of forging fresh fetters for continuing our economic exploitation.

A Victim of a Catch Phrase

In a meeting arranged for him by the British Association in London, Prof. Meghnad Saha made a statement that Indian leaders had so far concentrated on political freedom and neglected the problem of the living of India's millions. Economic problems have occupied almost as much attention as what may be called exclusively political questions since the beginning of the last century when Raja Rammohun Roy explained to the British people and the world, the causes of poverty of the Indian ryot and suggested remedies. Since then, the Bharat Sabha and the Hindu Mela movements had their economic problem as one of the main planks on their platform. From the birth of the Indian National Congress, economic problems have always been kept on the forefront. But the leaders of these movements fully realised that without freedom, a real and lasting solution of economic problems is impossible. In a dependent country, economic advancement can never be made without having complete control over the currency, exchange rates, transport and the industrial policy with the right to discriminate between foreigners both outside and inside this country. The welfare of the common man fully depends on how and in whose interest such controls are exercised. The Congress leaders realised these fundamental difficulties in the way of our economic improvement. That concentration on political movement did not mean a forgetfulness of economic difficulties has been amply demonstrated by the Congress which set up a National Planning Committee as soon as some semblance of political power came into their hands. Even the interim reports of some sub-committees were being given effect to by the Congress Ministries. The work of the A.I.V.I.A. and the A.I.S.A. should not be neglected.

Phillips' Letter

Drew Pearson has published Ambassador Phillips' Letter to President Roosevelt from

India in the spring of 1943. In it, Mr. Phillips no doubt gives an able summary of the Indian political situation but his conclusions will not be accepted to many in this country. He has rightly imagined that "the Viceroy and Mr. Churchill are well satisfied to let the deadlock remain as long as possible," but from his following words it seems that he has not yet gone to the root of British policy in India. He writes :

The problem, therefore, is : Can anything be done to break this deadlock through our help ? It seems to me that all we can do is to try to induce the Indian political leaders to meet together and discuss the form of Government which they regard as applicable to India and thus show to the world that they have sufficient intelligence to tackle the problem.

Even if the Indian leaders met together and evolved an agreed constitution, a Jinnah or an Ambedkar would soon be found to sound his master's voice and disagree from the general formula. The British Government and their branch here would at once be loud to proclaim that "powerful elements in India's national life" have not agreed on the common formula and for the sake of justice to these minorities Britain must stay in India. The Lucknow All-Parties Conference and the Round Table Conferences are past history no doubt but they have not been forgotten.

Mr. Phillips' suggested solution therefore stands on false grounds. His formula is :

"We cannot suppose the British Government can or will transfer power to India by the scratch of the pen at the conclusion of the peace conference unless there is an Indian Government fit to receive it. The question remains, therefore, how to induce the leaders to begin now to prepare for their future responsibilities. There is perhaps a way out of the deadlock which I suggest to you not because I am sure of its success but because I think it is worthy of your consideration. With the approval and blessing of the British Government an invitation could be addressed to top leaders of all the Indian political groups on behalf of the President of United States to meet together to discuss plans for the future. The assembly could be presided over by an American who could exercise his influence in harmonizing the divisions of caste, religion, race and political views. The conference might well be under the patronage of the King Emperor, and the President of the United States, the President of the Soviet Union and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek in order to bring pressure to bear on the Indian politicians. Upon the issuance of invitations the King Emperor could give a fresh assurance of the British Government to transfer power to India, upon certain date as well as his desire to grant a provisional setup for the duration. The conference could be held in any city in India except Delhi.

"American chairmanship would have the advantage not only of expressing interest of America in the future independence of India, but would also be a guarantee to Indians of British offer of independence. This is an important point because as I have already said in my previous letters that British promises in this regard are no longer believed."

When America secured her independence by fighting with the British, there was no

Government there "fit to receive it." Similarly, Canada obtained virtual independence in the form of Dominion Status when that country was ridden with internal dissensions and there was no Government there "fit to receive" political power. In Ireland, representatives of the British Government signed the Treaty together with the leaders of the revolution instead of any Government "fit to receive" power. The Indian National Congress has made it abundantly clear that the future constitution would be drawn by a constituent Assembly elected by adult suffrage and consisting of all the elements of Indian national life and complete arrangements for the safeguard of minority rights would be made. The Congress went so far as to declare that International arbitration would be sought if no agreement could be reached to solve the minority problem. Congress never said that the future constitution would be drafted by the majority, they always wanted an *agreed* document. Mr. Phillips wants the four Powers to bring pressure for the solution of the Indian constitutional problem, but has made a fundamental mistake as to the direction of this pressure when he says that it should be brought upon the Indian politicians. If pressure is sought to be applied, it should be on the British, and not on the Indian politicians. The suggestion for an American chairman to preside over the constituent Assembly is also equally fallacious. India has so far had little cause to be encouraged about any active sympathy of America for her independence.

India knows that independence does not come through donature, it has to be earned at the cost of sacrifices.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Among British School Boys

The New Leader of London reveals the nefarious methods pursued by imperialists to poison the minds of impressionable British boys against India. The journal says that lectures are being delivered to British boys of 14 and 15 in secondary schools in many parts of Britain urging the boys to consider the Army as a career, especially in India, where "but for the presence of the British Army in peace time the clash of numerous religions would lead to instability and suffering for the native masses." The boys are thus taught that Indians are uncivilised people, who would be at one another's throats, if British soldiers were not there to keep them in order. There is nothing astonishing in this latest activity of the Imperialist, but this downfall of a country which produced a Wilberforce, a Howard and a Gladstone will be universally regretted in India.

THE WORLD AND THE WAR

By KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI

THE tempo of the Allied assault on the German defences in the West has mounted to a crescendo within the last fortnight of November. Gigantic masses of armour are being hurled against selected points after some of the biggest concentrations of artillery in history have battered the ground defences with an avalanche of steel and high explosive. In the approaches to German territory from Holland and the Low-countries, there has been some of the severest hand-to-hand fighting in this war. Aerial bombardment and strafing has also reached a new height in this period. Substantial gains have been achieved in the south, but in the centre and the north the progress has been slow. Inclement weather, difficult terrain, formidable ground defences and extremely fierce opposition from the defenders all have militated against the attack. But despite all the assault still proceeds with all the violence of an assault-en-masse on the Continental scale. Losses must have been severe on both sides in this slow moving but tremendously intense assault but as yet neither side shows any sign of flagging energy. The main German defence line of the West-wall has yet to be contacted anywhere, and in the central and southern sectors the reversed defences of the Maginot Line have not as yet been breached right through at any point, though contact and penetration has been effected at several points in the south.

On the East-European front the momentum of the Russian assault has slackened in the North, in the East-Prussian sector and in Poland. There is a new flare-up in Czechoslovak-Hungarian border and on the Carpathian flanks. There also the grip of winter is slowing down the pace of the assault. In Hungary itself the position is somewhat complex, the Russian drive being seemingly held up in the approaches to Budapest. Advance units of the Soviet forces were reported to have reached points within 10 miles of Budapest on November 16. The fall of the capital of Hungary was regarded as imminent then but evidently German and Hungarian counter-attacks and other defensive tactics were successful in holding up the Russian advance. Broadly speaking the German defences have held in East-Prussia and Poland, given ground in the Gulf of Riga region and on the Czechoslovak and Hungarian border-lands and subs-

is still intact and no substantial gaps have been torn out of it anywhere. The war in the Balkans is now more or less of a minor nature though contact seems to have been maintained with the slowly retreating German forces and occasional thrusts into their lines are also reported from time to time.

In Italy the Allied progress is slow now, though there has not been any slackening of the pressure. Throughout the campaign in Italy the Germans have made very skilful use of difficult terrain, which has proved to be a very severe handicap on the attackers. The recent gains by the Allies near Faenza hold out hopes of the termination of this difficulty as the plains are near, which would permit the use of mechanized units on a bigger scale. The opposition has not slackened its efforts though and some time may possibly elapse before a large-scale retreat takes place. Here also, as elsewhere, wintry conditions are adding to the difficulties of the campaign and may add to the delay in the progress of the attackers.

The year is thus coming to a close with the war in Europe gradually taking the shape of a static war of attrition. Mr. Churchill's latest declaration seems to indicate that he does not expect any drastic changes in this positional warfare tactics before spring or even early summer. Difficulties of supply and transport, and of refitting as well, have held up this massed assault on all points until winter had come, and as a result Germany has had some relative respite during the most critical period. It is useless to conjecture as to what would have happened if this synchronized assault had taken place before winter's fog and rain, in sleet and snow had put limitations to the use of mechanized and aerial forces. But there can be no doubt that Germany has managed to upset the time schedule of the Allied campaign to some considerable extent by holding on to the French ports and by their extremely stubborn defensive tactics in Holland and the Low-countries. The optimistic declarations of Allied spokesmen were based on plans which have had to be altered in view of later events. Just what Germany stands to gain by these delaying tactics is not clearly perceptible just now. The story of new secret weapons that would substantially alter the course of the war might or might not be true, and the reinforcements

entry into the field of the newest classes of trained conscripts, could not be so very substantial either. Forty to fifty new divisions at most could be added that way, which would not be sufficient to meet the wastage of even four months of intensive warfare.

But judging from the extreme violence of the assault now being delivered on the Western defences, and that despite all adverse circumstances, the Allied Supreme Command is evidently reluctant to allow Germany any respite. This means that time is of the essence and that for reasons undisclosed as yet. No new factor is likely to enter into the calculations of either side, beyond what may happen in the Far East, and Far-Eastern considerations do not seem to have bothered the Supreme Command of the Allied forces, at least not until very recently. Therefore, the only conclusion we can arrive at is that the Allied Supreme Command considers that a break-through to the heart of Germany must be attempted right now at all costs or else the Axis might gain some advantage. On the chances of an early break-through, the Allied Chiefs are extremely reluctant to make any declaration, as evidenced by Mr. Churchill's speech. This reserve is natural since the optimistic forecasts made early in this year have all been proved to be wrong. In the absence of any data we cannot judge as to what went wrong with the early calculations. We can only say that the Wehrmacht seems to have staved off defeat and collapse for the time being and gained a few months of most valuable time. What will come of all this in the long run or how this temporary achievement will be of any avail to the Nazi High Command it is very difficult to foresee, as neither in men nor in material can the Germans regain the supremacy that now rests with the Allies, unless a major blunder is committed by Allied command themselves. All that seems possible now, in the light of available facts, is a prolongation of the war in Europe up to the end of the summer of 1945 or at the most till next autumn.

In the Far-Eastern zone the war in the Phillipines is proceeding just in the fashion as might have been foreseen in consideration of Japanese methods of offence and defence. Suicide tactics are a speciality of the Nipponese and as the war proceeds nearer their homeland the more ruthless and ferocious will be the struggle. All the same the naval defeat does not seem to have altogether the same effect as one was led to conclude at the beginning. Japanese reinforcements have been landed in fair strength on Leyte island and even on Memotai. Their land-based planes have kept up

and the ground forces are still fighting with extreme ferocity. Taken over all the campaign in the Phillipines promises to be the severest so far in the East. The Allied Commander in this area, General MacArthur, knows every inch of the soil which would be undoubtedly of the greatest advantage. Further the U.S. forces here have room for action on a large scale as an island like Leyte of nearly 2,500 sq. miles in extent would provide ample scope for large masses of artillery and armour. The Japanese navy is estimated to have lost about 10 per cent of its effective strength up to November and a larger percentage has been put out of action for two to three months at least. But ground-based planes from Luzon and motor barges and speed-boats will prove to be serious difficulties in the hands of a determined foe like the Japanese. In any case the battle for Phillipines seems to be likely to increase in fury as time goes on for some little time to come.

On the Continent of Asia the Japanese are on the defensive on the Indo-Burmese and Sino-Burmese frontiers. No signs have as yet been apparent of any renewed activity on the part of the Japanese in these sectors. The Chinese have made further progress in the clearing up of the Burma road, though a good deal still remains to be done. On the Indo-Burmese front progress has been slow due to the Japanese making a stubborn stand near the Chindwin, beyond Tiddim and near Kalewa.

On Continental China Japan seems to have gained all her main objectives and is now attempting to consolidate her gains. If she succeeds in that attempt, then the Allies will have to face continental warfare in that area on disadvantageous terms, unless Burma and Malaya are regained and the land communications with China freed from all danger. There is every danger of such an eventuality if the war in Europe much prolonged. No doubt the Japanese would need at least a year to repair and refit the main North to South railways and other land communications in China that they have seized now, and no doubt that there is every possibility of Japan's sea-route to South-Eastern Asia and the Dutch East Indies being seriously constricted—if not totally cut—before then. But even at that, given that year's time, much of the work done by the Allied forces at such cost, will be undone for the time being, which will mean in its turn a long war in the East after a long war in the West. China has already shown what happens in a long war under adverse circumstances. India has already suffered grievous losses through man-made famine and pestilence, and a long war will not improve Allied chances unless drastic action be

THE NEGOTIATIONS AND AFTER

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 and Mr. Jinnah

By D. N. BANERJEE,

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IN a sense, it is a matter of deep and genuine satisfaction to every true nationalist in India that the negotiations between Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah have broken down. The reason is that these negotiations were, as it has since transpired, proceeding on the basis of some form of division of India, which no true nationalist can view with equanimity. In a later article in this series I shall deal with the position taken by Gandhiji during the negotiations and afterwards. In this article I should like to examine the position taken by Mr. Jinnah during those negotiations and also afterwards.

II

At its Session held at Lahore on 26th March, 1940, the All-India Muslim League resolved, among other things, that

"No constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States' in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign." and that

"Adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights, and interests in consultation with them."

The resolution also contemplated exactly identical safeguards for Muslim and other minorities in the "parts of India where the Mosalmans are in a minority."

Further, the Muslim League authorized its "Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary."

It may be noted here that the first part of the resolution as quoted above, is not free from ambiguity. What do the expressions "Independent States" and "the Constituent Units" really mean? And, secondly, if "the Constituent Units" are to be "autonomous" and "sovereign", how can they be in the "Independent States"? Thirdly, what is the significance of the word "autonomous" here? If any political entity is "sovereign", it is *ipso facto* autonomous, unless the term "sovereign" is used in less than its

use the term "sovereign" in the same sense in which the Indian States are said to be "sovereign"? They might have. But in that case there would be some conflict with the concluding part of the resolution as shown above. Again, what does the word "finally" in the concluding part mean? Does it keep the door partly open for some negotiation with other communities or parties in India? Probably, it does. Otherwise, it has no meaning here.

Another point worthy of note in connexion with the resolution is that the plural terms "regions", "areas", "zones", "Independent States", and "respective regions" in it unmistakably point to one thing, namely, that the authors of the resolution intended the creation of certainly more than one "Muslim" State in the North-West and the North-East of India.

Now I shall refer to the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah put upon the resolution both during his negotiations with Gandhiji and afterwards. Among other things, he has stated:

"According to the Lahore Resolution, as I have already explained to you (*i.e.*, Gandhiji), all these matters (*i.e.*, foreign affairs, defence, etc.), which are the life-blood of any State, cannot be delegated to any central authority or Government. The matter of security of the two States and the natural and mutual obligations that may arise out of physical contiguity will be for the constitution-making body of Pakistan and that of Hindustan, or the party concerned, to deal with on the footing of their being two independent States."¹

Again²:

"The Lahore resolution . . . stated that the division should be on the basis of the present boundaries of the six provinces, namely, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Sind, Bengal, Assam and Baluchistan subject to territorial adjustments that might be necessary."³

Further⁴:

"If the principle of division was accepted then it followed that both Hindusthan and Pakistan would have to choose their own constitution-making bodies. Those bodies as representing two sovereign States would deal with questions of mutual and natural relations, and obligations by virtue of the physical contiguity and they would then as two independent sovereign states—two nations—would come to an agreement on various matters. Take the case of America.⁵ There are 23 indepen-

1 See Mr. Jinnah's letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

2 From Mr. Jinnah's views as set forth at the Press Conference held at Bombay on 4th October, 1944.

3 Mr. Jinnah "emphasised the words 'subject to' and explained that territorial adjustments did not apply to one side only but on both sides—Hindusthan and Pakistan."—See *ibid*.

4 See *ibid*.

5 By "America" here Mr. Jinnah obviously meant the whole of North and South America, and not the United States of America, as some people have mis-

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dent sovereign States in America. They have their treaties and agreements with regard to their mutual interests. Even so the States in Europe have their own agreements with each other for inter-trade and commerce and even alliances. These are things that can be adjusted. Agreements and treaties are entered into even between two countries that have no physical contiguity. Here the two nations are neighbours and have physical contiguity."

Lastly⁶:

"There is only one practical, realistic way of resolving Muslim-Hindu differences. This is to divide India into two sovereign parts of Pakistan and Hindustan by the recognition of the whole of the North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan, Sind, the Punjab, Bengal and Assam as sovereign Muslim Territories as they now stand, and for each of us to trust the other to give equitable treatment to Hindu minorities in Pakistan and Muslim minorities in Hindustan. We are prepared to trust 25 million Muslims to them if they will trust us." (*sic*).

One thing may be noticed here. As I have shown before, the Lahore resolution definitely envisaged more than one Muslim sovereign State on the North-West and the North-East of India. Mr. Jinnah has now, perhaps, realized its many practical difficulties, and has therefore, in anticipation of the sanction of the Muslim League, been arguing on the basis of one independent and sovereign, Muslim State, "composed of two zones, north-west and north-east, comprising six provinces, namely, Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., the Punjab, Bengal, and Assam."

This is very significant. His next move—rather demand—would be that there should—"should" at first, but "must" later on—be a corridor through the State of Hindusthan to link up the north-western and north-eastern zones, for the proper functioning of the State of Pakistan. Then some of his followers would begin to echo his voice, and urge, "The Hindus should make this little 'brotherly' gesture". Thereupon, some Congressmen or ex-Congressmen would come forward and say, "Yes, this is only fair". This is not an imaginary picture. Things have been happening in this way during the last few years. However, this is only by the way.

It is evident from the interpretation which Mr. Jinnah has put upon the Lahore resolution that, according to it, the future relationship between the North-West⁷ and the North-East⁸ of India and the rest of India is to be of the same character as subsists, or may subsist, as a result of treaties, agreements or alliance, as between, say, England and France or Spain, France and Russia, Germany and Italy or

Turkey, or Turkey and England, in Europe, or as between the United States and Mexico, or the United States and Brazil or Argentina, for instance, in America. That is to say, this relationship is to be based upon mere treaties, agreements, or the principles of an alliance, as between two or more absolutely independent and sovereign States. The view embodied in the resolution thus interpreted, appears to be so puerile, but, at the same time, so preposterous and dangerous, that I cannot yet persuade myself to believe, without seriously questioning their patriotism and without insulting their intelligence and political acumen, that the authors of the resolution, being children of this soil, did really mean what they have been represented by their leader to have meant. Has communalism really so much warped our judgment that some of our best men cannot see things in their true and natural perspective? Has it altogether destroyed their political foresight? Ours is really a very unfortunate country!

May I, in this connexion, ask the authors of the resolution, and, particularly, its interpreter who is said to be a lawyer of eminence, what will be the sanction of the treaties and agreements which the latter has in view? And we must bear in mind that these treaties and agreements are to govern matters of such vital concern to the whole of India as foreign affairs, defence, customs, currency, etc. Treaties and agreements between two or more sovereign States do not create a common political authority superior to the contracting parties. What will happen in case of nonconformity, on the part of one of the contracting parties to a treaty in India, to the terms of the treaty? And who will adjudicate in a dispute arising from such a treaty? Further, what will be the value of such adjudication, assuming that a machinery is set up for this purpose, without a sanction behind its award? These are very pertinent questions which cannot be shelved or trifled with. Nor can they be dismissed as merely academic or pedantic. In the absence of an effective sanction of the treaties and agreements which Mr. Jinnah contemplates, "self-help in its most licentious form" will be the only remedy left to the peoples of the States of Hindusthan and Pakistan, for the enforcement of their terms, in the event of disobedience by either party. That is to say, these two States will have, from time to time, to take resort to "war, the litigation of States". Thus, if there is no common political superior in the form an efficient central authority for the whole of India, we shall be compelled to have, from time to time, the arbitrament of the sword, and that means frequent civil war in this country.

6 See his statement to a foreign correspondent, dated at Bombay 6th October, 1944.—A.P.I. message.

7 See his views above, and also his letter to Gandhiji, dated 25th September, 1944.

8 Sind, Baluchistan, the N.W.F.P., and the Punjab.

sufferings, together with the danger of an effective foreign intervention and the re-conquest of India by a foreign power. This is the lesson of historic experience, rightly characterized as "the best oracle of wisdom" and "the least fallible guide" of human action.

There is, it must be remembered, a fundamental difference between an Alliance, or even a Confederation, and a Government proper. As Alexander Hamilton rightly pointed out¹⁰ long ago, in reference to the views of those of his countrymen, who, like the Muslim separationists in India, had been opposing the proposed creation of the Federation of the United States of America :

"Government implies the power of making laws. It is essential to the idea of a law, that it be attended with a sanction; or, in other words, a penalty or punishment for disobedience. If there be no penalty annexed to disobedience, the resolutions or commands which pretend to be laws will, in fact, amount to nothing more than advice or recommendation."

And advice is not command. In the absence of a competent central authority, the tie of the proposed alliance between Hindusthan and Pakistan will be too feeble to bind either. It will be a mere rope of sand.¹¹ As the same American sage¹² further pointed out :

"There is nothing absurd or impracticable in the idea of a league or alliance between independent nations for certain defined purposes precisely stated in a treaty regulating all the details of time, place, circumstance, and quantity; leaving nothing to future discretion; and depending for its execution on the good faith of the parties. Compacts of this kind exist among all civilized nations, subject to the usual vicissitudes of peace and war, of observance and non-observance, as the interests or passions of the contracting powers dictate. In the part of the present century¹³ there was an

10 See *The Federalist* (Lodge's edition, 1888), No. XV.

I would very respectfully request every Muslim separationist in India to go through the pages of *The Federalist*, and, particularly, of *The Federalist*, Nos. I-XVI.

Also see Woodrow Wilson, *The State*, 1919, pp. 287-88.

11 All the arguments set forth in this article against any kind of alliance between Hindusthan and Pakistan will apply equally well to a Confederation of India, as proposed by Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar and some other persons.

Referring to the inherent weakness of the Confederation of the United States (1781-89), Woodrow Wilson has observed : "It (*i.e.*, the Confederation) was given absolutely no executive power, and was therefore helpless and contemptible . . . its only power to govern was a power to advise. It could ask the states for money, but it could not compel them to give it; it could ask them for troops, but could not force them to heed the requisition; it could make treaties, but must trust the states to fulfil them; it could contract debts, but must rely upon the States to pay them. It was a body richly enough endowed with prerogatives, but not at all endowed with powers. 'The United States in Congress assembled' formed a mere consultative and advisory board".—*The State*, 1919, p. 288.

12 See *The Federalist*, No. XV.

13 *i.e.*, the 18th century.

epidemical rage in Europe for this species of compacts, from which the politicians of the times fondly hoped for benefits which were never realized. With a view to establishing the equilibrium of power and the peace of that part of the world, all the resources of negotiations were exhausted, and triple and quadruple alliances were formed; but they were scarcely formed before they were broken,¹⁴ giving an instructive but afflictive lesson to mankind, how little dependence is to be placed on treaties which have no other sanction than the obligations of good faith, and which oppose general considerations of peace and justice to the impulse of any immediate interest or passion."¹⁵

The importance of this statement will, it is hoped, excuse its quotation at length. Another observation of this great American statesman is particularly worthy of note in this connexion.

"To look", said¹⁶ he, "for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties in the same neighbourhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages . . . But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of experience, in this particular, there are still to be found visionary or designing men, who stand ready to advocate the paradox of perpetual peace between the States, though dismembered and alienated from each other."

On the other hand, he warned, "weakness and divisions at home would invite dangers from abroad." Those who advocate the partitioning of India into two or more sovereign and independent states as a solution of our communal problem, may not be put in the category of "designing men" as contemplated by Alexander Hamilton; but they are certainly Utopian visionaries if they think that they will thereby bring peace, harmony, goodwill, and prosperity to this country. No; their policy will, even if we somehow succeed in gaining freedom from foreign control, ultimately spell red ruin to it. It may be true that they have had some legitimate causes of resentment at the treatment they received from the Congress High Command, or from some Congress Ministers, in the past; and I am one of those who believe, as I have shown in another connexion¹⁷, that when in 1937 the Congress decided to accept office, it committed a political blunder in not offering, of its own free will, to form, in co-operation with the Muslim League coalition governments in the six Governors' Provinces in which it then commanded a majority of votes in the local legislatures. But does all this justify the attempts now being made to inflict a mortal wound upon our common motherland?¹⁸ I put

14 The italics are mine.

15 Also see F. E. Smith (Lord Birkenhead), *International Law*, pp. 9-11.

16 See *The Federalist*, No. VI.

17 See my paper on "The Problem of Party Government in India", read at the Third Indian Political Science Conference, held at Mysore in December, 1940, and published in *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Conference Number, April-June, 1941.

18 Also see Beni Prasad, *Communal Settlement*, 1944, pp. 27-28.

this question in all humility and seriousness to the protagonists of separationism in this country. And it must be borne in mind in this connexion that the Congress is not going to be a perpetual organization. As a matter of fact, all the existing political parties may be *functus officio* with the attainment of freedom by India, and there may come into being, and signs are not wanting even now, new parties on altogether different bases.

III

I shall now refer to another aspect of the question, namely, the logic and equity of the position taken by Mr. Jinnah.

In recent years Mr. Jinnah has repeatedly asserted that he is opposed to any kind of Federation of India, even though it might be so devised as to ensure all "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards," to quote the words of the Lahore resolution itself, for the legitimate interests of minorities in India, as, he fears, it will mean, in effect, a "Hindu Raj". This apprehension of his is based on purely imaginary grounds. Because, along with the statutory safeguards, the Federal Constitution will provide for an independent federal judiciary which will act as the guardian, as it were, of the interests of the minorities as provided for in the Constitution. Let us assume, however, for the sake of argument, that his apprehension is well-founded, and see what follows.

Now, what is the percentage of the total Muslim population in India? Roughly speaking, according to the census of 1941, out of a total population of 389 millions living in India, 92 millions are Muslims and 255 millions are Hindus. This means that the Muslims constitute about 24 per cent of the population of India, say, about one-fourth. Let us now see the position in Bengal and Assam. According to the same census, out of a total population of about 60 millions in Bengal, approximately, 33 millions are Muslims, 25 millions are Hindus, and 2 millions the rest. Similarly, out of a total population of 10 millions in Assam, only 3·4 millions are Muslims, and the rest, including 4·2 millions of Hindus, are non-Muslims. These figures mean that the percentage of the Muslim population in Bengal is 55 and that of the non-Muslim 45; and that the percentage of the Muslim population in Assam is only 34 and that of the non-Muslim 66. And if we take Bengal and Assam jointly, as is the idea of Mr. Jinnah, then we find that out of a total population of about 70·5 millions, including fractions, living in these two provinces, 36·4 millions are Muslims. And this means that in these two provinces taken together, Muslims constitute only 51·6 per cent of their total

population, say, 52 per cent,¹⁹ and non-Muslims comprise the rest, i.e., at least 48 per cent.

Mr. Jinnah objects to an All-India Federation because, according to him, it will be a "Hindu Raj" over the Muslims of India who constitute only 24 per cent of its total population. But the same Mr. Jinnah will have no hesitation and scruple in imposing, without even their consent and against their declared will, a Muslim Raj over 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, and, what is still more ridiculous, over 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and, jointly speaking, over 48 per cent of the population of Bengal and Assam, who are non-Muslims. Are these non-Muslims mere herds of cattle, or slaves in a plantation? This is neither logic, nor reason, nor equity, nor even commonsense. If 24 per cent of the population of India has a right to object to the establishment of an All-India Federation because it will mean, according to Mr. Jinnah, a "Hindu Raj", then certainly 45 per cent of the population of Bengal, 66 per cent of the population of Assam, and 48 per cent of the combined population of Assam and Bengal have a far greater right to object to the establishment of a Muslim Raj over them.²⁰ And, be it remembered that these non-Muslims of Bengal and Assam comprise a community which is far more advanced than the Muslims of these areas, educationally, economically, and politically, and this is admitted by Muslims themselves both by their words and by their action. Further, if there has been any political progress in India during the last sixty years, it has been largely due to the activities, sufferings and sacrifices of the members of this very community. And what I have said above in regard to Bengal and Assam will, in essence, also equally apply to the case of the Punjab.

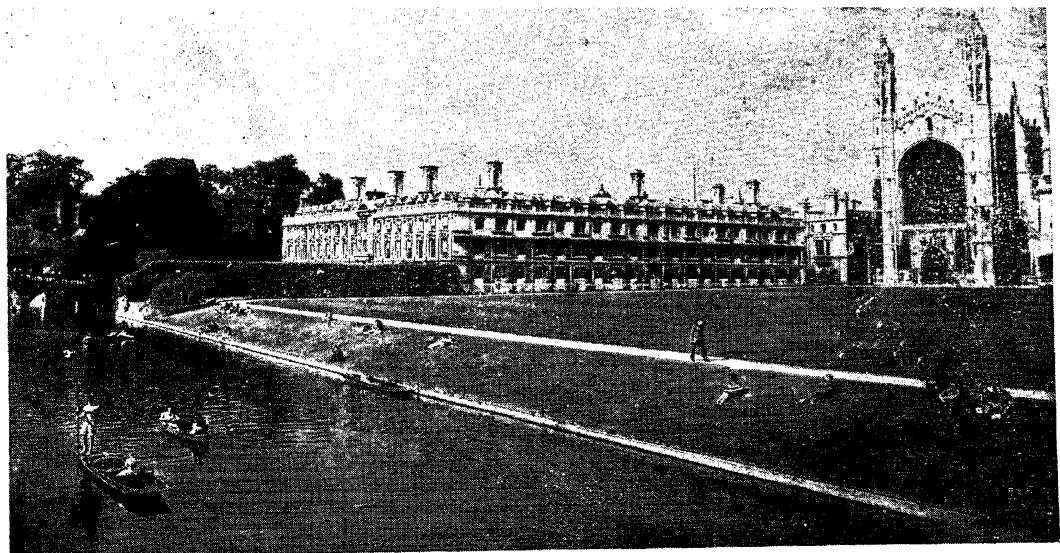
Again, if it is a question of fear of each other, which community, the Hindu or the Muslim, has greater reasons to be afraid of the other? Admittedly, some Congress Ministers committed some errors of judgment during the brief period (1937-39) in which they were in office. But the British Governors of the Provinces concerned, were also partly responsible for this, as they had power, under the Government of India Act, 1935, to prevent such errors of judgment if they were really serious. Moreover, compare the record of this short Congress rule in India in relation to Muslims, with the

¹⁹ This percentage will further go down if the Province of Bengal is reconstituted on the linguistic basis and the Bengali-speaking population in the adjoining districts to its west, is included within it.

²⁰ In regard to the two-nations theory of Mr. Jinnah, which is a myth, I shall deal with it in my next article in this series. There is no space for it here.



Chinese troops cross the Salween River in rubber assault boats



This is a typical Cambridge scene showing students on King's Lawn, and boating on the river Cam.
In the centre of the picture is Clare College (1336) and its bridge, and on the right is the famous
King's College Chapel



Marshal Wei Li-Huang, Commander of the Chinese Expeditionary Forces, and Lt. Norman J. Dain, U.S. Photo Officer, Task Force Hq.



Chinese guerilla

Courtesy : USQWI

record of the long period of Muslim rule in India, encouragement which some British politicians in relation to the Hindu community, Hindu culture, Hindu religion, Hindu temples, and the images of Hindu deities. I would not refer to those unpleasant things here. During his negotiations with Gandhiji, Mr. Jinnah once quoted Dr. Ambedkar as an authority on a point. I would only invite, in this connexion, his attention to what the same Dr. Ambedkar has said in Chapter IV of his book entitled *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941). Nor do I propose to refer, partly for want of space and partly for avoiding bitterness, to the record of some non-Congress Ministries in India since 1937. The best thing is that we should all forget the past and build our future on a new foundation of inter-communal good-will and harmony, which, however, is impossible so long Mr. Jinnah persists in his present attitude.

It has also been argued that if, in a divided India, the Muslim minorities can agree to live in Hindusthan, why the Hindu minorities should object to living in Pakistan. The answer to this point is very simple. In the first place, the Muslim minorities may have faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Hindusthan; but the Hindu minorities may not have the same faith in the sense of justice of the Government of Pakistan. Secondly, who have asked the Muslim minorities to accept the position to which it is proposed to relegate them in Hindusthan? Certainly, not the Hindus. It is some of their own leaders who are toying with their destiny, thinking perhaps that the Hindu minorities in Pakistan will be held as hostages for them in Hindusthan. Thirdly, to be a part of a common whole in an undivided India is one thing; but to be a part of Hindusthan in a divided India is a different thing. Now, knowing all this and the risks involved therein, if the Muslim minorities in the proposed Hindusthan areas, deliberately, or misled by their leaders, want to commit their political suicide, does it follow that the Hindus elsewhere should also do the same? It is like arguing that because A wants to commit suicide, therefore his neighbour B must also commit suicide. Fourthly, why will these Hindus allow themselves to be cut off from the rest of Hindu India and from its immemorial, cultural and religious associations? They look upon the whole of India as their Motherland and they must remain her nationals and citizens. They consider this to be their birthright; and they will never agree to forgo this right, just for the sake of placating a few unreasonable communalists.

In conclusion, I should like to say that Mr. Jinnah should be well advised by his followers to give up the wild goose chase of Pakistan. It will prove a veritable *fata morgana*. It will, and can, never materialise, notwithstanding all

the given to it, under the impulse of a sinister motive. It is no use ploughing the sands. Mr. Jinnah should also realise, if he has not already done it, that his movement has created enough bitterness in this country, and spread a miasma of hatred throughout the land. Hatred begets hatred and communalism begets communalism. Even people who had never any trace of communalism in them before are being gradually infected with its virus. It is such a terribly infectious poison.

Mr. Jinnah often pleads for realities. He should himself face some realities. With talks of pan-Islamism in the air and the declaration, from time to time, by many responsible Muslim leaders that a Muslim's first loyalty is to Islam and that his loyalty to his country comes afterwards, Mr. Jinnah would be in a dream-land if he ever expected that the Hindus and the Sikhs would agree to the partitioning of India and to the creation of two sovereign Muslim States on its North-Western and North-Eastern frontiers.²¹ Even if Gandhiji, misled by another Mephistophelean move, persuades himself to agree to his terms, nothing will follow. With all his influence, Gandhiji will not be able to deliver the goods to him. He will be simply repudiated by Hindu and Sikh India. And Mr. Jinnah surely knows the history of the partition of Bengal. This is a fundamental point. The sooner Mr. Jinnah realizes it, the better for all of us. Next, even a large section of the Muslim community of India is definitely opposed to partition. Thirdly, the Princely Order in India is against it.²² Only a bedlamite can believe that any satisfactory reconstruction of the future governmental system of this country is possible, with the Indian States out of it. Fourthly, other minority communities in India have unequivocally declared their adhesion to the principle of the unity and integrity of India. And lastly, there are the very weighty pronouncements of two successive Viceroys of India, Lord Linlithgow and Lord Wavell, on the question of the geographical unity of India and its implications. Many people do not appear to have realized the full significance of the present Viceroy's statement that "no man can alter geography". Unfortunately, we often forget in our enthusiasm that Government is neither poetry, nor romance, nor demagogery, nor, again, stump oratory. Much of our trouble will disappear if Muslim separationists will kindly feel that reason cannot be on

²¹ See in this connexion Stanley Rice's article, "India : Partition or Unity," in *The Asiatic Review*, January, 1943.

²² See the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Nawansar's article, "The Future of India and the Princes"; —*Ibid.* Also see Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar's recent speeches.

their side alone, and that they are not infallible. Most of them are so wedded to their own opinions as to be quite unable to see any other point of view. They have promised "adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards" to minorities in Pakistan. If that be all, why should they object to an All-India Federation, in which also they can insist on, and can easily have, similar safeguards for the Muslim community?

Not long ago Mr. Jinnah played a great role in the politics of India as a nationalist. Let him go back to that role again, and lead his countrymen to their cherished goal of a Free and United India—a United States of India, composed of autonomous units, joined together in a federal union, with adequate statutory safe-

guards for all racial or religious minorities in respect of their language, religion, culture, traditions, and other rights. He will be remembered by our posterity as one of the Makers of Modern India. But if, unfortunately, he persists in his present attitude, he will do real good to none—neither to his Motherland, nor even to his own community. He will only succeed in creating more bitterness in this country. Federation is the only solution of our problem. Partition will lead to our annihilation. Persistence in unreason will provoke unreason. And if unreason is pitted against unreason, it will ultimately lead to consequences which I had better not describe here, but which can be imagined by all sensible people.

INDIA AS DEPICTED BY AN ENGLISH LADY

By ST. NIHAL SINGH

FROM the Cambridge University Press one expects a tome—not a "tabloid." At least an old hand at reviewing, like myself, does. Many, indeed, have been the books bearing its imprint that during the last 35 years, have been sent to me for review by one publication or another or "with the compliments of the Syndics." I cannot recollect, however, that there ever was among these an "outline."

Since H. G. Wells, however, set the fashion with his "Outline of World History" (or some such title) the tempo of our life has been jazzed. Only high notes—and not too many of them—stand now a chance of being heard. I am, therefore, not a whit surprised to receive from the Cambridge University Press a slight volume bearing the simple but (at least to me) suggestive title : INDIA IN OUTLINE.*

Though there are only 110 pages of text, including the appendices and index but not the preliminaries, and though the *format* is small enough to go into the pocket, the book is worthy of the Cambridge University Press. The type is clear, well set and passed by a lynx-eyed proof-reader. The photographs and the single painting have been successfully processed, though one is crowded against the other and the juxtaposition is not always pleasing to the eye. I like the feel of the paper and the look of the print. Even the binding is not flimsy. Is there a war on in the land where this amazingly well-run press is located?

II

. . The book is by Lady Mabel Hartog. Beyond the fact that she is "no stranger to India," the

publishers tell nothing about the author (I hate the word "authoress": why should sex-differentiation be shoved into literature's domain?). Nor does she herself provide a glimmer into her personality, through the preface, not quite a page in length. But then, she was brought up in the tradition of reticence that the blare of the BBC and Britain's other noisy propagandist organs of this war-crazed period are fast destroying.

In her own country books of reference are always handy, even in a small, private library, and readers are in the habit of consulting them. In the United States of America the "handle" to the author's name would, in itself, be more than enough to make her book seem worth while. In that Republic homage flows to a "Lady's" feet as monsoon water pours down from Himalaya's heights, in the shadow of which I am writing.

In our land we are not in the habit of dipping into reference books, even if we have the money and the heart (this is more important) to purchase them. So let me give a little "background information"—a phrase much in evidence just now.

When I met the author of *India in Outline* her husband—Philip Hartog—had not been Knighted. At the time I first contacted him, he was the External Registrar of the London University. Later he served on the Commission appointed to suggest ways to unscramble the Calcutta University and to re-scramble it so as to serve Bengal's needs more efficiently. That "U" was fortunate in its omelette-tosser—the vigorous-bodied and still more vigorous-minded, lion-hearted Ashutosh Mookerji. Some time later Hartog was placed in administrative control of the Dacca University—one of the enter-

* *India in Outline* by Lady Mabel Hartog
Cambridge University Press] 6/- net.

prises conceived by Lord Curzon while we constituted for him "the white man's burden."

Mrs. Hartog was to my wife and me a perfect hostess during the two or three days we spent with her at the Vice-Chancellor's bungalow in Dacca in (I believe) 1923, and her husband all attention. Before going there she had had some "Indian background." Her uncle, Kisch (a Jewish name, I believe), had spent the best part of his life in India and retired, if my memory serves me aright, as the head of the Post and Telegraph Services. His son—her cousin Cecil—preferred the "Home" to the "Indian" Civil Service. I encountered him at the India Office in my early Fleet Street days. He accompanied Edwin Samuel Montagu to India in 1917 and was much "dined and wined" by Britons in the "Indian" services, as Graham Pole—a shrewd Scots solicitor and devotee of Annie Besant, then also in our country, told me on his return to London. Kisch's rise at the India Office was rapid and he always was pleasant and interesting to talk with.

This little lady, I could see, was much more than Philip Hartog's wife in that Vice-Chancellor's mansion at Dacca. She had a nimble wit and behind it, as her conversation showed, was much reading and shrewd observation of men and matters. She had intellectual interests of her own. I am delighted that she, upon her return to her native land, adventured into literature. Her success seems to have been immediate. Deservedly so, judging by this *Outline*.

III

The character of her book, lying beside my typewriter, is indicated by the reading matter on the jacket-flap. It is "about a country of 400 million inhabitants." These are, the publishers tell us, "of several religions, of many conflicting customs, of long and distinguished history, of many climates, soils and geographical forms, of many states and governments."

I wonder who fabricated these words for the Press. To him we must be a veritable Zoo, in fact. A visitor is expected to arm himself at the Zoo gate with a hand-book, if he is at all minded to know something more of the caged animals than his eyes and ears will tell him. So, I suppose, an "outline" is needed for "India," with all these diversified specimens of *homo sapiens*, soils, climates and what not. These have yet to pass into undivided Indian control.

Lady Hartog herself intended her small book "to serve as an introduction to India, and to provide a background for further reading." So she says in the preface. It is good to know from the author about the purposes she has in view.

IV

Not till I seriously took to photography and learnt something of both its science and art, did I realize the function that a "background plays in creating an effect or of destroying it. If it is over-bright or garish in colour, or complicated or curious in design, it will attract attention to itself, rather than serve to focus it upon the main subject. If the tint has been selected by a person who has not under-studied Nature, the figure painted or photographed will sink into it, instead of standing out cameo-like against it.

Lady Hartog is, judged by her 109 pages of text, illuminated by 31 photographs, of which one has been used with my "compliments," is the happy possessor of the secret of "back-lighting." It has that neutral tint which makes the object limned against it detach itself and seem almost to walk out of the canvas or the printed page.

The figure she had drawn, with a rare economy of strokes, is really Britannia—or is it only—"Englishia"? She is depicted as India's trustee. Her robe is made of *kamkhab*, or, perhaps as Lady Hartog would write it, "*cincob*." The most skilled spinners and weavers in the Motherland have toiled at it. The decorations are done by the most competent needle-wielders gathered from distant points in India. The rose of England constitutes, however, the main motif. The thistle of Scotland, too, appears here and there, but not too obtrusively. Even the shamrock of Ireland—not Eire's, pray note the difference, for Eire has been misbehaving during this war in the vigorous successful prosecution of which Lady Hartog (judged by her book) is keenly interested—has not been left out. Nor, for that matter, has the star that, for some reason beyond my *moti aqal* (clodhopper's brain) is associated with India. Then, too, you find gold tissue that must have come from a Benares loom and has just a touch of purple, wrapped round the heroine's figure with the artlessness of supreme art, transfiguring the short, snow-white locks.

The background is not without charm. It has bright spots strewn over it—like stars lost in a mass of almost formless rain-cloud foaming against the firmament. The bathroom of Mohenjo-daro (p. 21), for instance, shines out: but remember, Britannia's back is turned towards it—she does not betray even by a look that she, herself, in those remote days, had not even heard of such an institution. Not far from it is "Asoka, one of the two greatest monarchs of Indian history, the other being the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, contemporary of Queen Elizabeth." (Pp. 22, 25). The "nine Gems" of the "Gupta kings" are worked in with a single deft stroke of the brush (p. 23). The

horsemen from Ghor (Ghur is, I think, the modern spelling) and the chevaliers from Chitor (p. 24) are to be seen making the dust fly—seen of course in the distance. Near by is stencilled the legend that our mathematicians and astronomers, even in the age that we regard as golden, "show an intimate acquaintance with the work of the Greeks." (P. 23). As borrowers and imitators we must be in a class without peer.

England "made her first contacts with India through the sea route discovered by the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama in 1498." (P. 26). Warming to her task, Lady Hartog discards the sombre hues. With rich—but not gaudy (reader, mark the difference) colours she quickly and cleverly gets on with the portrait.

Britannia appears as Queen Elizabeth and gives "the monopoly of trade with the East" (p. 26) to her merchants leagued together in 1600 as the East India Company. The word "Hon'ble," so often correlated with this body, she wisely eschews. Wise'v I think.

Britannia of Lady Hartog's creation is a composite figure. Part of her is "Job Charnock, who married a Hindu lady after rescuing her from her first husband's funeral pyre." (P. 26). Sir Thomas Roe is shown in the act of proclaiming: "Do not waste your money on military adventures." (P. 27). Robert Clive—"a junior clerk" in the fateful days of Anglo-French warfare—knew how to manage affairs and "the battle of Plassey therefore marks a turning point in the history of both Britain and India." (P. 28).

To the author's credit be it noted that she indicates by a heavy sable dot "the black period of misrule in which" the English traders, "ill-suited" for "political and administrative" responsibilities, used "their power to enrich themselves and to push their own private interests." (P. 29). Sent back to put matters right. Clive "accepted over a quarter of a million pounds from Mir Jaffir." (*Ibid*). His explanation that "such action was no more than the usual Indian custom" saved him from punishment: but did not silence comment that hounded him to "tragic death by his own hand at the age of forty-nine." (*Ibid*).

Warren Hastings is represented as the builder of "a system of government which should be just and fair to all," and as the encourager of "the study of Indian languages." With a push from him "the period of exploitation" passed "into the period of trusteeship." Over this detail the Lady's brush lovingly lingered. According to her:

"The period of exploitation was passing into the period of trusteeship. The great 'humanitarian' movement, as it was called, was gathering strength in England and British (mark the proximity of England and British) conscience was being awakened to the rights

of man all over the world, regardless of colour or creed. The first campaign of the humanitarians was against slavery; the next resulted in the taking over by Parliament of the supervision of the East India Company's administration in all but commercial affairs. 'All political power which is set over men,' said Burke, 'ought to be exercised ultimately for their benefit. Its use is in the strictest sense a trust. By the Act of 1784, introduced by the younger Pitt, that trust in India was in future to be exercised through a Board of Control, whose president became something like a Secretary of State.' (P. 30).

And so on down to our day. "In October, 1943 Lord Linlithgow laid down the heavy burden of office as Viceroy, which he had borne for seven difficult years." Since then Field Marshal Lord Wavell has been at work, we are allowed to gather, assisting "India to full freedom." (P. 90).

V

Lo! these Indians, however. Gathered round Britannia's skirts they look like so many little imps. Not a bit grateful to her for the "sweat blood and tears" that the shouldering of the burden of "trusteeship" through 200 years has involved. They even spurned the gift that Winston Spence Churchill had sent by his beloved colleague at arms—Sir Stafford Cripps, whose father, Lord Parmoor was among the first batch of acquaintances I made in my early days in Fleet Street. (Pp. 94-95). What can any one back in Britain do for these urchins, who snarl and snigger at one another? Vigorous indeed, are Lady Hartog's brush strokes depicting the bear-garden that the "Congress, the Moslem League, the Hindu Untouchables, the Depressed classes, the Sikhs" (and the rest) have made of India.

I am disappointed that Lady Hartog, with the means at her disposal, has not checked a statement wickedly attributed to the Mahatma Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Having "lost faith in a British victory" he "regarded the Cripps offer, to use his own words, 'as a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank?'" So she writes. Before giving still wider currency to them, and in so positive a fashion, she should have found out if they were really "his (Gandhi's) own words."

These they were not, as we know from Mr. Horace Alexander—a member of that humanitarian group known to themselves as "the Society of Friends" and to others as Quakers. Mr. Gandhi was too high-souled to protest. Such a fiction does harm to our cause, especially in the United States of America. There, because of its imaginative trappings, it would catch the eye.

The sombre effect given to Britannia, in the freedom-bestowing attitude, is, however, offset by certain Indians painted in the foreground. They loom large. The colour and circumstances surrounding the rulers of Indians and their

servitors, the romance that forms a nimbus round each fighter and, in this machine age, learn from this "tabloid"? Little, I fear, to each worker in India's war-factories, have raised us (Princes, shell-makers and shells-slingers excepted) in their estimation. Even less moved her even more than the exploits of the Empire-builders and Empire-maintainers. The tints used by her in the foreground show off all the more because of the restraint with which her hand has restored to the palette for filling in other portions of the picture.

What will Americans and other foreigners,

raise us (Princes, shell-makers and shells-slingers excepted) in their estimation. Even less likely are they to be moved by it to take enthusiastic interest in our effort to shake the political burden off our backs. We shall nevertheless, walk erect with our heads held as high as any freemen's in any part of the globe.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

BY PROF. H. S. BENNETT

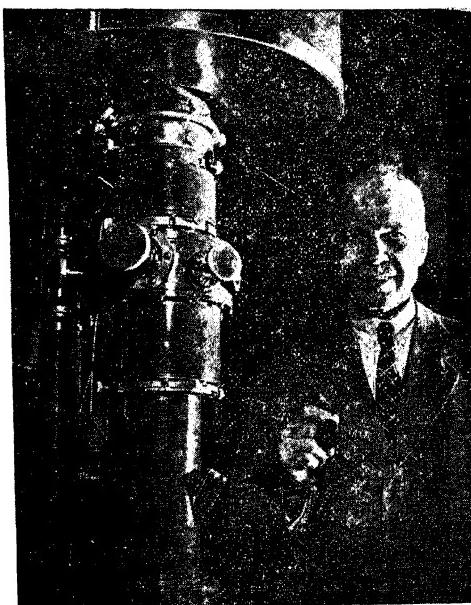
Of Britain's two most famous universities Cambridge is slightly the younger. The foundation of the University of Cambridge took place about 1225, and was probably due to one of those periodic migrations which were a

the first college was established at Peterhouse in 1284. This was followed by successive foundations in that and the next two centuries; by 1596 there were 16 colleges, and since then only one men's college (Downing, founded in



Cambridge has two women's colleges—Girton and Newnham. Here is a woman undergraduate studying archaeology among the plaster casts of Greek statues.

feature of medieval student life—in this case, to a migration from Oxford. Whatever the causes, the 13th century saw the gradual creation of a University at Cambridge. The congregation of Masters willing and able to teach gradually attracted students, and before long



The new Cavendish Laboratory for physical research was founded in 1874. Sir William Lawrence Bragg, Cavendish Professor and a Nobel prize winner, is seen standing beside a lend-lease microscope. The laboratory is at present a centre for war research.

1800) has been established and incorporated into the University.

Unlike the other Universities of Great Britain, Cambridge has not allowed women to become full members of the University.

although two women's colleges (Girton and Newnham) were established in the 19th century, and members of those colleges attend University lectures.

while the colleges concern themselves with all the arrangements for housing, feeding and looking after the undergraduates' daily life and routine.



Said to be the oldest book shop in England. Bowes of Cambridge has been in the same building for 340 years, and has supplied countless generations of students. Cambridge shopkeepers are frequently scholars

The medieval University of Cambridge, however, consisted not only of colleges, but in addition there were innumerable hostels or lodgings which provided the undergraduate with tuition, society and a common purpose.

Little by little, however, the disciplinary problems provoked by considerable numbers of undergraduates necessitated central control and authority, and the Masters of Art (the teachers) combined to provide this by means of such officials as the Chancellor and the Proctors. As colleges came into being, they naturally supported the forces of law and order, as well as insisting on their own rules and conventions within the college walls. So has grown up a dual system of University and college discipline and privilege.

As a result of successive reforms, the University is now mainly responsible for the provision of lectures and formal instruction in all subjects—both theoretical and practical—

To this end the college authorities see that every undergraduate is under the personal care of one of its members who stands in *loco parentis* to him. To such a man the undergraduate turns for advice in trouble, or before such a man he is summoned if his conduct causes any reason for comment by the authorities, either of his college or of the University.

The college also appoints one of its members to advise and help the undergraduate with his studies. To this end the two meet together for about one hour each week, when the pupil reads to his master some essay which he has prepared, receives comment and criticism of his effort,



This picture shows the chained medieval books in Trinity Hall Library. Trinity Hall is the only Cambridge college to keep the old name of "hall".

and can discuss at length any point that arises. At the same time he can ask for help concerning the programme of lectures which the University provides for his instruction. By this dual system of lectures and individual tuition,

he is enabled to carry on his studies to what-ever extent his energy impels him.

The University lecturers are a select body of men and women who are highly proficient in their subjects, and most of whom are actively engaged in research. As a result, there is an ever-present sense of life in most subjects—especially on the science side, where investigators of world-wide renown work in close contact with their students.

Besides the formal professional studies, the University provides incomparable facilities for a more general education. The college buildings, in which all undergraduates live for part at least of their three years' residence, throw men together as they assemble in Hall for dinner, or meet in one another's rooms for hospitality and friendly talk.

This rubbing together of a number of men, all reading different subjects and coming from a wide variety of homes and families is an invaluable educational experience. From these daily contacts and innumerable conversations—grave and gay—something emerges which is not easily expressed in words, and is even less easily evaluated in terms of the market place, but which is the special gift made by Cambridge to her sons.

Out of college, again, there is much to be gained beyond the formal lectures and classes. Cambridge is only little more than an hour

from London, so that term-time sees a constant coming and going of Cabinet Ministers, Members of Parliament, leaders of industry, of religion, of trades-unions, etc., who are always ready to come to address meetings of undergraduates. Such meetings may take place at the famous undergraduate Society's headquarters—the Union Society—or may be held under the auspices of one of the many societies which exist to promote various causes. At these, and at other gatherings of a more purely social character, the undergraduate has remarkable opportunities of hearing many leaders of the day in every field of politics, literature, art and the like. He is encouraged to put forward his own views, to help organise societies and meetings, and to make his first efforts at taking a responsible place in society.

In all these activities, the fact that he is living away from home, and as little hampered by the controls of his elders as is compatible with an ordered existence, helps to promote in him an independent and adult attitude which makes residence at the University so much more than a mere acquisition of technical or professional knowledge. On leaving Cambridge, a man who has taken full advantage of these opportunities and of those which are provided by the innumerable sports and games which are available, goes away with an attitude to the world developed in many other aspects than the purely intellectual.

THE PLACE OF INDIAN ART IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

By O. C. GANGOLY

THE topic that has been chosen for me—I should say, thrust upon me by well-meaning friends—for discussion this evening, viz., Indian Art in the Indian Universities is a very embarrassing one. For, the position of Indian Art in most of the universities of India is much that of snakes in Ireland—a very precarious and dubious one. For, excepting in two Universities, Indian Art is not a recognized culture-subject, either as an elective or optional course. And, consequently, the factual data connected with the topic that I am called upon to set forth before you are very few and can be enumerated in a few minutes.

The recitals of these facts are very bald and uninteresting and do not bring credit to our educational experts who plan or carry on the syllabuses of studies at our Indian universities.

I have had the privilege of delivering lectures on Indian Art in most of the univer-

sities of India, and I have had some opportunity to study at close quarters the attitude of our universities towards Indian Art—an attitude of a general boycott of the subject and a refusal to recognize any manner of culture-values in the manifestations of Indian Art *qua* Art. In some universities, as in the Benares Hindu University and in the Madras University—there are chairs provided for lectures on Ancient Indian History and Culture, such as the Maharaja Manindra Chunder Nundy Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture, and the Myers Foundation in the Madras University. But these chairs, like the Carmichael Chair of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the Calcutta University, have almost nothing to do with Indian Art—and are confined to discussions or researches on Dynastic and Political History, Chronology, or Numismatics—and have nothing to do with the History of the Development of Indian Art or

any contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Ancient Monuments or Masterpieces.

In the Madras University, there is an actual Faculty for the Fine Arts but it has not functioned in the teaching of the Visual Arts—either as a practical subject, or as a theoretical one—in the presentation of the History of Indian Art. It has, however, pro-

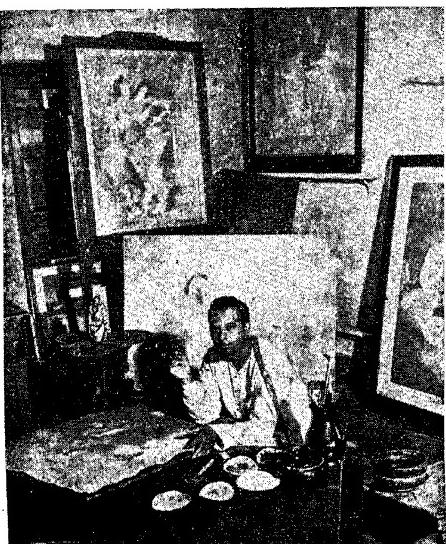
nological data or periods of history does not involve any intimate contact with the aesthetic phases of Indian Art—and our History students, with some rare exceptions, are proverbially insensitive to the beauties of Indian Art *qua* Indian Art, and never develop any love for Indian Art in any of its phases. For, the consideration of Dynastic History does not give any opportunity to visualize the aesthetic expressions of the periods in representative masterpieces of the Fine Arts.

As a rule dates, estampages and diggings film the aesthetic judgment of our history-students, and prevent any aesthetic appreciation of any phase of Indian Art.

There is a faculty of Fine Arts provided in the Travancore University. Though some extension lectures on some phases of Indian Art have been delivered sporadically, no systematic study of the subject has yet been developed.

In the Punjab University, there are provisions for practical lessons in painting for the Intermediate and Graduate courses, but there is no provision yet for any teaching of Indian Art.

In the Benares Hindu University a syllabus has been planned for imparting lessons in painting and sculpture generally, and for some acquaintance with the History of Indian Art, but no practical steps have yet been taken to implement the syllabus planned.



The Principal, Sarada Ukil School of Art,
New Delhi

vided Diploma courses in the teaching of Music—both in its practical and theoretical aspects.

Music is also a subject of teaching and Diploma in the Annamalai University at Chidambaram.

In Bombay there is a very efficient Department of Sociology where occasionally some phases of Indian Art receive attention in the shape of researches. As for instance, a lady graduate is engaged in writing a History of Costumes as gathered from the evidences of the Monuments of Indian Art.

In some of the colleges at Poona, affiliated to the Bombay University, some phases of Indian Archaeology receive attention, but nothing like a systematic History of Indian Art has yet found a place in the courses of study.

It might be claimed that in the courses of study of the General History of India, provided in most of the Indian universities, some acquaintance with ancient monuments or the the principles of Indian Art and their applications in modern forms of expression. But this implied, but the mere acquaintance with chro-



Members of the staff, Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi

In the Visva-Bharati University at Santiniketan, there is a special Department for the study of Indian painting and sculpture under the direction of Mr. Nanda Lal Bose, one of the leaders of the modern movement in Indian Art, and artists are given practical training in the principles of Indian Art and their applications in modern forms of expression. But this does not involve any direct contact with the

masterpieces of ancient Indian Art, or any acquaintance with the systematic development of the history of the various branches of Indian Art.

The Calcutta University has the unique distinction amongst the fourteen Indian universities of providing not only a special chair for the study of Indian Art—known as the Bagisvari Chair of Indian Fine Arts—but also of providing systematic class teaching in the history of Indian Fine Arts through various specially qualified readers and lecturers. And, the history subject for M.A. course in the Calcutta University provides courses of study of Indian Iconography or the science of image-making, painting, sculpture, and architecture as special phases of ancient Indian culture, on the same footing as the study of Indian philosophy and of Sanskrit literature. Students, taking their M.A. degree after the study of Indian Art, sometimes continue their study as Research scholars in Indian Art, taking some special phase of Indian Art for research-thesis. Thus, one student is actually engaged in studying the development and the evolution of various types of Indian pillars as illustrated in the history of Indian architecture, and, another Research-scholar is engaged in studying the significance of the designs of ancient Indian pottery.

The Calcutta University can also claim credit for introducing in its Matriculation syllabus as an optional subject, open to boys as well as to girl students, an appreciation course for the visual arts with special emphasis on Indian Art. It has prescribed a syllabus and also published a text-book setting out the general principles of Art, and the basis and standards of Art appreciation. The same university has also inaugurated a diploma course of art-teaching which include a course of lectures on the general history of Indian Art.

Such is the tearful tale of the position of Indian Art in the history of the Indian universities. On the whole, we must confess, it is, indeed, a dark and dismal picture, unrelieved by any ray of illumination.

I have refrained from any reference to the University of this Imperial city. It has recently been overhauled and re-constituted. But, it has

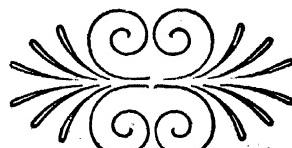
not yet formulated its policy as regards the attitude it should take up towards the study of Indian Art. Delhi has been the epi-centre of Indian Art and Architecture for several centuries. And the patronage that the Moghal Emperors lavished on Indian Art are brilliantly recorded on the shining pages of history. The great traditions which princely patronage and glorious art-practices have helped to build up in this city, appear yet to hover over the spirit of this great city, and seem to be crying for an honoured place in the University of Delhi.



The writer talking to the members of the staff of the School

In the meantime, a word of warm praise is due to this humble Institution founded by a talented artist, the late lamented Mr. Sarada Charan Ukil—for keeping alive the flame of Indian Art burning in the great city of its birth. The resources of this Institution is very limited, but courageous workers whose kind hospitality we are sharing this evening, have bravely kept burning the torch of Indian art—the spiritual principles of which have made rich and original contributions to the art of the world, and which are yet destined to make richer contributions to the new art of to-day, and to the newer art of to-morrow. For it must be remembered that the principles of Indian Art are eternal verities and belong not to India alone—but to the whole of humanity.

* A lecture delivered at the Sarada Ukil School of Art, New Delhi, on 22nd October, 1944.



THE MALABAR MATRIARCHY

By PROF. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A. B.L., D.Phil. (Heidelberg)

Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan

III

C. There can be nothing against the commendable effort for attaining the ideal of monogamy as such, but he will be certainly a stupid reformer and superficial observer of society who would rest contented only when he succeeds in introducing in society just an imitation of the achievement of Christendom in this respect, namely, illegalising more than one lawful consort at a time. Such a legislation ensures neither the realisation of the social ideal of one man for one woman (because in spite of this law people may have any number of mistresses and lovers outside matrimony) nor the moral ideal of chastity untainted by promiscuity. As compared to this the Matriarchal system of Malabar does not inculcate a lower ideal on the social side than the western system with its constant necessity for divorce (often faked up) and hypocrisy (to enable it to keep up the show of a sham monogamy), and on the ethical side it has certainly a higher ideal because here a man and a woman have perfect freedom to vow life-long fidelity and live in chastity which are all the more precious (ethically) because they are not the products of legislative coercion but of human free-will. In face of this it is an unprogressive state of mind which imagines anything to be progressive simply if it happens to possess the stamp of the west to which it has become just fashionable to refer as progressive. I am unable to accept this view.

Regarding the 'individualism' of the West it should suffice here to say that all modern and progressive forces in the world are condemning that individualism as a pernicious disease which is held responsible for most of the evils of the modern world. Nay more—endeavours are being made to replace that system of *competitive individualism* by a social order which will be guided by the spirit of *Co-operative Collectivism (communism)*, which is the very essence and basis of Tarawad matriarchy. Of course, nobody can stop the Malabarians from throwing away their own system if they so desire, but in an age in which co-operation and collectivism (on much larger scale and among much less nearly related social groups than that visualised in the Tarawad system) are being advocated as the two most important items in the programme of social reconstruction by the most progressive section of all the races of the world, it is impossible to admit that the Tarawad system should be rejected on the ground of being unwieldy, antiquated, unnatural or unprogressive. Far from being antiquated and unprogressive, the freedom and influence of women, the absence of such conventions as child marriage and enforced widowhood, the intimacy of the bond of relationships among members of a Tarawad, the opportunity for the cultivation of arts and promotion of higher virtues proclaim in unmistakable terms the excellence of the Malabar system which may be recognised by a posterity as a system much in advance of the one which the Malabarians are trying to borrow.

D. It is however a moot point whether or not modern democratic societies have become free from all privileges. Be that as it may. Assuming that all privileges are unjust, the questions that directly concern us here are : (a) Is the relation of the Nambudris with Nair women such as would justify calling it a privilege ? and (b) even if it is a privilege, is it necessary to abolish the Malabar family system to destroy this privilege ? As to (a), if the enjoyment of a right by a group in society to the exclusion of others is termed a privilege, then the relation between Nambudris and Nair women is a privilege the enjoyment of which, however,

is not absolutely exclusive but is shared with the Nair men. But if the criterion of a privilege is not mere exercise of a special right but the exercise of the right should in addition be *against* the will of the party on which it is exercised or at the cost of which the right is enjoyed or in other words if it is to be exercised through duress or dupery then certainly it is not a privilege at all. The origin of the sexual relation between Nair women and Nambudris did not lie in any one-sided demand of the Nambudris (on Nair women) nor was its continuance possible if it was of the nature of a privilege if by privilege is meant a right exercised by the enjoyer through force or trickery.²² It is insulting to the intelligence and independence of Nair women and to the sense of honour of chivalry of Nair men to think that the Nambudris just duped the Nair women into a self-surrender which eventually turned them into playthings of the Nambudris' lust and passions while their menfolks remained just mute and helpless witnesses of this humiliating subjugation of their womanhood. It comes from the double mistake of (i) viewing woman as a helpless and easily-led creature and (ii) man under matriarchy as an effeminate and non-interfering dummy. But enough has already been shown from history to convince any unbiased mind that during the hey-day of Matriarchy the Nair woman was a very strong-willed, intelligent and aristocratic person of education and character and not a namby-pamby plaything of masculine frivolity and lust and the Nambudri could come near her only if and when she in the benign majesty and grace of her friendship and love permitted the stranger to approach her. The Nair man also equally conscious of his aristocratic lineage and proud of his social status conceded the Nambudri's visits to the Tarawad because of his worthiness and ability to win the heart of his sisters.

All the facts of history go to show that the Nambudri was there where we find him in the Nair social order because both the Nair woman and her male relations considered him to be a desirable, that is a learned, respectable and honourable fellow. Standard of learning and honour however, differs in different ages but according to the standard of those days the Nambudri must have satisfied his aristocratic (Nair) mistress and her relations before he could get admission in to her home and her heart. If today the standard of education and honour of the Nambudris has deteriorated, by all means, the Nair ladies have every freedom and right to reject him and shower their favours on worthier and more honourable suitors but does that make it necessary for them to discard their system ? This brings us to (b). The degradation (presuming that the Nambudri charac-

22. "When considering the question as to whether polyandry was introduced by the Brahmins among the Nayers for their own selfish ends or is in reality due to their military organisation it may not be out of place to refer to the explanation given as to the origin of the custom by Montaigne in his Essays. He evidently was of opinion that polyandry was introduced because the Nayar leaders like Gato-wayo looked on an 'army of bachelors', as the most effective instrument in war."---Wigram and Moore---Supra, Foot-note on p. 33. The reference here is to the Essays of Michael, Lord Montaigne, translated by John Florio, first published in 1588 in Lubbock's hundred books.

The same view on the origin and continuance of polyandry was supported by Barbosa when he observed:—"And it is said that the kings made this law in order that the Nairs should not be covetous, and should not abandon the king's service."---Supra p. 127.

ter has undergone degradation) of the Nambudris should be no reason for abolishing the Malabar Matriarchy if it is otherwise desirable. If the practice of accepting the Nambudris has solidified into a rigid custom and turned into a blind worship of Nambudris (irrespective of their qualifications) then it is not the fault of the system which gives women such unique freedom of choosing life's companions and of conferring favours on the most desirable males; the fault lies in the character of education which the Nair women are or have been receiving in recent times—an education which obviously does not help a Nair woman in forming independent judgments even on such important matters as the choice of a consort who may exert on her a life-long influence. It shows further that she (the Nair woman) is losing a good bit of that sturdy independence of outlook for which her ancestresses were justly reputed. The corrective, according to enlightened standards of reform, therefore lies not in making her still less independent (by enabling her to hang comfortably on man by demolishing the matriarchal system) but in emphasising (through a really useful system of education) upon the Malabar womanhood the necessity of character and independence of judgment without which they will be unworthy of the freedom (given to them by their system) of deciding themselves the most important problems of their life. For an enlightened womanhood there can be no question of accepting a Nambudri simply because he happens to be a Brahman.

From an examination of the foregoing analysis it will not, I believe, be unwarrantable to draw the following conclusions:—The geographical position of Malabar brought her people (of whom the Nairs were the most distinguished), since very early times, in contact probably with Phoenicians and Babylonians and certainly with Moors, Syrians and Jews. The North-Indian Aryans (especially the Nambudris) were also attracted by the hospitality of Malabar. In all probability some Malabar kings had invited the Brahmans from the north (as in many other non-Aryan tracts the Brahmans were invited by the kings of those regions) being enamoured of the Brahmans' learning, intelligence and culture. Such cultural and commercial contact with the outside world could not have failed to lend to the Malabarians a cosmopolitan (relatively speaking) outlook on life. Then again the necessity of discharging military obligations by the Nairs (who developed into a military aristocracy) helped the evolution of their society on the more natural basis of Matriarchy (authority of the seniormost woman in the family consisting of blood-relations only). This Matriarchy grew up to be the pivot on which the entire social system revolved, and as a natural corollary of which there appeared the unique status of women in society, the like of which is not likely to have been known in any other part of India. Freedom from most male inhibitions and conventional social restrictions were the key-notes of this status. But being a product of natural evolution in a community of free and war-like people, far from encouraging a spirit of levity and vulgarity among women and of license and effeminacy among men it helped the promotion in society of virtues like self-help, courage, fidelity, honour, chivalry, courtesy, mutual regard and the cultivation of arts like gymnastic, dancing, music, etc.

With the introduction of foreigners in society, the women were afforded one more opportunity of exercising their freedom of choice of their male companions, and this, as is expected from women of aristocracy, character and independence, they exercised with courage combined with foresight and caution. The Nambudri Brahmans though (in those early days) mere immigrants²³ were not to the same degree foreign to them as, say, the Moors, the Jews or the Christians. They

bore the stamp of the same old Indian culture (which was the Nairs' own) and in learning, intelligence, appearance, character and other qualifications highly deserving and as such they began to receive the same treatments and favours from the Nair ladies as their own kinsmen (the Nairs) themselves.

But the ease with which it was possible for the free-born Nair ladies to express their willingness to offer the Nambudris a place in their social order was not the same with which the Nambudris could accept the honour involved in that magnanimous and large-hearted offer. The Nambudri carried with him the customs and conventions of the rigid patriarchal social order. His women lost their chastity at the thought of a second marriage; she was a dependent and looked up for everything on her male relations. The maintenance of a continuous line of male agnates was to him a religious duty; and with all this had to be reconciled the generous offer of the Nair ladies. The result was a thorough reconstruction of the Nambudri's family life which in its altered form presented the following among its main features:—(a) Reservation of the eldest brother for maintaining the continuity of the line of agnates and so he (the eldest brother) alone was allowed to unite in marriage (with a woman of the same caste) which had the incidents of a Hindu marriage and he alone was to inherit the family property, (b) the other brothers were usually debarred from marriage and inheritance but were allowed to form extra-marital sexual alliances with Non-Brahman women, (c) greater degree of im-partiality of family property (following the Nair practice), (d) absence of son's liability for father's debts (even if the purpose was neither illegal nor immoral). These were obvious modifications²⁴ of the Nambudri's original laws and practices which he was forced to concede in order to be able to better fit in with the environment of his land of adoption (Malabar) and in this compulsion, if any, came from the Nair to the Nambudri and not vice versa. It is arrogating too much power and intelligence to the immigrant Nambudris and crediting him with too much intelligence and imputing too much weakness to Nair character to imagine that the Nambudris introduced polyandry (and hence the Matriarchal system) among the Nairs for their selfish ends. In particular cases some clever and mischievous Nambudris might have taken undue advantage of some exceptionally stupid Nair girls' maidenly simplicity but such duping of the fair sex is not unknown among patriarchal societies where full-fledged marriage is made to be the *sine qua non* of any sexual alliance.

With the gradual loss of political independence the Malabarians (Nairs as well as the Nambudris) deteriorated mentally and morally along with the rest of India. English education and free intercourse (now made possible by the facilities of communication) with Northern India made modern individualism and monogamous (patriarchal) families appear in the Nair eye more desirable things. This hankering after the patriarchal family bore in its core an innate prejudice against matriarchy. We have tried to show that these prejudices being what they are, are false but the deterioration of the people which promoted the growth of these prejudices is perhaps not quite so unreal. The logical corrective therefore lies not in destroying Matriarchy but in stopping the causes of the racial deterioration of which Matriarchy certainly could not have been one because, as we have seen before, in the hey-day of matriarchy Malabar was quite a strong, free, progressive and prosperous province;—indeed, according to Marco Polo, "the fairest and noblest in the world."

But it may be argued that the Matriarchal system does not allow Malabarians to adapt themselves to the

23. I do not know if there is any authentic history relating to the migration of the Brahmans to Malabar.

24. "They were governed by Hindu Law modified by special customs which they had adopted since their settlement in Malabar." ...Vasudevan vs. The Secretary of State for India. I.L.R-XI Mad.

conditions of modern life, that system being suitable (if at all) to medieval conditions. I have no knowledge as to what extent the Matriarchal system is incapable of adapting itself to modern conditions of life. But presuming that it suffers to some extent from such a defect may it not be possible to modify the old system to the extent of its unworkability under modern conditions and maintain its essential features? On the other hand, it might have become totally unfit to keep pace with modern times. If that is really so there is no use hugging an institution which has out-lived its usefulness and then the Malabarians will be certainly justified in discarding it off as unsuited to their present-day needs. But if that must be done, I believe, it can be done with-

out either giving it (the system) a bad name or without imputing to Nambudris evil and dishonourable motives. In other words, if it must, let the Malabar Matriarchy go, but let it go with good grace, if evidence of history shows that it is deserving of that grace. That historical evidence is in its favour has, I believe, been shown in the foregoing pages. If then it is still found necessary to abolish the Matriarchal system of Malabar because it no longer serves any useful purpose, let not its past achievements be slighted or overlooked because of its inability to cope with the present-day world and its complex problems. If it is dead, it must be buried, but can it not demand a decent burial?

(Concluded)

DESTITUTION AT CONTAI THANA, MIDNAPUR

By RAMKRISHNA MUKHERJEE, M. Sc.

INTRODUCTION

This note is the outcome of an investigation of the problems of destitution at Contai Thana, Midnapur. The statistical data are presented here in the simplest way possible for the general readers. The Friends Ambulance Unit which is carrying on relief work admirably at Contai since the Midnapur cyclone in 1942 approached Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, Head of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University, in the beginning of this year to conduct an enquiry at Contai to give them an idea of the condition of the people and the type of relief necessary as well as the major problems to be faced in any rehabilitation scheme. They were supervising and managing a few destitute camps at and near about Contai and so were in urgent need of such data for proper relief work and successful rehabilitation of the destitutes. Prof. Chattopadhyay requested the Calcutta Statistical Laboratory to spare me for a short period to conduct the survey and the Laboratory very kindly consented to the proposal.

METHOD OF FIELD WORK

So in last February we conducted an enquiry in the two destitute camps at Mahisagot and Basantia, two small villages within six miles of the Contai town, managed by the Friends Ambulance Unit. The field work was done by me with the help of four college students from Contai town. These gentlemen were properly trained up by me beforehand. We collected our information from all the destitutes staying in the camp excepting a few who being very young children could not give reliable information and they had no relations or neighbours in the camps who could speak for them. However, they were about only ten in number and neglecting them we have studied 246 destitutes who well remember the property they have lost and also the details of their past life. Hence our data may be regarded to be fairly representative and also reliable.

DESTITUTES IN CONTAI

The destitutes came to the camp in a variety of ways. Some came from the neighbouring villages voluntarily; in some cases families completely stranded and thrown out in the streets came to the camp from a distance; some again were collected by the military authorities and handed over to the destitute camp.

From the tabular statement of the destitutes it will be seen that they have come to the camp from 79 different villages, all of course within 15-20 miles from Contai town. Table 1 gives an account of the families and the number of villages they came from. This grouping shows that while generally speaking the majority of the villages were represented by not more than two

families there are 9 villages which were represented by more than 5 families each, the largest number being from a village called Patapukuria which is represented by 17 families. This grouping, however, does not give us any idea as to the intensity of distress in the different villages. Contai has become one vast destitute camp and very little can be inferred about the distress in a certain village by visiting one camp. It may have just happened that these villages were represented in large numbers being nearer to the camps than the others.

Since the destitutes came to the camps from a considerable number of villages any bias regarding any particular village must have been eliminated. Therefore, our study may be considered to be a fairly good sample survey of the destitutes of Contai Thana area.

THE DESTITUTES

The destitutes we studied were 246 in number. Table 2 shows that out of 246 destitutes studied 159 or 65 per cent were below the age of 15, and of the rest of the population 74 or about 30 per cent were adult females, of whom again nearly half were widows. Thus 95 per cent of the destitutes in the camps are either women or children. This preponderance of women and children, as we found out from the destitutes, is mainly due to two reasons, —(i) families who lost their male members came to the camp, (ii) in many cases the male members who could not provide for their wife and children sent them off to the camp while they themselves stuck to the village or moved about here and there in search of food.

We cannot find the cause of destitution and suggest rehabilitation measures unless we study the destitutes in relation to their family and the rural life they lived, that is, their position in the society. So the account of the destitutes we give henceforth will always be in relation to their family and village which will incidentally give an indication of the deterioration of rural life during the period.

THE DESTITUTES IN RELATION TO FAMILY AND SOCIETY

The 246 destitutes we studied belong to 159 families, some families being represented by more than one of its members. An analysis of the destitute families by age and sex (Table 3) reveals that 159 families covered a population of 657 men, women, and children. It means, on the average, a family of 4 to 5 members. Of this 657, 55 per cent are males and 45 per cent are females. The composition of various age grades are : children (male) 25 per cent, children (female) 20 per cent, adult (male) 26 per cent, and adult (female) 23 per cent. These are the proportions in the sample before cyclone in normal times.

How far will this sample survey give us any idea about the general population? We do not know what percentage of the population became destitutes. All we can say is that the destitutes form the most affected strata of the population in the villages. As our sample is an unbiased sample it will give us some idea as to the general condition of the destitutes and an index of their suffering. Further we shall try to show that the destitutes came from a strata that can be more or less defined from several angles,—(i) their economic position, (ii) their social position, (iii) their place in production.

POSITION OF DESTITUTE FAMILIES IN VILLAGE SOCIETY

Our first attempt at defining this strata of the population is by an analysis of their caste. Caste it is true does not give us an idea of the real social position now as accurately as it used to do but a caste analysis is useful for several reasons.

1. Generally speaking, even now professions are allotted to people in the village by caste.

2. The economically lower strata of the population not always but generally belong to the socially lower castes.

In table 4 we give an analysis of the caste of the destitute families. The higher castes like Brahmin, etc., are practically unrepresented. The overwhelming majority of the families studied belong to the castes which are generally associated with agriculture, craft and manual labour. Thus Mahishyas or Kaibartas, who form 52 per cent of the whole list, are agriculturists. The bulk of the remaining families belong to castes like Hari, Muchi, Tanti, Teli, Jugi, etc., who are village artisans or labourers. The higher castes of the village are not usually associated with this strata which by reason of their caste form the lower strata of society.

Table 5 gives us an analysis of the destitute families by classifying them according to the cultivable land they possess. This is justified since the rural life in Bengal is based on agrarian economy. It can be seen from the Table that 64 per cent of the destitute families owned no land even in normal times (September 1942). The Kishans who owned an insufficient quantity between one bigha (0.5 acre) and 3 bighas (1.5 acre) constitute 30 per cent of the destitute families. Those owning more than 1.5 acres but less than 2.5 acres form 4 per cent and above 4 acres but less than 5 acres of land was owned by a bare 1 per cent. Only one solitary case was that of a man who owned 14 acres. Thus the conclusion we can draw from this is:

1. That the large majority of rural families who turned destitutes generally belong to that strata of the village which owns no land or very little land.

2. Quite a number of Kishan families who own 5 to 6 bighas (about 3 acres) of land and so may be classed as middle peasantry have been severely affected and forced to turn into destitutes.

3. As a group, none of the rural families holding land above 3 acres or so have been affected. It shows that they are immune to the food crisis.

4. The average land owned by the Kishans who turned destitute is 1.2 acres or 2 bighas if we exclude from the average the large number who did not possess any land. Including them, the average comes down to .39 acres, a little above one bigha.

Considering the importance of land in village economy this analysis, more than the caste, confirms our opinion that the destitutes came from the lowest and to some extent from the middle strata of the village people.

Our third attempt at identifying this group is by their profession in normal times. From table 6 it is clear that it is a part of the working population we are concerned with. The most essential primary activities in village life are listed in the table. Labour (which in practically all the cases means agricultural labour) and

agriculture, that is farming in one's own land, combined with any other are the two chief occupations noted down. In normal times (September 1942) they claimed 160 of a total of 248 productive earners. Thus 64 per cent of the men in productive occupations among the destitute families were engaged in the primary occupation of agriculture and of the rest 28 per cent engaged in crafts, 5 per cent in domestic service, and the rest 3 per cent in other forms of work, like laundry, etc. Among the professions mentioned "liberal arts", "shopkeeping," etc., are not represented at all. Both liberal arts and shopkeeping or other jobs of middle men require either more capital to start the job or to learn the professions, like teaching, etc., and the strata that became destitutes could not afford these amenities.

It may be mentioned here that Table 6 gives us another glimpse into the economic condition of those who became destitutes:

1. The huge number of labourers sharply differentiated from those who combine agriculture and labour shows the acute land crisis.

2. The huge army of unproductive earners, quite a number being men. This also points to the extremely desperate condition of these people even in normal times.

We can now briefly summarise our position.

Our caste analysis of the destitute families, property classification, and analysis of profession, all prove that these destitutes did not come from all classes of people in the village but from a distinct stratum of village population.

This stratum is the poorest and most hard-working; even normally this stratum of the people lives in extremely poor conditions.

This stratum includes both agriculturists and artisans. It includes both the rural proletariat and the next upper grade, the lower, and to some extent the middle peasantry.

These people are placed in the most important position in village life—production.

Can we have any idea as to what portion of the rural population they comprise of? This we can get from the Flood Commission Report of Bengal according to which 54 per cent of the rural families in the Midnapur district hold up to 3 acres of land which indicates that our study covers more than half the village population and so the intensity of their distress and the problems of their rehabilitation in consequence will surely be a good pointer to the estimation of the distress in the villages as a whole. Since the destitutes have come from a good many different villages the data may be accepted as fairly representative of Contai police station area as a whole with regard to the effect of the food crisis on the rural population.

FACTORS LEADING TO DESTITUTION

Loss of Property: To measure the intensity of suffering of these people we may start with the loss of property they sustained. Loss of property is selected as an index as it will give us the best idea of the condition through which they passed and the condition they have arrived at. A word here is necessary as to the significance of different forms of property to a rural family. The most valued property is the homestead land, the dwelling site. So long as there is a piece of land the family is sure of shelter. Next in importance is the cultivable land. Being the only principal source of income it is valued only second to dwelling site. Third comes the livestock which supply essential animal labour without which the principal occupation—agriculture—will stop. After these there comes utensils and ornaments. These two are generally the little reserve in hand which is used in emergency. A peasant who has lost ornaments and even livestock still entertains some hope of recovery through strenuous labour. One losing land slips into the class of day labourers and one losing his homestead becomes a pauper.

A rough glance through the table 7 which gives us a record of the property they owned and have lost now is enough to establish several facts.

1. Ornaments, utensils and livestocks have been lost by practically all the destitutes.

2. 28 per cent have lost all their cultivable land and another 32 per cent lost part of their land (Table 7B). 19 per cent have lost even their homestead and are now beggars with no shelter. (Table 7A).

3. The loss in livestock is most appalling. While formerly 115 families or 72 per cent owned cattle, now only 20 or 17 per cent own cattle and total number of cattle now is 14 per cent of its former strength.

4. Thus while all of them lost their liquid about half of them lost their land. While average possession of these families was 1 acre, now it has become 0.6 acre. While formerly 58 in 159 or 36 per cent owned land now 39 or 25 per cent owns some land and 10 per cent of the total number of families have lost all land. Thus both in total acreage and in the number of families holding land considerable change has taken place. The periodical analysis in table 5 shows how class range of land holding gradually grew smaller and more and more peasants joined the rank of landless labour. The middle peasants having from 0.5 to 2.5 acres suffered very acutely regarding loss of land. Thus while the landless peasant could not sell because they had none those who had land were forced to sell and join the former class. The former class in the meanwhile could only submit to the natural consequences of want.

Indebtedness: Economic loss to be properly measured must include the standing debts which may be assumed to be a charge on the remaining asset. Table 8 gives a list of the debts of the families. It shows 42 families still in debt and the extent of debts is Rs. 2,599 in February 1944 which to be paid must swallow a considerable amount of land or any other form of property still left over. The table on debts however apart from being a supplement is not to be taken as a good index. It does not correctly represent the needs and real liabilities of these families because,

1. There is an obvious underestimation. Many destitutes being children or women could not give us accurate information regarding the amount of debts incurred by the male members of family.

2. Money-lenders being afraid of the interference of the Debt Settlement Board sometimes refuse to give loans to the villagers specially when the debtor is poor and has not enough assets to repay the loan.

Change of Occupation: Table 9 which gives us a three period record of the occupation of the destitutes, shows how the cyclone and food crisis affected their occupations.

We have already mentioned that in the period before cyclone that is even in normal times generally speaking the landless labourers and along with them the agriculturists who having very little land were forced to seek employment were the largest majority. Out of 196 (adult and old) male population 130 or 66 per cent were always crowding the village market offering their labour.

In the period immediately after cyclone, that is in February 1943 the number of earners in the Labour group increased by 11 per cent, while the groups with agriculture as the only or one of the occupations and craft came down by 87 and 61 per cent, and the number in he unproductive group swelled up by 100 per cent from 18 to 37.

Similarly after the food crisis, in February 1944 though the 'Labour' group shows a considerable decrease in strength in comparison to the period before, yet this is the group which represents the greatest number of productive earners. The number of unproductive earners has risen to a staggering height, it being nearly equal in proportion to all the productive earners put together. The number of earners in the agricultural groups and craft have come down still more.

How did this happen? We have already noted that in our sample regarding the agricultural groups we are mainly concerned with the lower peasantry. These people to avert the natural consequence of the cyclone and the food crisis sold off the little land they had and thus tried to save themselves by slipping over to Labour or the unproductive group, or by emigration to try their luck elsewhere. If they could not thus save themselves they died. The people in other occupational groups also behaved similarly. When their usual occupations, like craft, became temporarily obsolete in the abnormal condition they either tried to save themselves by taking up Labour or Unproductive occupations (that is, begging) or emigrated, or died. Thus the total number of earners have come down from 246 in September 1942 to 123 in February 1944, a reduction of 54 per cent, 23 per cent being due to cyclone and 31 per cent due to food crisis.

By trying to measure their distress we found that the destitutes who formally were poor hard-working peasants have lost their property to a large extent, and simultaneously lost their occupations. Out of 248 working members only a poor 69 remains. We shall try now to show the effect of this economic loss on them and in the village society where they occupy a key position.

Physical Extinction: The destitutes in our previous analysis we saw, came from a stratum that carried on a hand to mouth existence and have very little resource to fight any emergency or disaster. To such a group the loss of their sole source of income—their labour power through ill-health translated from economic to human terms mean one thing only—Death.

Table 9A gives us record of all the deaths that took place between September 1942 (after cyclone) and February 1944. In all 95 families were affected by death (not shown in the Table) and the total death was 191. It means therefore that 60 per cent of the families suffered the loss of one or more of its members, and there was on an average two deaths per family. Table shows that death-rate for the period of cyclone disaster (September 1942–February 1943) was 12 per cent. For the food-crisis period, (that is, Mar. 1943–Nov. 1944), it was 15 per cent, and for the epidemic period (December 1943–February 1944) which is the shortest period of the three it was 7 per cent. Thus the average annual death-rate is 22 per cent.

A closer analysis of the death-rate reveals the following facts:—

1. Death-rate of children below 5 was 38 per cent for the whole period of one year five months, being higher by 9 per cent from the general death-rate. (Table 9B).

2. Death-rate for adult male was 11 per cent higher than the general death-rate.

3. Death-rate for adult women was considerably lower being a little less than the general death-rate.

4. Generally speaking death-rates were higher during the food-crisis than at any other time.

If we analyse this staggering figure more closely we can to some extent separate the deaths directly due to cyclone and its after-effects from deaths in the last food-crisis. It is of course difficult to do so as the cyclone has deeply upset the normal balance of the villages. Any way of the 191 deaths 79 or 41 per cent took place during September 1942–February 1943 which may generally be called the cyclone period. But even during this period as seen in Table 9(C) the majority of deaths was due not to cyclone but to epidemic and under-nourishment. It fully reveals how inadequate was the help that was given after the cyclone. During this period Malaria was raging already as an epidemic here. Starvation deaths was already entering the field and carried off 6 directly and 5 through Dropsey which often is a case of starvation, and bad food. But when food crisis became more acute (March–November 1943) starvation became enemy No. 1 and directly carried off 34 per cent of those who died in this period. Dropsey was also on the increase and malaria and other diseases may be said to be half starvation and half

With the harvest that came in December 1943 the situation temporarily improved but the explosive situation was not abolished. This is proved by the 3rd period table where malaria, cholera, etc., have broken out while starvation figure is dropping.

The effect of the large number of mortality among adult males meant a further crippling of these families economically. Table 10 shows that out of 159 families 64 families, that is 40 per cent, were badly hit by a direct reduction of their earning capacity. Of these 12 families or 7 per cent were completely crippled, and 41 or 26 per cent were almost wholly crippled. Thus 53 per cent of the families lost their leading earners through death. Therefore death aggravated the problem hundredfold and more and more families were forced on to the streets.

DESTITUTION

The total effect on the villages of the food crisis can now be assessed from several facts. The table on occupation clearly shows how the centre of gravity of village life was for a time completely upset and people who normally carried on the productive life of the village first crowded the village market and then as their health became worse and the village market failed to employ them they became semi-paupers. As semi-paupers they could not get a living inside the villages and therefore they started roaming from village to village in search of food or job. Table 11 gives us a picture of the destitution. It shows that out of 657 persons 253 (39 per cent) had to come out of their village in search of food, of whom 246 are in the destitute camps. Those who died outside the villages (as far as that could have been ascertained from the destitutes questioned) are not included in this. Thus from the original population of 657 persons a poor 216 or 33 per cent remained in the villages (Table 12). This picture again shows how social life was torn apart by the food crisis. Of this emigrating population 141 were under 15 and 69 were adult women. Thus generally mothers left the villages with their children while the fathers and adult men stuck on. This disruption of family life has created another big social problem for our people.

The desperate position to which a peasant arrives when he decides to leave the village or break up the family can also be appreciated from the table 11. It shows that the largest number left the village during December 1943-February 1944 period and not when the trouble started. While after the cyclone only 50 in all left the village during March-November 1943 68 left and during December 1943-February 1944 as many as 135 were outside the village. The table on loss of property shows that by this time they had completely exhausted their assets and found no other way but the road before them. The reluctance of people in Bengal to stay in hospitals or homes is well-known, and we often found cases where even half starved villagers refused to leave his hut. But when the alternative was death they had to leave.

PROBLEMS OF REPATRIATION AND REHABILITATION

We stated earlier that the aim of the enquiry was to clarify the problems of repatriation and rehabilitation. The destitute camps cannot be run for all times and so the destitutes must be repatriated and this should be done as soon as possible. Table 13 shows that out of 159 destitute families studied the members of 55 in the camps, that is, 34 per cent think that they may be repatriated by their nearest relatives, like father, brother, husband, etc., while of the rest 101, that is, 64 per cent are not very hopeful regarding repatriation. For those women and children who cannot be repatriated the following measures may be suggested:

1. The children should be sent to the Orphanages.
2. The women are to be trained in some rural occupations, so that, they can go back to their villages and live without depending on any one.

As we found out, husking paddy and preparations of grains from other agricultural produces, like pulse, etc., are the most familiar form of occupation for these women. So centres for husking paddy, milling pulse, etc., may be opened to provide the women with different forms of work in different agricultural seasons. Besides that, there are many women belonging to the castes of weaver and tailor. These women may be trained up in the respective professions, if they are not acquainted with it already and weaving and tailoring centres may be opened. We came to know from the destitutes that preparing nets from cotton thread is also a popular occupation in this locality, so this work can also be taken up. It is a profitable occupation with enough demand in present times in the form of camouflage nets and fishing nets. Over and above, other cottage industries, like spinning, paper-making, basketry making, etc., may be taken up which are of considerable importance in present times. One word of caution is here necessary as to the employment of the destitutes in particular occupation. The destitutes should always be employed in that form of occupation which is either the traditional one or which she does not mind taking up, otherwise, she will never stick to it and will give it up at the first chance she gets when a little better off. Thus, basketry making is an occupation carried on by the low caste Hindus, like the Bauris, the Bagdis, etc. Woman belonging to other Hindu castes may learn it in the destitute camps but it is very doubtful whether they will carry it on in the village.

In this way the problem of women and children who cannot be repatriated may be solved. But the rehabilitation measures will not be successful, neither in case of these nor in case of those repatriated unless proper relief in food and medicine be carried on simultaneously for the following reasons:-

1. The destitutes who cannot be repatriated have no stock of food. Besides these individuals, even those who will be repatriated cannot carry on. Because, as we have already found out the strata of the rural population from which the destitutes have come were affected by the food crisis in the last year mainly due to the fact that they had never a sufficient reserve of food in their own possession. Usually they buy rice from the market or get advances of paddy from the Jotedars and zamindars. But last year they could not get any advance from these people and bought food at an absurd price. This year also they face the same problem. This stratum is bound to come to the market or to the zeminder after exhausting their meagre produce.

The distress is further intensified by the fact that 50 per cent of their land remained fallow last year as shown in Table 15 and therefore their stock position is worse than of last year. Last year was a bumper year for whole of Bengal but the rural poor did not get much benefit out of it in Contai. Out of 24.72 acres which is the total holding for these 159 families 12.78 or more than 50 per cent remained fallow due to various reasons (Table 14).

2. The destitutes and also the family members of these who will be repatriated have all been de-vitalised to a great extent by the crisis and epidemic is raging in various forms. So if proper medical relief is not run the death rate will be even higher than in the last year.

Repatriation is not like establishing a new colony but putting back a people to its former position. This means that destitutes must go back to their former place in rural life. But unless rural life itself is revived such a repatriation becomes a farcical procedure. Rehabilitation of rural life becomes therefore the precondition for successful repatriation. Unfortunately this study cannot suggest the rehabilitation measures in details for the obvious reason that the villages have not been studied.

However, from our analysis it is clear that the food crisis did not come all on a sudden as an act of God. It is really speaking an intensification of the acute state of the rural economy, specially with regard to the position of land distribution. The annual consumption of rice for 4 to 5 members in a family, the usual size of a simple biological family in Bengal, are 20-25 mds. (4-5 mds. per capita) approximately. To produce that amount a peasant family must have at least 2-5 acres; and we found that in our sample only a few persons possess 2-5 acres or more land. Further he has other bare necessities to manage. In normal years they manage it partly by being on semi-starvation level for several months, partly by working as a day-labourer and partly by taking land on a share-basis from some rich Jotedar who rents out land on a basis of 50 per cent crop for the peasant and 50 per cent for the landlord. Towards the end of the season the landowner advances some crop also as a loan to the hard-pressed cultivator and gets it back with 50 per cent interest from the next crop.

On such a highly strained system the food crisis and cyclone of last year came. It broke up the little stability that this system had by further increasing the landless and making the land distribution more top-heavy. From our table we saw that over and above those who never had any land 25 per cent lost all lands they possessed and another 25 per cent lost part of their land during the crisis. This means that a chronic famine will affect this stratum of the rural population and wipe them out every year unless at least the old balance is brought back again. This is bound to happen because we will have now an even larger majority of the villagers going without any land to till and they will not be able profitably to employ themselves as day labourers for more than two or three months during harvest time and the period of cultivation. Having no land of their own they will have no stock from which to support themselves for the rest of the year. They have also sold their last reserve property long ago. They will therefore be forced to starve unless they get back their land. Thus famine or no famine, black marketing or none, they will be forced to remain unemployed or a long period on starvation diet. Therefore the problem of real rehabilitation must answer boldly this crying need,—transfer of land, otherwise the moment charity is stopped the peasants or at least a big part of them will have to starve.

There are other problems to be faced with the agrarian crisis; such as (i) there is a considerable shortage of plough cattle, (ii) the men have not got the health for strenuous jobs and without adequate food they will not be able even to till their soil thus

producing a chronic famine. Hence relief in food is all the more necessary for them.

Our occupation table revealed earlier that along with the lower strata of Kishans, the village artisans—weavers, carpenters, teli or oil-pressers, etc., are steadily being wiped out by the food crisis. The problem for these people are :

(1) They have lost part of their market as the growing impoverishment of the peasants have forced them to spend as little as possible on anything else.

(2) During food crisis last year they also had to give up their liquid assets, their capital and their implements. The result is that they are not only being physically annihilated but the little self-sufficiency that villagers had regarding clothes, etc., is being destroyed.

Our table on occupation revealed that while formerly 21 per cent of earners were artisans now a bare 8 per cent eke out a miserable existence on their craft. This class also must go back to their normal occupation and relieve the land from extra pressure which they must be giving to it now. By withdrawing from cultivation and day labour they will not only ease the acute condition existing there but fulfil some essential needs of the village. For them restoration of their implements and some advances from time to time till they are settled down is essential before they can pull up.

These are the big problems which face us in any serious scheme of Rehabilitation. These are urgent problems that must be faced and that quickly. Or else this time this entire stratum of the village population will be literally annihilated. And Contai cannot survive if this stratum dies. Annihilation of this working peasantry of Contai will mean the end of Contai.

Table 1. Showing the number of villages from which the members of the destitute camps have come.

(The destitutes have been considered under the family units they formed in each village)

Number of villages	Number of family-units
1	17
1	10
2	7
3	6
2	5
1	4
3	3
7	2
59	1
79	159

Table 2. Showing the sex, age, and civil condition of the destitutes in the camp.

Age-grade	Male			Female			Sex and civil condition			Total	p.c. of total destitutes (246)		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
0-15	86			65	6	2	86	73	159	35	30	65	
15-50	7	4	1		40	34	12	74	86	5	30	35	
above 50					1		1	1	1				
Total	93			65	46	37	98	148	246	40	60	100	

Table 3. Showing the sex, age and civil condition of the destitute families in normal times, September, 1942 (before cyclone).

Age-grade	Male			Female			Sex and civil condition			Total	p.c. of total population (657)		
	Single	Married	Widowed	Single	Married	Widowed	Male	Female	Total		Male	Female	Total
0-15	166			111	17	3	166	131	297	25	20	45	
15-50	48	107	16	81	70		171	151	322	26	23	49	
above 50	23	2		2	11		25	13	38	4	2	6	
Total	214	130	18	111	100	84	362	657		55	45	100	

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Table 4. Distribution of destitute families by community, caste and sect.

Community Cast or sect

MUSLIM Shiah

HINDU Sunni

Brahmin

Shakra (Goldsmith)

Sutradhar (Carpenter)

Napit (Barber)

Dhubi (Washerman)

Teli (Oilmiller)

Muchi (Leather worker)

Harji

Jelia (Fisherman)

Mali (Gardener)

Tanti (Weaver)

Mahisya (Kaibarta)

Other low castes

Table 5. Showing the range of cultivable land owned by the destitute families in different periods.

Sept. 1942 Feb. 1943 Feb. 1944

Range of land in acres

Fami- p.c. to total Fami- p.c. to total Fami- p.c. to total

lies (159) lies (159) lies (159)

0 101 64 111 70 121 76

0-0.5 27 17 30 19 28 17

0.5-1.0 15 9 10 6 8 5

1.0-1.5 7 4 4 3 1 1

1.5-2.0 1 1 1 1 1 1

2.0-2.5 5 3 2 1 1 1

2.5-3.0 1 1 1 1 1 1

3.0-4.0 2 2 1 1 1 1

4.0-5.0 2 1 1 1 1 1

Above 5.0 1 1 1 1 1 1

Table 6. Showing the source of livelihood of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.

Source of livelihood	Earners						Total number of earners			p.c. total productive earners		
	Sept. 1942		Feb. 1943		Feb. 1944		Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44
Agriculture	12	4		1			12	4	1	5	2	1
Agriculture & labour	17		2		3		17	2	3	7	1	4
Agriculture & others	18					18				7		
Labour	109	4	115	11	44	1	113	126	45	45	75	65
Craft	32	37	15	12	8	2	69	27	10	28	16	15
Domestic service	8	4	4	2	7		12	6	7	5	4	11
Miscellaneous	6	1	3	1	3		7	4	3	3	2	4
Productive total	202	46	143	26	66	3	248	169	69	100	100	100
Unproductive	5	13	16	21	26	28	18	57	54	—	—	—
Grand total	207	59	159	47	92	31	266	206	123	—	—	—
p.c. of unproductive occupations to grand total							7	18	44	—	—	—

Table 7 (A) Showing the assets of the destitute families in different periods.

Assets	Family units concerned			Particulars of assets			p.c. of loss (Sept. 42-Feb. 44) Families Assets	
	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44		
Cultivable Land (acreage)	58	48	39	63	29	25	33	60
Homestead Land "	110	99	89	27	15	14	19	48
Livestock (Number)	115	28	20	231	43	32	83	86
Ornaments (wt. in tola)	99	42	24	1868	721	172	76	90
Utensils (Number)	124	46	23	1079	372	151	81	

Table 7 (B) Showing in details the loss of cultivable land by the destitute families.

Sample Percentage	Families holding land in Sept. '42	Families losing in toto Sept. '42-Feb. '43 Mar. '43-Feb. '44	Families losing in part Sept. '42-Feb. '43 Mar. '43-Feb. '44
	58	11	13
	19	22	10

Table 8 Showing the outstanding loans of the destitute families.

Nature of debt	Indebted families			Amount of loan in Rs.			Loan per indebted families		
	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44	Sept. '42	Feb. '43	Feb. '44
Secured	3	6	7	55	105	130	18	68	19
Unsecured	15	35	40	1354	2274	2469	90	65	62
Total	18	39	42	1409	2379	2599	78	61	

Table 9 (A) Showing the death rate of the population among different age-grades in different periods.

Period	Population in the beginning						Incidence of deaths						Death rate per 100					
	Child	Adult	(15-50)	Old	Total	Male	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Female	Total
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	38	657	26	27	19	7	79	9	16	13	18	12			
March '43-Nov. '43	248	134	117	29	528	22	32	17	10	81	9	24	15	35	15			
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	15	429	14	9	5	3	51	7	9	5	20	7			
Sept. '42-Feb. '44	297	171	151	38	657	62	68	41	20	191	21	40	27	53	29			

Table 9 (B) Showing the infant mortality in relation to the average death during the whole period of Sept. '42-Feb. '44.

Age-grade	Population in Sept. '42						Incidence p.c. of deaths						Average death rate					
	Incidence of deaths	p.c. of deaths	to total	population	to total	population	Leading earner	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	Leading earner	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	Family unit	P.C. of all concerned families (159)	Total	Child	Adult	
0-5	60	23	38	29	20	29	Leading earner	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	Leading earner	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	41	26	64	11	5	
5-10	125	22	18	29	22	29	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	Working dependent	Working dependent	Leading earner and working dependant	12	7	40	7	5		
10-15	112	22	20	29														
Total																		

Table 9 (C) Showing the cause of death in different periods under different age-grades.

Cause of deaths	Sept. 1942 - Feb. 1943						March 1943 - Nov. 1943						Dec. 1943 - Feb. 1944					
	0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	\P.C.		0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	\P.C.		0-15	15-50	50 up	Total	\P.C.	
Starvation	1	5	—	6	8	5	18	5	28	34	2	2	1	14	16	8	25	6
Malaria	18	24	4	46	58	12	13	2	27	33	10	3	4	45	40	40	7	39
Dropsy	3	2	—	5	6	1	5	1	7	9	2	4	—	6	19	6	11	20
Cholera	—	8	1	9	11	2	8	1	11	14	—	3	1	4	13	2	19	9
Others	4	7	2	13	17	2	5	1	8	10	—	2	—	2	7	6	14	13
Total	26	46	79	100	22	49	10	81	100	14	14	31	31	100	62	109	20	191

Table 9 (D) Showing the emigration of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.

Periods	Population in the beginning						Number of emigrants						Rate of emigration per 100					
	Child	Adult	(15-30)	Old	Total	Male	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	38	657	26	27	19	7	79	9	16	13	18	12	5	8	
Mar. '43-Nov. '43	248	134	117	29	528	22	32	17	10	81	10	16	11	21	13	21	13	
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	15	429	14	9	5	3	51	12	38	2	35	12	38	13	
Sep. '43-Feb. '44	237	171	151	38	657	141	33	69	10	253	47	19	11	27	19	46	26	

Table 10 Showing the deaths of the earning members in the family.

Economic position of the earners	Earnings						Deaths						Rate of death per 100					
	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Female	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Female	Child	Adult	Old	Total		
Leading earner	41	26	7	74	16	10	11	11	5	31	8	6	5	10	5	8		
Working dependent	41	26	7	74	16	10	11	11	5	31	8	6	5	10	5	8		
Leading earner and working dependant	12	7	—	—	—	—	6	14	8	24	13	13	6	14	8	24		
Total	64	40	—	—	—	—	31	100	20	191	62	109	20	191	20	191		

Table 11. Showing the emigration of the members of the destitute families in the three periods.

Periods	Population in the beginning						Number of emigrants						Rate of emigration per 100					
	Child	Adult	(15-30)	Old	Total	Male	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Child	Adult	Old	Total	Male	Female	Total	
Sept. '42-Feb. '43	297	171	151	38	657	26	27	19	7	79	9	16	13	18	12	5	8	
Mar. '43-Nov. '43	248	134	117	29	528	22	32	17	10	81	10	16	11	21	13	21	13	
Dec. '43-Feb. '44	214	101	99	15	429	14	9	5	3	51	12	38	2	35	12	38	13	
Sep. '43-Feb. '44	237	171	151	38	657	141	33	69	10	253	47	19	11	27	19	46	26	

Table 12. Showing the total loss of population during September 1942 (before cyclone) and February 1944.

Age-grade	Population in Sept. '42						Emigration						Population in Feb. '44					
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
0-15	166	131	297	34	28	62	76	65	141	101	110	211	56	38	94	66	71	68
15-50	171	151	322	68	41	109	33	69	102	110	111	211	70	41	111	59	73	66
50-Up	25	13	38	13	7	20	3	4	7	16	11	27	9	2	11	64	85	71
Total	362	295	657	115	76	191	112	141	253	227	217	441	135	81	216	63	74	67

Table 13. Showing the willingness and ability of the relatives of the destitutes to repatriate them.

Particulars	Family units concerned	p.c. of totals
Relatives willing but unable	55	34
" unwilling but able	3	2
" " and unable	101	64
Total	159	100

Table 14. Showing the extent of cultivable land lying fallow in different period.

Crop Season	Families concerned	Acreage	Holdings if all families	Total cultivable holding
Aman 1942-43		0.54	63.30	1
Aus 1943-44		29.04	36.54	79
Aman 1943-44	32	12.78	24.72	52

ANOTHER UNDECLARED WAR AGAINST CHINA

By A STUDENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS

SINCE the middle of October, every one has noticed the barrage of Anglo-American press propaganda against China. Almost all the leading and influential papers in the U.K. and U.S.A. and even in Russia have made the most violent and wildest accusations against the Chinese Government. Of these charges the most outstanding are : 1. The Central Government's army has been virtually out of war ; 2. many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred ; 3. the only army showing any fight is the Chinese Communists ; 4. both Generalissimo Chiang and the Kuomintang are reluctant to make use of their armies and lend-lease materials, as they want to save them intact for use against the Communists after Japan has been defeated ; 5. trading in contraband has been going on between occupied and free China ; 6. official corruption, profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute ; 7. democracy does not exist in China, or to put it more strongly, China is heading for fascism, etc. Whether these charges have any connection with the Churchill-Stalin meeting which came before, or the recall of General Stilwell which came after, or the Communist propaganda campaign which has been undertaken recently to overshadow the Central Government for a further expansion of their military power and international prestige, or the utter ignorance of the foreign correspondents of the historical background of China, it is not the intention of the present article to discuss. However, the allegations that have been made by responsible journals against a country which is not only considered as an ally and one of the big four, but also has fought the hardest and the longest against one of the big powers with ridiculously inadequate arms, are unfortunate and distressing at a moment when it is suffering severe losses as a result of overstrained exhaustion. Furthermore, the public in the allied countries are bound to feel extremely pessimistic and disheartened and consequently susceptible to any rumour that the fifth-columnists may take advantage of the situation to spread.

1. *Central Government's army virtually out of war:* This indictment throws a dark hint that the Central Government's army is having an armistice with Japan with a view to coming to an agreement. "The War and Working Class" of Russia openly stated that there is armistice on many fronts in China. It is hardly conceivable how China who has never had the minimum requirements of war to wrest the initiative from the enemy can be expected to launch expeditions on all fronts and at all times. As a matter of fact, even the enemy could not afford to dissipate his strength on all fronts at the same time. At any rate, the mere fact that fighting is not going on on all fronts in China cannot blot out the 5,000 raids, skirmishes and guerrilla warfare which were carried out by the Central Government's troops in 1943 alone (or 31,165 operations from July 1937 to May 1943). It has been more than a year

that the Allies started their offensive in Burma. The fighting there has been spasmodic and fitful. At times, there is no fighting for days and months, then suddenly it flares up in one sector where the Allies have the initiative or vice versa. Does that suggest, in any way, that there has been an armistice between the allied and the Japanese forces ? The latest scene of battle in China is around Kwangsi. Its historic city and capital, Kweilin, which has fallen to the Japs lately, was captured by them once before but they had to give it up after the persistent blows of the Chinese defenders. This capital city has been threatened time and again, and this time the enemy is more determined than ever because of the uncomfortable situation that has been created in the Pacific by the onward push of the Allied forces. These defenders are part of Central Government's army, and the same old Chinese soldiers who have fought for over seven years. They are fighting the Japanese, who are attempting to establish overland communication, in order to cut the latter's contact with the South Seas via the Asiatic continent. If the Central Government's army was virtually out of war, the Japanese should have established their overland communication long ago. The fact that they have not been able to do so is sufficient proof that they have encountered a very stiff and determined resistance from the Central Government's troops. The Japanese are quite desperate about it and so are the Chinese, so much so that the Japanese have mobilized an unprecedented number of troops, particularly from Manchuria, with a view to achieving this objective in a short period of time, while the Chinese, on the one hand, builds up "man-walls" throughout the most strategic points in China and on the other rushes to complete the link between the Burma and the Salween Fronts against monsoon. The sacrifice falls undoubtedly heavier on the Chinese than on the Japs. But at the historic hour of the momentous decision to enter into war with Japan, the Chinese Government had repeatedly assured the people that regardless of whatever reverses, losses and sacrifices, the war would go on even if the Government should be forced to move into Sinkiang or Tibet. In these seven years of war, the Government has moved its capital from Nanking to Hankow and from Hankow to Chungking without for a minute budging a single point from its first decision. To charge, therefore, that China has concluded an armistice or carried on peace negotiations with her enemy on account of the recent reverses exposes nothing but the ignorance of the journalists.

2. *Many so-called Chinese victories had never occurred :* This charge is not only a malicious libel, but a crude piece of mendacious propaganda usually heard over the enemy radio. The Chinese, though poorly armed and organized in comparison with the Japanese, have nevertheless earned their hard-fought victories in the course of the seven years. One of the

chief Chinese victories in the initial stages of the war was in October, 1937, at Sinkow north of Taiyuan on the vertical Tating-Puchow railway in Shansi province. This was the first battle that shattered the myth of Japanese invincibility. Next came the Battle of Taiher-chwang, a rural town 40 kilometers northeast of Hsuchow in northern Kiangsu, in early April 1938. It was due entirely to the unusual bravery and good tactics of the Chinese troops that turned an almost inevitable disaster to a major victory. As a result, more than 30,000 Japs were killed and the remnants fled in utter confusion. The Chinese victories in Shui-Tsao area, in May 1939, in Changsha for the first time in October 1939, in Kulungkwan in December 1939, in the Southern Honan battle in February 1941, in the Battle of Shang-kao, Northern Kiangsi in March 1941, in Changsha for the second and the third times in September 1941 and January 1942, in the Chekiang-Kiangsi battle in August 1942, in the battle of western Hupeh in May 1943, in the Battle of Changteh in November 1943, in the battles of Tengchung and Lungling in 1943 and 1944 are all well-known to the students of the Sino-Japanese war. It is undoubtedly easy to deny these victories by a single stroke of pen, but one wonders how these correspondents will explain why the Japs should have taken so much trouble to move hundreds of thousands of troops, for example, three times to capture Changsha, involving the loss of some 50,000 men each time, and to give it up as soon as the victory was won. Is it a sheer act of chivalry or just a cat's play with a mouse? The Chinese are quite aware of their own weakness and strength. They have received many severe blows, suffered many serious defeats and yet they carry on, because they all know that as man to man they are superior to the enemy and if given adequate arms they will quite easily beat him. This confidence has enabled them to score not a few major victories over the Japs, and it is this very silver lining—victories—that has made it possible for the Chinese soldiers and their government to carry on the fight for such a long time.

3. The only army showing any fight is the Chinese Communists: In order to have a clear understanding of China's military position, it is necessary to bear in mind that the entire nation is divided into nine war areas as shown in the following table :

War Areas	Locality	Commander
1st	Honan-Southeastern Shensi	General Chen Cheng
2nd	Shansi	" Yen Hsi-shan
3rd	Kiangsu-Anhwei-Chekiang-Eastern Kiangsi	" Ku Chu-tung
4th	Kwangsi	" Chang Fa-kwei
5th	Hupeh-Northern Anhwei	" Li Tsung-jen
6th	Western Hupeh-Northwestern Hunan	" Sun Lien-chung
7th	Kwangtung	" Yu Han-mou
8th	Kansu-Ninghsia-Suiyan-Chinghai-Sinkiang	" Chu Shao-liang
9th	Hunan-Western Kiangsi	" Hsueh Yueh
Chinese Expeditionary Forces	Western Yunnan-Burma	" Wei-Li-huang

All these areas have been garrisoned and defended by the Central Government's army. The Chinese Communists have formed a government and an army of their own in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia-area. With the exception of a few major and minor operations which occurred a few years ago in the Communist area, fighting in China took place entirely in the eastern, central, southern and western provinces where the Central Government's troops are located. The recent seven months' campaign from Honan in the north to Hupeh-Hunan in the centre and to Kwangsi in the south as well as the landing in Fukien are all in the Central Government's areas. It certainly requires an unusual line of reasoning to explain how the Commu-

nist army can show up a good fight when they are not in the fight, and why the Central Government's army who are alleged to be poor fighters could have exacted from the enemy more than two million casualties, 740 billion yen of direct war expenses, kept the enemy at bay for more than seven years and immobilized some 40 divisions or about 1,000,000 men for other theatres of war. Curiously enough, out of almost all the previous wars in history, the merchants emerged as the sole beneficiary, but this time the Communists are due to become the joint recipients of all the war glories although their very existence is maintained by the Central Government's army who have done most of the fighting and have borne the full brunt of the overwhelming onslaught of the enemy.

4. Both Generalissimo Chiang and the Kuomintang are reluctant to make use of their armies and lend-leased materials, as they want to save them intact for use against the Communists after Japan has been defeated: This issue arises from the assertion that the Government has stationed some 200,000 troops in the 8th war area as a watchdog against the Communists. First of all, the size of this area should have required at least three times the size of the present army, but a bare skeleton is maintained because that area is not expected to be the central target of military attacks either from the Japanese or other countries. Secondly, even if the assertion is true, the fault must rest with the Communists. For all the Commanders of the 2nd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th war areas were at one time and another deadly enemies of the Generalissimo and yet have all pledged undivided loyalty to, and have cooperated wholeheartedly with the Central Government without the slightest difficulty. There is no reason whatsoever why the Communists cannot do the same thing. Thirdly, if Generalissimo had actually conserved the army and materials for staging civil war against the Communists, it must have been a magic that he has withstood the Japs so long and outfought them on a dozen occasions. In fact, at the beginning, the Generalissimo staked all his best equipped and German-trained troops into the Battle of Shanghai, from which few of them came back alive. This is a fact which all the foreigners in the international city of Shanghai can easily testify. Since last year, China has again continuously sent her completely lend-lease equipped and American-trained troops into Burma to fight the Japs. If all these are to be construed as conservation, it must be a newly coined term intelligible only to the Western mentality. Fourthly, if there is a party at all guilty of such conservation, it must be no other than the Chinese Communists themselves. For in the small area of theirs, these feudalistic Communists have steadily expanded their regular army from the legalized size of 45,000 to 450,000, not to mention another force of 1,000,000 equally well-trained men under the guise of militia. As a pretext to their refusal to advance against the Japanese-occupied territories along Suiyun and Inner Mongolia in the north and along Chahar and Hopei in the east as repeatedly requested by the Generalissimo, they counter-demanded to send their troops southward and backward into other war areas which they specified. To attack, therefore, the Central Government instead of the Communists for th act of conservation is nothing short of fanaticism.

5. Trading in contraband between occupied and free China: The charge is so very weak that the journalists responsible for it can very safely be taken to have had practically no knowledge of the economic condition in China. The coastal regions, such as Shanghai, Tientsin, Canton, etc., have always been economically and industrially far more developed than the interior. With the withdrawal of the Government into the interior, the Chinese have lost their main sources of production. And by the fall of Hongkong and Burma, she has to depend entirely upon the appallingly meagre production in the interior to feed, cloth, house and equip all the civilians and soldiers. They have got

to live as well as to fight. They must get these things from wherever they can. Is it not politically, economically and strategically advisable to secure them from occupied territories, whenever possible? It is denying the enemy and helping the Chinese war effort at the same time. And it was solely on this score that the Government has not prohibited the importation of all necessary articles and war materials from Japanese occupied areas.

6. Official corruption profiteering and inflation have become increasingly acute: These three evils are interacting and cumulative in effect. Once the inflation is started, profiteering follows. And when the people's livelihood is threatened, corruption becomes almost inevitable. It may be recalled that during the first four years of war, the official corruption in the free China areas had never presented much of a problem. But with the fall of Hongkong and later the blockade of the Burma road, the skyrocketing prices in the interior have continued to foster corruptions and profiteering very much to the discomfiture of the Central Government. The leaders of the country have done and are doing their best to grapple with the situation. Personal appeals, severe measures of control and capital punishments seem to be ineffective in putting an end to all the ill-practices, when people's daily livelihood is endangered. The upward revision of salary scales has only served to push the price-level higher and higher, leaving in its wake a gap between them wider than ever. President Chiang in the opening session of the People's Political Council this year said: "The difficulties we face are not surprising since we had not in the past 30 years, laid a solid foundation for military, political, economic and scientific development. A formidable enemy attacked us at a time when our reconstruction had not fully begun. Upon a country little developed in light and heavy industries, the ravages of war have naturally had telling effects. Furthermore, our communications have been cut and we have had neither time nor wherewithals for making repairs and replacements. Consequently we have experienced shortages in military supplies and materials. Added to all these difficulties has been the fact that we are loosely organized socially . . . Whereas we have remained strong in spirit after a prolonged war, our resources have been reduced as time went on. During recent months these weaknesses have become particularly apparent. This we should not try to conceal but endeavour to correct." It is very clear, therefore, that all these things are only the natural consequences of circumstances which are rather beyond the control of the Chinese Government. The only sensible and constructive contribution which China's allies can make now is not just to criticize but to open up a sea route to China as soon as possible.

7. Democracy does not exist in China: Some of the journalists uttered that Stilwell's recall was a political triumph of the moribund anti-democratic regime that was more concerned with maintaining its political supremacy than driving the Japs from China; that there is no freedom of speech, etc., etc. These commentators seemed to have overlooked that the revolutionary aim of the Chinese Government has always been to build a democracy in China. President Chiang once reminded us: "Our revolution and reconstruction aim at the realization of a San Min Chu I democratic government. Only the day the constitutional government is realized may be regarded as the day when the work Dr. Sun handed down to us is completed. There would have

been no revolutionary sacrifices and struggles during the last 50 years if we had not worked for the realization of democracy." It is a great misfortune that China was stopped short in her march toward democracy by the cruel hand of Japan. However, the Government has not been disappointed and has repeatedly promised to institute the democratic form of government one year after the war. It has also set about feverishly educating and organizing the people in order to prepare them for a real democracy.

It is necessary to add that the Chinese people are essentially democratic, individualistic, and liberal. By their very nature, they will never choose the fascist or the communistic pattern of government, nor will they allow it to have a lasting foothold except under military compulsion. The present Chinese censorship system is far more lenient than that in the Chinese Communist area, because while the Kuomintang newspapers have always been prohibited in the Chinese Communist area, the Communists can freely publish their newspaper in Chungking. It is also more rational than that in the U.S. or Great Britain in that it only discriminates against the destructive criticisms either against China or her allies, and for this reason the scandalous and libellous accusations against the allies can appear in abundance in the newspapers in the U.S. and Great Britain, but not in those in China.

It is also interesting to note that although the Chinese Government has never claimed to have attained any degree of democracy, it nevertheless is the most democratic form of a coalition government ever known in history. Men of all political shades and parties are represented in the present government and have co-operated well beyond expectation. Men like Gen. Fen Yu-hsiang, Gen. Yen Hsi-shan, Gen. Li Tsung-jen, Gen. Pai Chung-hsi, Gen. Chen Chi-tang, Mr. Tsou Lu, Admiral Shen Hung-lieh, Mr. Sun Fo, Mr. Liang Han-tsao and hundreds of others are holding responsible positions either in the cabinet or in military fields. Even the Communists have their representatives in the People's Political Council. With the present cabinet reshuffle, it is hoped that the Chinese Communists will once and for all relinquish their traditional policy of ever-inflating their demands and submit themselves to the united military command under Generalissimo, thereby getting themselves entitled to a full and active share of all the government and military responsibilities. Through this sincere mutual concession and co-operation, it is also hoped that the bitter days of fighting may be shortened and the democracy may be achieved in China at an earlier date.

In conclusion, it must be stated that as far as the military situation is concerned, it has never been more alarming than during the fall of Nanking. It was in those days entirely due to the extreme calmness and firmness of the Chinese leaders that had stopped the blitzkrieg advance of the Japanese and thus saved the complete collapse of China. Unfortunately enough the persistent exposure in recent months of the weakness and seriousness in the Chinese military situation by the British and American correspondents and political leaders has achieved nothing but to stimulate the bold attempts of the Japs on the one hand and to undermine the morale of the Chinese army on the other. Should such ridiculous action be allowed to continue unabated, it is obvious that not only the Chinese would have to suffer more heavily than ever before, but the British and Americans would have also to stand a greater loss of life in this theatre of war.



Book Reviews



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EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

GANDHI'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM 1942:
Edited by R. N. Khanna. Allied Indian Publishers, Circular Road, Bhandari Cottidge, Lahore. Pp. 90. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a collection of important pronouncements on the political crisis in India in 1942. The editor has selected some significant statements made by persons like the Hon'ble Mr. Srinivasa Shastri, Mr. Rajagopalacharia, Mr. Kalinath Ray, Mr. Edward Thompson, Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Edgar Snow and Prof. Gheewala. The book also contains some statements of Mahatma Gandhi and an account of the interview between Mr. Amery and the political correspondent of the *Sunday Times*. All the material taken together constitutes an excellent commentary on the Indian deadlock.

Prof. Gheewala's article—"Moral Challenge to the British and the Allies" which was originally published in *The Modern Review* is of great value as a succinct and sober presentation of the Congress case. Mr. Kalinath Ray's "Congress and Deadlock" reproduced from *The Tribune* is notable for the unassailable logic with which he has shown that the Congress leaders did not want, "by passing the August resolution, to go into the political wilderness." The statements of Mr. Moore, Mr. Snow and Mr. Thompson will be valued as a complete exposure, by foreign observers, of the utter emptiness of official propaganda. Speaking of the British promise of Dominion Status, Mr. Thompson observes, "Our Government tells India that its date depends on Indians' agreement. In that case it will never come. No country ever gets hundred per cent agreement. Indians think that we use the minorities, as the Nazis used Sudeten and other German minorities, as a smoke screen."

Mahatmaji's replies to some key questions put to him by an unnamed enquirer and his statements to Mr. Chaplin of the International News Service, America, and to Mr. Belldon, representative of "*Life*" and "*Time*" acquaint us with the principles and the policy of the greatest spokesman of Indian Nationalism. Mr. Shastri's opinions have the clarity and force which characterise all his statements. To the students of Indian politics, the book will be useful as a collection of important documents.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN MYSTICISM:
By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastri. Published by the International Book House Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 129.

We do not expect from a mystic definite and clear-cut statements like mathematical propositions; nor even any semi-poetic description of things like that of the structure of an atom. Words, phrases and emotional out-bursts and repetitions of these, mark what is usually regarded as typical mystic literature. An effusive efforescence characterises any attempt to

be the indescribable experiences of a mystic

mind. The book before us is not an exception to this rule.

Though this is not praise, yet, what we say is not condemnation either, pure and simple. A mathematician, on hearing a poem read out to him, is reported to have exclaimed that it did not prove anything. Little did he know that a thing may have value even though it may not prove any conclusion. The scientist or the rationalist may similarly feel that mysticism leads us nowhere; but that in itself cannot rule mysticism out of court. To one who has it, the mystic experience is of boundless worth.

Can we, however, speak of evolution of mysticism? Evolution is a process from less to more and from simple to complex. But mysticism seems to be the same all the world over and all the ages through.

Our author's thesis that 'India was the mother of religions,' is a statement about the past and need not be controverted. But his hope that "the nations of the earth, war-weary and stricken in soul, will come to her for consolation and illumination" (p. 129), is definitely over-optimistic. What seems more likely is that the nations of the earth will come to India for domination and exploitation, to wring out of her all her natural resources and make her a market for the world's manufactured goods. Her century-old spiritual truths may be allowed a place as an undergrowth and her teeming millions will certainly be allowed to feed upon them and ruminate, provided they know how to behave in their political and economic life.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE BENGAL TRAGEDY: *By Tushar Kanti Ghosh. Hero Publications, 6, Lower Mall, Lahore. Pages 107. Price 2-8.*

This is the sad tale of the Bengal Famine of 1943 in sixteen Chapters and three Appendices from the pen of one of the most distinguished of the Bengali journalists who saw with his own eyes the most tragic spectacle of recent times. While the people of Bengal died in hundreds and thousands, the controversy was going on as to the share of responsibilities of the Provincial and the Central Governments, difficulties of transport, export or import of foodgrains, responsibilities of the previous and the then Bengal Ministers and so on and so forth. While the country was actually in the grip of famine, the Bengal Government did not admit it officially, as that would have cost the Government Exchequer a few millions and required measures to be undertaken according to the Famine Code. The officials of the Bengal Government and the Secretary of State sang in the same tune ignoring the tragedy till it was too late. Even Statistics were not compiled to know the actual casualties of famine. In one word, this famine is man-made and is an example of maladministration all through. The writer has spared none in his outspoken criticism. Independent authorities from other provinces have been quoted to show how All-India considers about the tragedy. The book deserves wide circulation.

A. B. DUTTA

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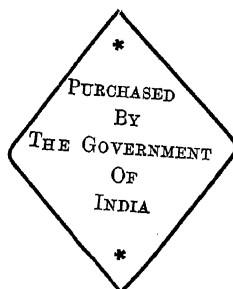
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FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM : By G. Plekhanov. Published by Saraswati Library, C 18-19, College St. Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

This is a reprint of Eden and Ceden Paul's translation of Plekhanov's famous book on Marxism. Plekhanov was the political guru of Lenin about whom he wrote : "No one can become a conscious, real communist without studying—precisely studying—everything written by Plekhanov on philosophy; it is the best of all the international literature of Marxism." Plekhanov's *Fundamental Problems of Marxism* is mainly concerned with the philosophical and historical aspects of scientific socialism. This is his last and most mature writing. It is the most brilliant and systematic exposition of Marxism and dialectic materialism. The publication of this book in India has now brought Plekhanov's masterpiece within easy reach of those who desire to gather an authentic knowledge of the fundamental principles of scientific socialism.

D. BURMAN

BENGALI

ISLAM GAURAB (The Glory of Islam) : By Prof. Brajasundar Roy, M.A. Published by the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.

At a time when the relations between Hindus and Mahomedans are daily becoming more and more strained, and the growing bitterness between the two communities is being fanned by various sinister influences threatening the unity of India, the publication of this book will be welcomed by all lovers of this great country. The author seeks to give an account of the salient events of Mahomet's life along with the main principles of his teachings. Besides describing the characteristic features of the Muslim faith, as promulgated by its founder, the author also relates the story of the Caliphates of Medina and Baghdad. A perusal of the book will show that the author has succeeded in his enterprise in a singular manner by producing a work written in clear and graceful Bengali and within the compass of only one hundred pages and in an attractive and handy form. It supplies a real want as very few books in Bengali are available on the subject.

Khan Shahib Ataur Rahman, M.A., Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Assam, who has contributed a short Foreword, states that "the book is undoubtedly a genuine appreciation of Islam, offers a refreshing reading and bears the impress of an unbiased and sympathetic mind." It is an instructive and useful publication and will certainly be of help in dispelling the widespread ignorance on the subject that generally prevails among Hindus and Mahomedans alike, and in allaying the growing ill-will between the communities that prejudices progress as well as peace and prosperity.

SUDHIR KUMAR LAHIRI

HINDI

VISVA-VEDANA : By Maithilisharan Gupta. Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon, Jhansi. Pp. 48. Price annas six.

The poet is conscious more of the eternity, inherent in the seminal vision or value of life, than of time, as such, conditioned by the changing aspect of incident or event. The long poem, under review, was begun at the end of the First World War and left unfinished and it was resumed under the pressing prompting of the present global Armageddon. And yet there is not a trace of any discontinuity or lack of unity in the treatment of the theme visible. On the contrary, the cry of pain, provoked by energy of aggression in its myriad forms derived from the dictatorship of the intellect, has become all the more poignant. As one reads along, the face of Humanity stained with scalding tears rises before his mind's eye, and, like the poet, exclaims, "Let, O Lord, Thy grace descend on the

world so that the arrows of affliction may be transformed into flowers of felicity." The poet's artistry of expression and intensity of emotion are too well-known to need any comment. *Visva-Vedana* is humanity's heart pu'verized with pain, but with its undying phoenix-like faith in the radiance and reality of ultimate joy.

G. M.

INT AUR RODE : By Shyamu Sannyasi. Published by Sahyogi Prakashan, Hirabagh, Bombay. Pp. 86. Price Re. 1-4.

This book contains twenty-four short stories and sketches written in a simple language and lucid style. The themes are mostly taken from the lives of poor, illiterate and suffering people, which make reading both interesting and informative. The treatment appears to be rather of a progressive trend, but is more of an emotional nature instead.

M. S. SENGAR

TELUGU

NARAYANA RAO : (The Andhra University Prize Novel). By Adavi Bapiraju, Kalapeetham, Guntur. Printed at Laxmi Power Press, Tenali. All rights reserved by the author. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 2-8.

The novel is predominantly moralistic in tone. Varied topics of general interest are dealt with in this volume. Even though they contribute little to the development of the story or incidents, they are highly informative and educative. And as such, they have a value of their own. The main theme—the marriage, separation and re-union of Narayana Rao with the heroine of the book is interrupted several times most unceremoniously by minor love episodes. Of the numerous characters, Narayana Rao is the most lavishly portrayed one. But Sarada, the heroine, is more subtle and interesting from the psychological point of view. In spite of its elaborately worked out descriptions which give an air of reality throughout, the book suffers a good deal from lack of essential dramatic touches. Even the 'purple patches' fail to give the necessary momentum to the story.

K. V. SUBBA RAO

GUJARATI

SITA : By Chandravadan Mehta, B.A. Published by Padma Prakashan, Ltd., Bombay. Paper cover. Pp. 14 + 73. Price Re. 1-8.

Sita, the heroine of the Ramayana, has passed through various painful vicissitudes in life, the most tragic being her expulsion from the capital when she was with child, by her husband. This incident is described in pathetic terms, by both ancient and modern narrators, Valmiki, Tulsidas, Kalidas, Bhavabhuti, Dwijendralal and others. They have all helped the writer of this little play, who pleads ardently for the revival of a Gujarati theatre on ennobling lines in place of its present deteriorative state and he has been able to present Sita's plight, in rather an unconventional form.

Rama fighting with Ravan only to gratify his desire to conquer an enemy and not to liberate Sita, his addressing Sita with offensive words as to her chastity during imprisonment, and Sita's angry reply both then and at the time of her leaving the capital present both of them, the ideals of gentleness and humility, in quite a novel form. The writer has studied the subject fully and worked out his own conclusions. The killing of Shambuk, the Shudra, at the instance of Vashishtha, places Rama in an unenviable position. The Rajguru is portrayed as an uncompromising protagonist of Dharma. The play is cast for purposes of presentation on modern lines, and is altogether a thought-provoking work.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Bengal Famine

If the famine of 1770 has been described as a blot on the escutcheon of British rule in India, the famine which appeared in Bengal in 1943 must be regarded as a thick coat of tar on that escutcheon, as it appeared after British rule in India had been left unhampered to do its work for just a little less than two centuries. In the course of an article in *The Calcutta Review* Hemendra Prasad Ghose observes :

The denial policy was responsible for aggravating the situation and the outside world was kept in ignorance about the grim ordeal of the people of Bengal because of a famine which was not the result of the caprice of the clouds but was man-made.

An analysis of the causes of the terrible famine in Bengal would go to show how it was the result of the action of man. We can summarise the causes as follows:

(1) In Bengal we had an unsympathetic head of the province who declined to consult the collective wisdom of his Ministers—one of whom resigned in disgust. A man who hoped to muddle through somehow and used the war to justify his autocratic action, was at the helm of affairs in Bengal. He had not the experience and efficiency to anticipate things nor the courage to view them in their proper perspective and realise the poignant possibilities.

(2) In the Centre we had a Governor-General whose Cabinet descended to that depth of degradation where newspaper correspondents are not allowed to send out exact news and true accounts of a famine in the country. He declined to take the advice tendered by eminent men like Sir N. N. Sircar and Kunwar Sir Jagadish Prasad, who had been Members of his Executive Council, to visit Bengal, make quick decisions and take prompt action. On the 29th August, 1943, these two gentlemen issued a joint memorandum in which they exposed the hollowness of the statements of the Bengal Ministers and said :

"A large number of famished men, women and children are migrating to Calcutta from the interior in search of food. It is a common sight to find emaciated people, some in the last stages of exhaustion, lying on the pavements without any shelter. Over 60,000 of such persons are resorting to Free Kitchens daily. Dead bodies are picked up daily from the streets. We have no information as to the number of reported deaths from starvation in the districts, but according to fairly reliable reports, cases of death exceed many thousands in such districts as Noakhali and Midnapur. This is highly probable, as in Calcutta alone 763 collapsed bodies were removed between August 16 and August 21, followed by large numbers of cases on each subsequent day. This does not include cases of death, 25 to 50, on each day in the month of August, 1943."

After visiting one of the East Bengal districts, Sir Jagadish Prasad issued a statement on the 10th September, 1943, in which he wrote as follows :

"At one of the kitchens in Faridpur I noticed a man lapping up food like a dog. I saw abandoned children in the last stages of emaciation; men and women who had been without food for so long that they could now be fed only under strict medical super-

vised. Dead bodies are being daily picked up and also

those who had fallen by the wayside through sheer exhaustion. A man after vainly wandering for food collapsed on the door-steps of the Collector's Court Room. As the body was being removed, a woman huddled in a corner pushed out a bundle and cried 'take that also.' It was her dead child. At a kitchen a woman had been walking every day more than a dozen miles to and from her home to take gruel to her sick and famished husband."

Even such descriptions failed to create any impression on Lord Linlithgow, who cleverly compounded with his conscience by thinking that the responsibility for providing food for the famished was not the Central Government's.

(3) A heartless Secretary of State for India was established in the India Office who denied his responsibility and gave to the House of Commons figures which were absolutely unreliable and created an impression in India which is that his ideas of responsibility militate against humanity.

(4) In Bengal the people were at the mercy of a Ministry created by a Governor who is no more—a Ministry which evidently thought that mere *communiqué* could combat a famine.

On the 17th May, 1943, there was a meeting at the foot of the Monument on Calcutta Maidan where (1) Sir Nazimuddin referred to the serious rice situation in the Province and expressed the hope that with the co-operation of the people of Bengal the new Ministry would be able to solve the problem. He pleaded for time, and (2) Mr. T. C. Goswami said that he believed that the hard days through which the people were passing on account of the soaring prices would not last more than two or three weeks.

No wonder they did not consider it necessary to collect figures of death due to starvation, and have not made necessary arrangements for the medical treatment of the people suffering from diseases due to starvation and malnutrition.

Who will be able to give reliable figures of death due to the famine in Bengal?

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East-European Front

The New Review observes :

The tempo of operations increased in Russia and the Balkans, but their character was not quite clear from the information available. Soviet attacks and Nazi withdrawals were all mixed up ; but on the whole most of the movement was due to Nazi withdrawal which the Soviet armies hustled here and there. The submission of Finland and the *volte-face* of Rumania and Bulgaria had vitiated the former distribution of forces and compelled the Nazi High Command to fall back on the perimeter of the *Deutschland Festung*. East-Prussia was invaded at several points ; satellite Hungary was caught between the Soviet troops rushing into Slovakia and the Soviet, Rumanian, and Yugoslav columns advancing from the west and the south. Movement warfare is in full swing in the Balkans, and military discretion keeps the *communiques* deliberately out of date.

Politics may have come in to complicate strategy ; countries along the Baltic and in the Balkans are organised politically as well as militarily ; the Moscow press cautions simple Soviet soldiers against the dangerous attractiveness of fashionable goods in invaded countries, and the Soviet army remains quiet in the Warsaw suburbs, which it reached in July, and where it waits for the final composition of the future Polish government.

Further south, British troops have captured several islands of the Mediterranean and have landed in Yugoslavia and Greece in the rear of the Soviet lines to organise Greek relief and British security.

War and Oil

Science and Culture observes :

The old slogan that an army cannot march on empty stomach now stands corrected as that an army cannot march on empty oil tank. Speaking of the Allied victory in the last war, Lord Curzon said that the Allies swam to victory on the wave of oil. The part played by oil in the present global war of three dimensions, in which highly mechanized units are carrying on relentless campaigns on land, at sea, and in air need hardly be overestimated. In his article in a recent issue of *Technology Review*, Roland F. Beers quotes some figures relating to military requirements for oils of various descriptions, which make interesting reading. The U.S. armed forces require approximately 50,000,000 gallons (250 gallons=1 ton) of gasoline, fuel oil, lubri-

cants, and other products of petroleum every day. The U.S. Navy consumed over 1,000,000,000 gallons of oils in 1942 and twice this amount in 1943. Figure for the current year, although not quoted, will doubtless indicate a much greater amount. A mechanized Army division on the move operating with a total horse-power of about 200,000 consumes nearly 18,000 gallons of gasoline per hour.

We have recently heard a good deal about 1,000 planes air raids over Germany. A single air raid on such a scale calls for a consumption of more than 1,000,000 gallons of gasoline and 30,000 gallons of lubricating oil. Every Flying Fortress requires not less than 500 gallons of gasoline. It has further been estimated that 3 pounds of gasoline are needed to deliver one pound of bombs filled with petroleum explosives.

The demand for petroleum in the military has become so heavy and exacting of late that even U. S. A., with her vast resources of petroleum, increasingly finds it difficult to cope with it. In 1943, the total consumption of oil in U.S.A. amounted to 1,500,000,000 barrels (46 gallons=1 barrel). At the beginning of the present year she has been producing at the rate of 4,000,000 barrels a day. Her present production rate is estimated at 4,500,000 barrels a day, which is, however, being maintained with great difficulty. Some operators foresee that in 1945 her daily requirement of petroleum may develop into 5,000,000 barrels a day. For the last few years U.S.A. failed to equalize her output rate with consumption rate and had to draw upon her reserve stocks which are being steadily depleted. In January 1941, U.S.A. had in storage above the ground approximately 263,000,000 barrels of crude oil which declined to 249,000,000 barrels by January 1944. During the same period, her heavy fuel oil stocks dwindled from 86,000,000 barrels to 54,000,000 and gasoline stocks from 90,000,000 to 78,000,000 barrels. Only her stocks of light fuel oil indicated a slight increase from 37,000,000 to 39,000,000 barrels. For this growing deficit U.S.A. has at present to depend on foreign sources of oil and on the possible discovery of new oil fields in her own territory. The article describes how intensively the search for new oils is now going on in U.S.A. for which the services of wildcatters as well as competent scientists, including geologists, physicists, chemists, electrical engineers, mathematicians, bacteriologists, biologists, paleontologists, mineralogists, petrographers etc. have been requisitioned on a large scale. Three hundred and fifty of these crews, numbering up to 15 per crew, are now engaged in their search for oil throughout the United States. The total annual outlay for exploration work is now reported to exceed \$350,000,000.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Employment of Negroes in United States War Industries

The exigencies of wartime production and the claims upon manpower have effected a marked change in the status of the Negro in war industries in the United States. Robert C. Weaver, Executive Director, Mayor's Committee on Race Relations Chicago, writes in the *International Labour Review*:

There are many accounts of the impediments to the employment of Negroes in war industries of the United States. All the available material reflects the fact that at the outset of the defence effort local white male and female labour was absorbed and outside white workers were imported in centres of early defence activity at the same time that the local Negro labour supply was not tapped to any appreciable degree. Few Negroes were trained for defence employment, and the majority of semi-skilled and skilled jobs remained closed to them. Certain industries, aircraft and machine tool in particular, were openly discriminatory. Other industries, such as shipbuilding and ordnance, restricted coloured workers to the unskilled, heavy, dirty occupations. Long after white women were widely employed in war plants, Negro women were generally excluded.

It was, however, in 1942 that the beginnings in the trend towards Negro participation in war industries of the United States took place. In January 1942, non-white workers (of whom 95 per cent are Negroes) contributed only 3 per cent of the labour force in war plants; a year later they were 6·4 per cent of the total. Since that time they have made up approximately 7 per cent of the war workers. The really significant gains in employment and training were made in the second half of 1942. From July to December 1942 inclusive, approximately 60,000 Negroes entered pre-employment courses and 13,000 entered supplementary courses. The registration rate of Negro trainees trebled in the 18-month period from July 1941 to December 1942. Most significant is the fact that Negro pre-employment trainees were concentrated in machine shops, aircraft, and shipbuilding—occupations from which they had been almost entirely excluded in the earlier phases of the defence effort. In 1943 over 112,000 Negroes enrolled and completed war production training and related courses.

Because of the earlier barriers to Negro employment, coloured workers did not participate in the

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mass migration to industrial centres in the earlier phases of the defence effort. When, however, relaxations occurred, there was a wave of Negro migration to urban communities. In some respects, it was similar to the earlier movement during the war of 1914-1918, although it differed in two significant features. This time a large number of coloured men and women went to the west coast in response to the mounting demands for war workers in that region, and thousands of rural Negroes moved to southern cities. The movement of Negroes into industrial centres is continuing and seems destined to keep up as long as there are manpower shortages in our northern and western centres of production.

Today there are over 1,000,000 Negroes in war plants. Although the majority are concentrated in unskilled jobs, a sizable proportion are in semi-skilled jobs and occupations calling for a single skill only. Negroes have entered many new occupations: some are in young industries, such as aircraft; others are in established industries which had traditionally been closed to them, such as machine tool production; a large number are in industries in which it had been traditional to limit Negro employment to unskilled and a few undesirable semi-skilled jobs. In this latter category iron and steel, shipbuilding, and automobile manufacturing constitute the most important examples. While the most significant development incident to Negro employment is the rise in the number of coloured single-skilled and semi-skilled workers in industry, it is important to observe that some Negroes have achieved jobs as skilled workers.



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These over-all trends indicate that just as the Negro emerged from the first world war with a foothold in unskilled jobs in heavy industry, so he will probably emerge from the present war with a foothold in semi-skilled jobs in many industries and with a place as a worker in a wide variety of industries and plants. But this development has been and is spotty. The relaxation of the colour bar in southern industry has been slow, and, as far as occupational advancement is concerned, there has been little general change during the war. In other sections of the country, there are many occupations, numerous firms, and a few industries which still remain closed to Negroes. Equality of opportunity for upgrading is still the exception rather than the rule. And Negro women are still discriminated against in many war plants where female labour has been accepted. From the point of view of establishing new racial patterns in employment, much progress has been made in the last four years; from the point of view of equality of opportunity without colour distinction, much remains to be done. The process of change continues in response to economic forces, and as long as the labour market remains tight, there will be additional relaxations in the colour line. Today, when there is virtually full employment of Negroes in our industrial centres, the problem is one of securing in-plant training and upgrading for Negroes already in war plants, transferring trained men from less essential work, and expanding employment opportunities for Negro women in industrial employment.

Underground Waters

E. B. Bailey observes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

It is interesting to give a thought to the natural history of the underground water of which we are speaking. Like the water of our surface streams and lakes, where, of course, we readily see or can imagine movement, underground water functions as portion of a mighty current leading from sky to ocean. No part could maintain itself indefinitely above sea level if cut off from replenishment. It is true that in certain basins, walled and floored with impermeable material, underground water might linger stagnant for what, to mankind, might seem eternity; but eventually it would be dissipated by subterranean evaporation, more slow, but no less sure, than the subsoil evaporation responsible for dissipation of desert lakes at the surface.

There are some who think it dangerous to compare the circulation of underground and surface waters,

because the differences are so important. Except in the caves of limestone districts, there is scarcely an underground stream or lake into which a man could dip his finger. Usually the underground analogues—surface streams and lakes are enormously extended bodies of water, minutely distributed throughout the substance of saturated permeable rocks; the streams ooze very, very slowly in some direction or another; the lakes stand practically stationary—until relief of pressure, such as is furnished by the pumping of a borehole, gives local opportunity for escape. A slightly closer approach to surface conditions is afforded in cases where the underground flow is conducted, not indiscriminately through the main mass of the containing rock, but along an interlacing set of fissures. Erosion may in such a case give local mastery to some particular fissure, or sequence of fissures, thus concentrating discharge into a spring, rather than a seepage zone. In the special case where the country rock is limestone, soluble enough to be etched but strong enough to resist collapse, concentration may extend far underground, and fashion for itself a lengthy cavern.

An underground lake in a permeable formation is often confined beneath a cover of impermeable rock, which may, in places, descend far below the water table established in the permeable formation where this latter communicates upwards freely with the surface. To match this condition in connection with a surface lake, one is driven to small-scale analogies. If one sails on Lake Windermere, the water level on either side of the boat corresponds sufficiently closely with the water table of the underground lake in its unconfined portions; while the water beneath the boat is in a position analogous to that of the underground water where confined beneath impermeable cover. If now a juvenile experimenter bores a hole through the bottom of the boat, water will spurt upwards in an attempt to reach as high as the free water surface alongside the boat. Similarly, if a borehole be drilled through impermeable cover into a confined underground lake, water will tend to rise in the borehole to the level of the water table alongside the cover. If the surface of the ground, where the bore is sunk, is lower than the adjacent water table, the water in it will gush out into the air at the top, exactly as it gushes out into the air within the boat. A gushing well of this type is called artesian, after early examples in the province of Artois, northern France. Wells in which water rises from a permeable formation through an impermeable cover part way to the surface are classed as subartesian.

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A FEW VESTIGES OF OLD TRIBAL FORMS IN THE KHASI HILLS

The Khasi Habitat

By TARANATH LAHIRI, B.A.

EVERYBODY, familiar with the A B C of the aboriginal peoples of India, knows the Khasis, at least by name. They number about two and a half lakhs and reside in what is known as the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District. This region is an irregular mass of hills and plateau thrown up during the early convulsions of the earth some million years ago. The capital of Assam is situated at the centre of these hills at Shillong which draws a fair number of visitors from outside every year. Cherrapunji, having the highest record of rainfall, is also in this district. Studded with orchards and verdure, beautiful waterfalls and long vistas of trees, it hums with fashionable sight-seers each autumn and spring. To most of these pleasure-seekers, the thick-calved, square-built people who inhabit this land, are often no more than a part of the show-room of Nature which they come to see.

AN OLD TRIBE

But they are no mere curios. They have been living and moving on the earth from time immemorial and bear on them the stamp of social forms through which humanity has passed in the course of its long and chequered career. Excepting what we gather from obscure legends nothing is known about their abode before they came to live on these hills. Lt. Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon, C.S.I., who served for a considerable period as Commissioner of the Assam Valley Districts and also acted as Honorary Director of Ethnography, is of opinion that the Khasis are an offshoot of the Mon people of Further India who migrated into Assam long long ago. Whatever that may be, the Khasis supply a glaring instance which completely nullifies the pet idea of some scholars who assert that the present form of property is eternal and coeval with the world. It has been shown by many writers on tribal life in different parts of the world that property, as understood today, is neither eternal nor inherent in the possessive instinct of man. In *Ancient Society*, that brilliant study of the American tribes, Lewis Morgan reveals this truth in dealing with the details of tribal life. The Iroquois of Morgan may not be within our reach, but there are numerous tribal communities in India whom

we frequently come in contact with, the story of whose life will corroborate this fact.

To peep into the Khasi life one should, however, step out from Shillong. Shillong is of recent growth, and the tribal forms there have broken down and have got mixed up with other forms due to the play of powerful extraneous forces. But, away from Shillong, in remote parts of the hills, in the depths of the yawning gorges, scattered throughout the Siemships or Khasi States, there are still vestiges of tribal life, though pure forms are nowhere to be seen as a result of the operation of direct and indirect influences of sophisticated civilisation.

HUNTING

The individual cannot be differentiated from the community. This is the chief characteristic of tribal life. Everything is owned and done in common. Hunting was man's chief means of livelihood at an stage of society known sociologically as "savage." Survival of this state, though very rare, is still to be found in a few isolated places in the Khasi Hills. This does not imply that the Khasis are a hunting tribe. They outgrew that stage ages ago. Even with them hunting is a relic of the past. Lt. Colonel P. R. T. Gurdon has given an account of these hunts.

Having performed the egg-breaking ceremony for selecting an auspicious day, a party of Khasis start for hunting with a number of dogs trained for the chase. There is division of labour. Some hold the dogs by leashes, some serve as *ki ktem*, i.e., stops, at points of vantage in the jungle. The man who draws the first blood is called *u nongsiat*, and the second man who scores the hit is called *u nongban*. These hunting parties are indefatigable and occasionally the chase lasts longer than a day. The weapons used by Khasi huntsmen consist of bows and arrows and spears. The game when secured is divided among the members composing the party, each getting a piece of meat, the *u nongsiat* and *u nongban* getting larger shares than the rest as rewards for their skill.

TENURE OF LAND

Land is an important factor with people who live a settled agricultural life. With agri-



Khasi girls dancing : Shillong

culture primitive communism begins to disappear and the life of the tribe enters upon the phase of collectivism. Individualism slowly creeps in and the ground is prepared for the appearance of the state of private property or ownership. Relics of this collectivism as regards ownership of land are to be found everywhere in the Khasi Hills. Lt. Colonel Gurdon has given an account of it in his book, *The Khasis*. Land is classified by him as (a) public and (b) private. The former includes :

(1) *Ka ri Raj* or *Ka ri Siem* or Crown Land meant for the support of the King's family and cannot be alienated. Persons who cultivate this land are not to pay any tax; "the relation of landlord and tenant between the latter and their chiefs being unknown."

(2) *Ka ri Lyngdoh* or land meant for the support of the *Lyngdohs* or priests, and for the State pujahs.

(3) *Ri Shong* or village land is the property of the village over which inhabitants of other villages have no right. This is set apart for the supply of fire wood, thatching grass, etc. "Such lands can be cultivated by ryots of the village, but the latter possess only occupancy rights, and cannot transfer them."

(4) *Kilawkyngtang* are sacred groves from which timber cannot be cut except for cremation purposes. "They are the property of the villages."

Private land consists of :

(1) *Rai Kynti*, private land which has been acquired by individuals and which are to be distinguished from clan lands described below. They can be inherited according to the Khasi law of entail.

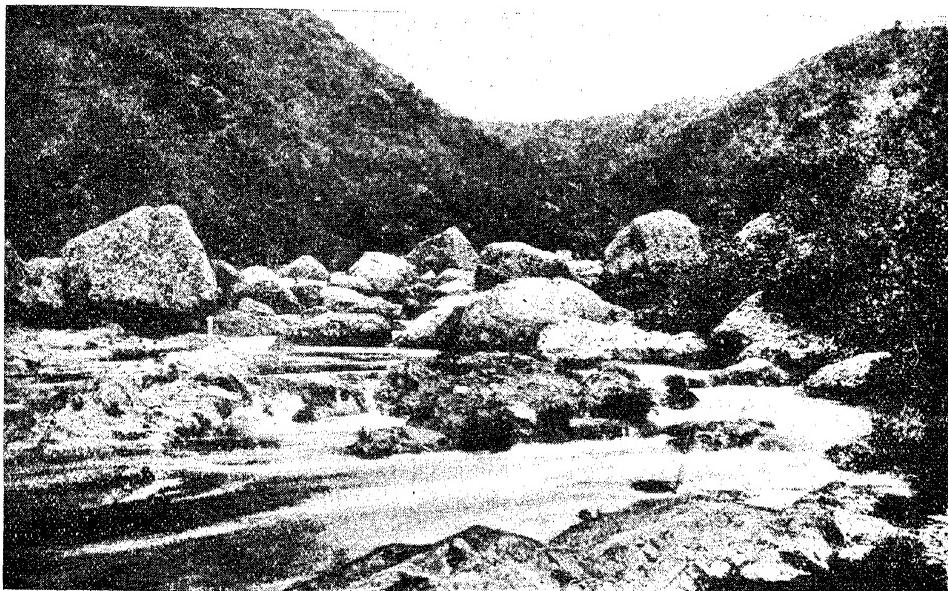
(2) *Ri Kur* is the land belonging to a whole clan. The Khasis can be divided into three main sub-tribes, the Khasi proper, the Synteng and the Lyngam. Each

in turn consists of numerous clans (*kur* or *jaid*). The lands of such clans—"a very large proportion, certainly of the high lands, is the property of the clan,"—are properly demarcated by stone boundary marks. "The manager of the clan lands is the *kui* (maternal uncle of the youngest daughter of the main family or the branch of the clan). . . . All the members of the clan are, however, entitled to share in the produce of any of the clan lands, they may cultivate. No clan lands can be alienated without the consent of a *durbar* of the whole clan."

The system of land tenure in the Synteng, Lyngam or War regions is similar to the above system with variation in matters of detail.

ABSENCE OF THE SENSE OF PROPRIETARY RIGHT IN LAND

Proprietary right, involving free sale and purchase of land, is still unknown in many places in these hills. At Cherrapunji, for example, one can enclose any unoccupied land and use it for the purpose of building houses or growing crops, without any let or hindrance. The most striking feature about this is that this arouses nobody's jealousy and none takes more land than is necessary. People do not build a mansion even if their means permit them to do so. All people, rich and poor, live together, with little outer marks of distinction, in houses scattered throughout the village. How long this state of things will last, it is difficult to state, in view of the changing conditions in the hills.



Umkrah stream near Mawlai

KHASI STATES

Another noteworthy feature of the primitive peoples is their strong love of self-rule. All the members take a direct part in the management of the communal affairs. We know that the ancient Indo-Aryans used democratic methods in running their polity. Their *sabhas* and *samities* wielded considerable influence. And similar was the case with many other primitive peoples of India even within historic times. They have all passed into oblivion. But the Khasis, isolated in the north-east corner of India, have somehow managed to exist and retain much of their democratic old forms. And this has been possible largely because they have been allowed to live with their distinctive internal systems outside the limits of British India.

But the numerous *Siemships* or states which are in the Khasi hills cannot strictly be called states. Apart from the question of the all important sovereignty, none of them possess either a police force or a standing army—the two invariable features representing the coercive limbs of civilized states. Indeed these have existed so inseparably with the organisation of all the historic states and been used in the interest of the dominant propertied class in society, that all states within historic period cannot but be viewed as the weapons of class domination—protecting the sanctity of extant

forms of property and perpetuating the relation between the exploiter and the exploited. But in these hills, even today, a ruling propertied class cannot very well be distinguished from the rest of the population. Cultivation in the hills is carried on by all the members of a family employing practically no hired hands, although in the orange orchards hired labour is employed now-a-days in an increasingly larger scale. Agriculture and a little of trade, however, have brought some inequality of wealth in the community. Then, there is the clan aristocracy. Certain clans on account of their ancient lineage and closeness to the parent-stock and also for their distinguished service in some remote past are held in greater esteem and enjoy higher status and honour in the state *durbars*. The Khasi society marks the later transitional period of primitive collectivism when communal ownership begins to give way to private property. The Khasi states reflect this character. They are simply the mouthpiece of the organised clans and are chiefly concerned with the administration of things which are of particular concern to the whole community. Necessarily their function and scope are rather limited.

The clan or *kur* is the basis of these states. A number of clans occupying a definite territory make up a state. The right of taking part in the management of the state is not forfeited even



A group of Khasi girls with their *khoh* (loading basket)

if a clan-member migrates to a different state. In the words of Mr. K. Cantlie, the present Deputy Commissioner of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District :

"Khasis who leave a State and settle in another State do not as a rule abandon their ties with their *kurs*. They retain their privileges in their old State, such as the right of voting and of attending *durbar*."—*Notes on Khasi Law*.

Now-a-days, due to the infiltration of new ideas the territorial basis of the state is supplementing the clan basis. Citizenship on residential qualification is now extended to all Khasis. Conditions of naturalisation were formulated and duly accepted by the Khasi National Durbar held at Shillong in March, 1925.

The head of the Khasi state is the *Siem* or chief. The things which he is called upon to look after cannot be many in the very nature of things. Formerly he led his people in battles. But that is a thing of the past. His powers are limited. There is no written law among the Khasis. Everything must conform to age-old tradition and custom which prevents the Chief from doing anything of consequence without the consent of the executive council or *durbar*. The term *durbar* is used to denote not only the executive council but also the much bigger electoral body. The *Siemship* is not hereditary and heirs-apparents are not recognised. The *Siem* is elected

from certain venerable families, the method of election differing in different states. In some states the voters do no more than confirm the selection of a special electoral body. In others, the entire adult male population take part in it. There is however a recognised rule of succession, and this is followed as closely as possible. The *durbar* or state executive also act as the representative of the clans that compose the state. In Cherra state all the adult males vote to elect the electoral *durbar* which in turn elect the Chief. The general members of the clans living in this state are represented in the state *durbar* by the *mantries* of 12 aristocratic clans or *Khadar Kur* which consist of the following :

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Nongtraw | 7. Jaidkhar |
| 2. Diengdoh | 8. Shrieh |
| 3. Khongwir | 9. Mawdkhap |
| 4. Dohling | 10. Tham |
| 5. Nongtariang | 11. Nongrum |
| 6. Majaw | 12. Umdor |

The formal investiture of the Chief takes place after the election and then he is endued in all solemnity with his powers and office. He can cause a man to be imprisoned and impose fines as penalty. In matters judicial, he acts as the judge while the durbar, where also assemble all grown-up members of the clans, acts as the jury. It is strictly enjoined that the *Siem* is to carry on the state business through the *mantries* of the durbar. The *Siem* is also the religious

head or *lyngdoh*, in most of the states, and as such he performs sacerdotal duties at different religious ceremonies. He has no legislative powers. The clans are governed in accordance with tradition and time-honoured customs.

The state budget, in most cases, compared with that of any modern state is an impecunious affair. The items of expenditure include a paltry sum for repairs of bridle-paths and by-paths, charges for the upkeep of bazars, the cost of different ceremonies and functions and expenses for the support of the Chief and his family. The items of income also are not very imposing. The *khrong* or market toll forms one of the chief sources of income, as there are a fair number of traders among the Khasis who regularly attend the important markets with their baskets of fruits, vegetables and sundry articles. The *Siem* of most of the states also receive what is known as *pynsuk*, literally meaning "gatification," but it is supposed to be a voluntary contribution. The income from the *raj* lands goes entirely to support the Chief's family. But this is not considerable. Most of the Chiefs however have acquired extensive zamindaries in the British Indian plains and the income from them is often considerable. But the most striking feature of the public finance is that in these states there is no system of taxation and hence no land revenue.

KHASI MOTHERS

The narrative will remain incomplete without an account of the Khasi mothers even if that be no better than a mere sketch. The status and authority of women in Khasi society is very remarkable. One is agreeably surprised at the free movement of the Khasi woman, her

self-confident bearing and the active and dignified part she plays in all the spheres of social life. The Khasi daughter is no burden to the family. On the contrary, it is she who bears the family burden on her firm shoulders. At markets and shopping centres one will be amazed at the overwhelming preponderance of women over men. The Khasi woman is not only the mistress in the family but the substance behind the shadow of men's activity in political affairs. The school of thinkers who opine that all communities have passed through the matriarchal stage of society will find strong evidence in their favour among the Khasis. The following facts give an index as to the position of women in Khasi society : (1) The clans trace their descent from an ancestress, literally meaning grandmother at the root. (2) The *Siem* is called *U Kmie* or male mother, and the law of succession lays down that the son of the eldest uterine sister has the first claim to the *Siemship*. (3) The temporal power in some states, e.g., Kyrim, is delegated by the High Priestess to the *Siem*. (4) The Khasi law of inheritance follows the principle that women should inherit property (*Ri-Kynti*) and not men.

The position of Khasi women is aptly described by Mr. C. J. Lyall in these words :

"Not only is the mother the head and source and only bond of union of the family, in the most primitive part of the hills . . . she is the only owner of real property and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to the mother's clan; what he earns goes to his matriarchal stock and at his death his bones are deposited in the cromlech of his mother's kin. . . . In the veneration of ancestors, which is the foundation of the tribal piety, the primal ancestress (*Ka Iawbei*) and her brother are the only persons regarded."



DR. K. B. HEDGEWAR

By DR. AMULYA RATNA GHOSH

ABOUT 30 years ago I had the good fortune of acquaintance with Dr. Hedgewar. The Swadeshi Movement and Anti-Partition agitation of Bengal was then in full swing. A National University, called "The National Council of Education," was founded by the then leaders to provide for the education of those students who were either expelled from the Government or Government-aided schools for joining the national movement or of those who wished to be educated in institutions free from Government influence and control so that they might freely join the national movement. Students who had their preliminary education in this national university were debarred from entering Government Medical Schools and Colleges; and to provide for the Medical education of such students the late Dr. S. K. Mullick, M.D., M.S. (Edin.), the late Maharajah Monindra Chandra Nandi and other renowned leaders established a medical college. It was denominates as "The National Medical College of India and the College of Physicians and Surgeons." I entered this college in 1910 along with Hedgewar, Aney Saverkar and other Maharatta students. This institution had truly an all-India character. Here flocked together from every part of India, Burma and Ceylon students of a nationalistic turn of mind. Those who have seen the college in those days will admit that the designation of the college was apt and appropriate.

I came to be very intimate with the Maharatta students. They lived in Calcutta in a two-storyed building in Kanai Dhar Lane near the College. Very frequently I used to go there and attend their political and literary debates and physical exercises. They also used to come to my place. I vividly recollect an incident of that period. One day during the absence of the professor from the class I challenged Hedgewar to punch upon my arm with all his might as long as he liked, he counter-challenged me on the same term and stiffened the muscles of his arms. I went on fisting upon his brawny arms, with the whole class watching the result of the contest. Hedgewar did not budge an inch. I failed to inflict a defeat on him. I was astonished at the strength of endurance and cool courage of Hedgewar. Hedgewar was the most intimate of my Maharatta friends. Once there was a quarrel, after which many non-Bengali students left the college but Hedgewar and other Maharatta students did not leave the College nor became unfriendly to me. Political meetings and

gatherings were then a frequent occurrence in Calcutta and the Maharatta students used to attend these meetings regularly. They had the profoundest respect for Bepin Chandra Pal, Shyam Sunder Chakravarti, Jitendralal Banerjee, Moulvi Liakat Hossain and other leaders of the time. They were lovers of Bengali literature; the works of Bankim Chandra specially appealed to them. Some of them could sing "Bande Mataram" well and loved to hear the



Dr. K. B. Hedgewar

national song sung by others. After four years of college life, on completion of their medical course they returned to their respective provinces.

Probably in the year 1926 Dr. Hedgewar along with another young man who, if I remember aright, was introduced to me as Dr. Moonje's son, came to Calcutta. Last year in a sitting of the Anti-Cominunal Award Conference held in Calcutta I chanced to meet Dr. Aney. He spoke to me about Dr. Hedgewar and other Marahatta friends. It was from him that I got the information that Dr. Hedgewar was still a

bachelor and he never took to medical practice but dedicated his life, like a true Brahmachari and Karmayogin, to organising the Rashtriya-Swayamsewak Sangh and this great sacrifice had brought unto him the recognition as an All-India leader. On December 1939, Dr. Hedgewar, Dr. Aney, Dr. Saverkar came along with Veer Savarkar to join the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha at Calcutta and asked me over the phone to meet them at the Mahasabha pandal. Accordingly I met them at the Mahasabha pandal little knowing that that meeting with Dr. Hedgewar will be the last. I invited Dr. Hedgewar to my place but he promised to pay me a visit after two months when, he said, he would be coming down to Calcutta to organise the R.S.S. in Bengal. After the All-India Session of the Hindu Mahasabha in Calcutta had been over he fell ill and went for a change to Rajgir (Rajagriha). Before he could fully recuperate his health the call of duty took him away to Poona. He thought it urgent to be present at the Central Camp of the R.S.S. at Poona, where he was kept busy for a month in spite of the low condition of his health. Later on he returned to Nagpur where his condition grew worse till at last he succumbed to his illness. I would never have the good fortune of entertaining that great soul any more in this mortal life. The smiling face, the patriotic soul and the heroic heart is lost to this world. It is a national calamity, a misfortune for the whole Hindu community.

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar was born in Nagpur in the same house he lived and died, near Raja's (Bhonsla's) Kothi in 1889 A.D. He came of a cultured Brahmin family well-versed in the Vedas. At the age of six he lost both the parents on the same day. They were victims of plague. He was brought up by his elder brother Madheo Hedgewar who later on died of the same malady. They were three brothers of whom one is still living and is an erudite Vedic scholar.

Hedgewar was a student of the Neill City High School at Nagpur till 1907. At that time the Risley Circular banned the singing of the national anthem "Bande Mataram" in schools. He could not bear this and left school. He intended to appear in the National University Entrance Final Examination in Calcutta. During this time he was living with Si. Y. S. Aney at Yeotmal under the guardianship of Loknayak M. S. Aney. Later he took admission in the National Medical College, Calcutta. He was from his very early years extremely patriotic, determined, brave and sincere. In his daily dealings he was kind and sympathetic to others. One day in 1911 at Yeotmal he along with

some friends went out for a walk in the city near the Civil Lines. A European Deputy Commissioner had a bad habit of expecting salam from every Indian who happened to pass by. This Deputy Commissioner accompanied by a European Civil Surgeon and a Circle Inspector of Police was also passing by. Hedgewar was warned by his friends that the "Salamphobia" Sahib was coming and it was better to avoid him by diverting their route. Dr. Hedgewar did not pay any heed to the suggestion of his friends and sauntered on straight through the middle of the road. He was stopped on the road by the D.C. who interrogated him about his name and whereabouts and whether it was not known to him that he should meekly salam any European he should chance to meet on the road and make way for him respectfully. Hedgewar replied that he was an inhabitant of the capital city of the place where this sort of salam was unknown and hated by every self-respecting gentleman, and that his culture and education taught him equality of man and not to bow down to any one. The bold answer and courageous stand bewildered the D.C., but the Civil Surgeon and the Inspector threatened Hedgewar of consequences and advised him to apologise, but Hedgewar went away without paying any attention to that advice. He was a true devotee of Lokmanya Tilak. He followed in his foot-steps till the last day of his life. He was the real worshiper of *Sakti* and under the inspiration of *Sakti* created his famous 'Sangh' which has become the foremost Hindu Volunteer Organisation imparting military training and discipline.

Dr. Hedgewar took his inspiration from Bengal during the Partition days. After the death of Lokmanya Tilak and the Congress Session at Nagpur in 1920, Dr. Hedgewar in 1921 courted imprisonment by joining the Civil Disobedience Movement. From 1925 onward he applied himself solely to the task of organising the Hindus. His aim was Hindu solidarity and Hindu Rashtra. He did the spade work himself. Within this short period of 15 years his Sangh has achieved so much that it can now boast of 750 branches spread all over India and 1,25,000 units (Swayamsewaks).

From 1909 to 1911 while he was in Calcutta his "Shantiniketan Lodge" at Kanai Dhar Lane was frequently visited by the late Shyam Sunder Chakravarty, the late Bepin Chandra Pal and other renowned personalities. He was intimately connected with the activities of the late Moulayi Liakat Hossain, the old veteran Muslim patriot of that age. He was greatly attached to the Ramkrishna Mission for its

humanitarian work. He also worked as volunteer during the great Damodar flood and for Ganga Sagar pilgrims. He had come to be acquainted with the youths of Bengal and been attracted by their ideal.

Dr. Hedgewar died in Nagpur of high blood pressure at the age of 51 only. Just one day before his death Subhas Chandra Bose went to see him. News of his death soon spread like wild fire. In spite of heavy shower and storm a vast number of people soon collected and carried his mortal frame in a huge procession which started towards the cremation ground at 5 P.M. His funeral pyre was laid by special permission in the Reshim Bagh garden. Fire soon consumed up his mortal remains, leaving behind his glorious example to be followed by his countrymen, and his invaluable organisation, his gift to Hindudom—the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh.

The *Maharatta* of Nagpur writes under the heading, "Maharashtra in Mourning":

Dr. K. B. Hedgewar, the founder of the R. S. S., expired on Friday the 21st at Nagpur. The news spread like wild fire. Early on Thursday Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose had called on him but could not talk to him as his

condition was serious. Dr. Hedgewar's funeral procession was the most impressing procession Nagpur had ever witnessed. Inspite of heavy rains the procession had started at 5 p.m. and was attended by all the prominent citizens of Nagpur. . . . The pyre was laid by special permission on the grounds of Rashmi Bagh. Barrister Savarkar, Dr. Moonje, Loknayak Aney, M.L.A., Dr. Varadarajlu Naidu, Sanjiv Kamath, Mr. A. S. Bhide, Dr. Aney and other prominent people sent their condolence messages to the relatives of Dr. Hedgewar. Public condolence meetings were held throughout Maharashtra. . . ."

It is indeed a great blow to the fate of the entire Hindu nation that the man who understood the real meaning of Sangathan and achieved the R.S.S. should pass away so early leaving his work unfinished. . . . "Nearly a decade before the Hindu Mahasabha adopted the ideal of Hindu Rashtra, indifferently translated as Hindu Nation, the R. S. S. had adopted it. It was Dr. Hedgewar who awakened the Hindus to appreciate the common bond of Hindusthan and Hindutwa; it was he who made it a living tie to bind the young Hindu generation. . . .". Veer Savarkar, after the first shock of grief was over, exclaimed, "Dr. Hedgewar is dead—Long live Dr. Hedgewar—Long live R.S.S."

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

THE P. E. N. All-India Executive Committee passed the following resolution unanimously at its meeting held at Bombay on the 30th January last under the presidency of Srimati Sarojini Naidu, who personally seconded it : "Be it resolved that

The All-India Executive Committee of the P. E. N. hereby puts on record its sense of the loss which the P. E. N. All-India Centre has sustained, since the last meeting of the Committee, in the death of a valued member of the P. E. N., the late Shrimati Anindita Devi ("Banganari") of Puri. On behalf of the All-India Centre the Committee extends sincere sympathy to her son, Dr. Amiya Chakravarty, a member of the P. E. N. All-India Centre, as well as to his father and to his brother."

Srimati Anindita Devi generally wrote under her pen-name "Banganari." The book by which she is best known is *Agamani*. She generally wrote on the disabilities and sufferings of Indian women and the various problems relating to her sex. What she wrote bore marks of original thinking, scholarship and a keen intellect. Her writings were free from the acerbity which is a characteristic of the productions of some feminists. She was connected with many institutions which have for their object the welfare of



Srimati Anindita Devi

orphans, friendless widows and other destitute women.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

THE STATES AND DEFENCE

By B. P. SHARMA

The defence of India as a whole includes the defence of what is described as both red and yellow India. There appears to be a misunderstanding among some of the British Indians that the whole burden of defence of India is borne by the Central Government and the States are immune from the burden of defence. That is why it is being asked whether the Government of India was taking steps to have a fair burden of taxation in every part of India which gets protection.

Some of the critics of Indian States ignore the valuable part played by some of the Indian States in the defence of India. The *Hindu* of Madras in a recent editorial has discussed the problem and says that "the burden of the defence of India—British and Indian—should be distributed among all Indians, whether they reside in British India or are States subjects." The *Hindu* has rightly said that while some of the States are spending huge amounts on maintaining armies, others are enjoying protection at the cost of British India or these States.

The problem of defence of India and the responsibility of the Indian States, was visualised by Lord Curzon, who in 1904, commending the Imperial Service scheme to the Indian States wrote :

"It rests upon the unassailable proposition that the Chiefs and peoples of the Native States profit equally with the inhabitants of British India, by the protection accorded to them by the British Government, and in the last resort by British arms; that the interests of these States and of the British Government are absolutely identical; and that there is no reason in equity why the people of British India should support the whole, or at any rate, by far the greater part of a charge that is equally applicable to all."

It is no use telling the rulers of Indian States that "if Imperial Service Troops are offered and successfully maintained Your Highness can see, from the case of other Chiefs, what benefits can be expected : military rank, visit to the Court in England, the personal friendship of the King and the Royal Family, and appointments on His Majesty's personal staff;"—as was done by a Political Agent, quoted in the *Scraps of Paper*.

Col. Sir K. N. Haksar, writing in the *Twentieth Century* has rightly said that

"In all emergencies a large proportion of the troops (Imperial Service Troops) previously earmarked for that purpose, are utilised by the British Government for the defence of the Empire. The position is that the maintenance of these forces materially lightens the burden of British India under the head "Army Expenditure." . . . At present there is a glaring inconsistency that subventions are provided to the deficit Provinces while the States are left to shoulder the burden of their own defence."

As an instance of the heavy burden of defence of India shouldered by the Indian States, I would quote a specific instance—Kashmir.

The Imperial Service Troops were created in Kashmir as early as April, 1890, when a Brigade of all three arms selected men numbering 2,656 combatants and 225 non-combatants were placed at the disposal of the

Government of India, by His Highness the Maharaja, as contribution made by him towards the defence of Indian Empire. The re-organization was entrusted to two British Officers, Major Drummond and Captain

" Of all the Indian States, Kashmir occupies a peculiar position and has taken up upon itself the huge duty of the defence of a common Frontier of India. Describing the peculiar condition of the Kashmir Frontier, Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn, in his famous book *Indian States and Princes* says :

"The inception of the Imperial Service system coincided more or less with a sudden blossoming into importance of the Pamirs, and the line of Hindu Kush. . . . It was desirable that Kashmir's control over her more distant tributaries should be rather more definite and the Gilgit garrison more effective."

Writing about the utility of Kashmir troops, the same author says :

"There followed the brilliant Hunza Campaign almost on the roof of the world. Kashmir troops followed British Officers as heartily as the few British Indian sepoys available. Nilt was stormed under sensational circumstances and incredible heights climbed. The Jammu and Kashmir Army was on the map anew. . . . Then followed the astounding Chitral drama, still so well known, in which the Jammu and Kashmir Army won renown, taking part in the defence of Chitral and Kelly's famous march."

Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn admitted that "the expenses of this Frontier Army were said to be more than a fair charge in their entirety on the Kashmir revenues."

The brilliant services of the Jammu and Kashmir State Forces in the Black Mountain, Agror Valley and Tirah expeditions are too well-known. The contribution of the State during the last Great War in man power was the highest (31,000) among all Indian States. The State bore the cost of maintaining its troops sent overseas which came to Rs. 1,11,00,000, i.e., about half of the State's ordinary revenue for one year.

At the outbreak of the present war, the Maharaja of Kashmir offered his loyal help to the British Government by placing his troops at their disposal. There has been an increase in the Army Budget amounting to Rs. 20 lakhs on account of the War. The sanctioned strength of the First-Line troops in the State at present is 7,352 and the Army is maintained by the State at a huge expense of about Rs. 50 lakhs a year.

Little do the critics realise that here is the instance of a State which is spending 1/5th of its total revenue on the defence of India, a percentage which is much higher than that of British India itself. To quote the exact figures, the expense on the State Army amounted to Rs. 49,16,700 in 1938-39 out of the total estimated income of Rs. 2,50,89,500.

This can hardly be said to be a fair charge on the revenues of the State. This is a matter which should receive the serious attention of the British Government and the Indian politicians after the present war. It might be argued by some that the maintenance of the

armies by the States is a matter of their option. Sir K. N. Haksar has aptly replied to this by saying that "they cannot abolish them if they choose."

Kashmir is a glaring instance among the Indian States which is described by some British Indian politicians as "backward" in several respects. But where is the money to come from for the nation-building departments when the State is spending more than three annas in a rupee of its total revenues, on the defence of India?

In any scheme of the future Government of India, let us hope that the question of defence of India and the liability of Indian States will be settled, and the burden evenly distributed among all Indians, whether they reside in red or yellow India.

INDIAN SCIENTIFIC TERMINOLOGY

Sir,

I have read with great interest your notes on the subject of *Indian Scientific Terminology* which appeared in your September (p. 260), December, 1940 (p. 606), and in January (p. 13) and February, 1941 (p. 141) numbers. I find myself in substantial agreement with the viewpoint you have yourself represented. I write this to request you kindly to arrange to publish for the benefit of the Indian readers in general in *The Modern Review*, the substance of the articles by Principal K. S. Sastri, published in the Paush number of *Prabasi*, to which you have referred in your note on Scientific Terminology in China and Japan, on p. 14 in the January, 1941 number of *The Modern Review**.

You have referred to Marathi in more than one places in your Notes. I want to inform you that there has long existed in our Marathi Literature a class of books on scientific subjects which have profusely coined Sanskritic technical terms for the exposition of the subjects concerned. The name of the late Prof. Balaji Prabhakar Modak may particularly be mentioned in this connection as a pioneer and a reputed author of Scientific Marathi books. There has also been in existence in Maharashtra for some years past an organised body by name the *Maharashtra Shastriya Paribhasha Mandala* working under the auspices of the *Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad* (All-Maharashtra Literary Academy) and the *Mandala* has worked and published terms on a variety of scientific subjects like Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Meteorology, Anatomy, Physiology, Mathematics, etc. Special mention in this connection may also be made of the work of Dr. N. S. Sahasrabuddhe of Nagpur on Anatomical Terms. Needless to say that our current school books on scientific subjects are making a profuse use of these terms. Messrs. Oxford University Press of Bombay have recently brought out a volume on scientific terms.

I hope enough has been said above to give you at least a meagre idea that we in Maharashtra have been quite alive to the problem of Indian Scientific Terminology and have been trying in our own way to meet it.

Personally I hold not only that (1) it is necessary for Indian languages to evolve their own terminology for scientific subjects, and that (2) wholesale adoption of English terminology is unnecessary, undesirable and impracticable, but also that (3) Indian languages, at least those with historical and philological kinship, must come together and co-operate for the evolution of a common terminology for scientific and cultural subjects.

* We gave in *The Modern Review* the substance of what Principal Kshitiomohan Sen Sastri wrote in *Prabasi*.
—EDITOR, *M. R.*

I believe these are also the views of all interested in the growth and development of modern Indian languages. The views of Mr. B. N. Seal embodied in the Note you refer to in your comments do not appear to be in consonance with the views of the leaders of our thought; and I believe the Government will be well-advised to proceed in this matter very cautiously and in close compliance with the advice of popular leaders on the subject.

I am sending you herewith a copy of the proceedings of a private meeting which was held in Madras in December last; and it will give you an idea of what we, teachers of Philosophy, have been desirous of doing, in the matter of meeting the problem of terminology for the exposition and teaching of philosophical subjects. May I request you to help us in this connection. If you have the inclination and time, I shall on hearing from you write to you again to say in what concrete ways we would like you to help us.

Hoping to be excused.

Yours truly,

D. D. Vadekar,
Professor of Logic and Philosophy,
Willingdon College, Sangli.

PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE FOR INDIAN TERMINOLOGY FOR PHILOSOPHY AND PHILOSOPHICAL SCIENCES

The occasion of the Sixteenth Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress at Madras was taken by a few friends from among the Delegates of the Congress, to discuss in a private and informal meeting held at 3, Leadbeater Chambers, Theosophical Society, Adyar, on the 22nd December, 1940, the question of evolving, in the interest of the preservation of the cultural unity of India, a common inter-provincial Indian Terminology for the teaching and propagation of Philosophy and the Philosophical Sciences.

The desirability of undertaking and furthering such a work on a systematic basis was unanimously accepted by the meeting. But it was felt that it was necessary in the first instance, with a view to avoid reduplication as also to enlist a wider sympathy, support and help for the work, to collect information about and ascertain the nature and extent of such a kind of work already done whether by private individual effort or by corporate bodies. It was accordingly agreed to constitute the following persons, *viz.*,

- (1) Dr. B. L. Atreya, Hindu University, Benares
- (2) Dr. D. M. Datta, Patna College, Patna
- (3) Prof. K. C. Varadachari, Oriental Institute, Tirupati
- (4) Principal A. N. Parasuram, Minerva College, Madras, and
- (5) Prof. D. D. Vadekar, Willingdon College, Sangli, Convenor, into a Provisional Committee, and to authorise the Convener to take, in the name of the Provisional Committee, the necessary steps for the purpose and to present a report at the time of the next Session of the Philosophical Congress with a view to enable the Committee to place some suitable formal proposals before the Members of the Congress in order to further the cause that the Committee has in view.

D. D. Vadekar, Convenor.

EXAMPLES OF CULTURAL AND SPIRITUAL CONFLICT LEADING TO RENASCENCE

Dear Sir,

In your note on "Examples of Cultural and Spiritual Conflict Leading to Renascence" in the February, 1941, issue of *The Modern Review*, you say on page 136, first column : "The Punjab having been for centuries the gateway through which successive hordes of Muslim invaders entered India and being also in the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries had been all but de-Indianized and Arabo-Persianized when Swami Dayanand Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell. It was stupor, not death, which had overtaken the Land of the Five Rivers. So there was an immediate response, and Indian culture has been flourishing there again." By using the term Arabo-Persianized you further explain the word de-Indianized or, at least, you indicate the direction in which the process of de-Indianization took place. Immediately before these two terms you refer to "the immediate vicinity of Muslim countries" and the entry of "successive hordes of Muslim invaders" in the country. Your meaning is therefore clear that by de-Indianization you are referring to cultural influences which the Hindus imbibed from Islam. This is further clarified when you say that "when Swami Dayanand Saraswati rose and chanted his Vedic spell" " Indian culture has been flourishing there again." Vedic spell has exorcised Islamic spell and there is a Hindu renascence. If this is so why use the word Indian for the word Hindu? I think I know your argument. The culture of a country should reflect the life of the majority of the people of that country and as India has a vast majority of Hindu population its culture should be predominantly Hindu or to use the terminology of modern nationalism Indian. I say modern nationalism because the Nationalism as it is known in Europe and has been copied by the other continents dates from the revolutionary wars of the middle of the nineteenth century. However, that may be I have raised this point to ask you that if I have read your meaning correctly what place is to be assigned to the Mussalmans and their culture in India and things Indian. Not very long ago, that is, before you accepted the presidency of the Hindu Mahasabha, you used to argue that it was in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence that first the Mussalmans and later the Christians came into the country and that the India which was to rise out of the mingling of these influences should be a new country which should reflect the good which is contained in the newcomers and the old settlers. You were, if I understood you then correctly, arguing in favour of developing if not exactly a synthetic culture at least a cosmopolitan one which everybody could call Indian without feeling that he has adopted something which is foreign to his fundamental conceptions of life. Some such process seems to have taken shape in India before. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has in one of his books indicated pretty clearly what influences the Hindus imbibed from the Mussalmans and which of these survive to this day. As I write this letter I cannot lay my hand on this book hence I cannot quote the exact reference. But every one has a right to outgrow his earlier opinion and develop new conceptions.

I am not unaware of the fact that among certain classes of Mussalmans there has grown up an idea that cultural affinities and not geographical contiguity make a nation. Dr. Sir Mohd. Iqbal gave this notion a philosophy and today Mr. Jinnah has given it a politi-

cal content. If in the meantime Indian is to be made synonymous with Hindu even those Mussalmans who are not the followers of either Sir Mohd. Iqbal or Mr. Jinnah will find themselves in a compromising position to be called an Indian. Surely the matter requires further elucidation. It is an evasion of the issue to be told that as in America every Indian is called a Hindu irrespective of the particular religion which he may confess and all Indian Mussalmans in Islamic countries are called Hindu, the Mussalmans in India should not object to be called Indian (synonymous with Hindu) when the appellation is traced to the virtues of the Vedic spell.

Yours sincerely,
Ahmad Shafi

Editor's Note.—Mr. Ahmad Shafi has raised questions in his comments, some of them large, which cannot be discussed here in full. I shall make only a few remarks bearing on them.

What Mr. Shafi calls "your (my) argument," is *his*, not mine. I am not concerned either to repudiate or to accept or to discuss it.

Mr. Shafi's summing up of what he considers my line of argument before I accepted the presidentship of the Hindu Mahasabha for one term, is *his*, not mine. It is not necessary for me either to repudiate it or to accept responsibility for it, or even to discuss it.

By "de-Indianization" I did *not* refer to "cultural influences which the Hindus imbibed from Islam." Ever since Muslims set foot on Indian soil the Hindus and other non-Muslims have been influenced by Islam, and have influenced Mussalmans in their turn. So long as that Islamic influence did not or does not destroy or overwhelm Hindu and other non-Muslim Indian culture, it was not or is not de-Indianizing. Hindu and Indian are not synonymous words. An Indian Mussalman is and remains Indian if he believes that, not his body alone, but his mind and spirit also owe something to India, past and present. Those Indians, whether Hindu, or Christian, or Muslim, . . . who think that their minds and souls owe nothing to India or are unaware of such debt, cannot complain if they are regarded as culturally un-Indian or de-Indianized.

Those Indian Muslims who think that they are a separate nation by themselves and that their culture is an entirely separate and distinct culture, not in the least indebted to or influenced by Hindu and other Indian cultures, are culturally un-Indian by their own confession. Every culture is embodied in great part in a language and its literature. To prove that they are a separate nation with a distinct culture of their own, these Indian Muslims must show that they have a mother-tongue and a literature in it created by them, separate from those of the Hindus and brought from outside India.

As regards the last sentence in Mr. Shafi's comments, may I say that I did not raise the issue that he refers to, nor did I seek to evade it, in the way insinuated by him or in any other way?

Kemal Ata-Turk banned the Arabic script, ordered all Arabic words to be eliminated from the Turkish language, abolished the caliphate, and did many other things to de-Arabianize Turkey. Yet Turkey remains Turkey and Turks do not "find themselves in a compromising position," to use Mr. Shafi's words. Similarly, even if Indian Muslimdom ceases to be an annex to Arabia and Iran, Indian Muslims may not necessarily "find themselves in a compromising position."

FORECAST OF THE POPULATION OF BENGAL IN 1941

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L.,
Secretary, All-Bengal Census Board

RIGHTLY or wrongly the Hindus boycotted the Census of 1931, and their number, as recorded in that Census, became less than it really was; while there is evidence that the Muhammadans inflated their number. After the Krishnagore session of the Bengal Hindu Mahasabha Conference in the middle of November last, the All-Bengal Census Board was formed on non-party lines. Prominent Congressmen, like Dr. Nalinaksha Sanyal, and non-Congressmen, like Mr. Nalini Ranjan Sarker, have joined the Board. The object was to make the people census-minded; and to have correct enumeration of all. The Board made enquiries and took test censuses in a large number of places. Although the enquiries were made by different sets of persons of unequal efficiency and intelligence, and as such not strictly comparable with each other, the results are some indication of the growth of population. We give below the increase observed, Division by Division. Probably they are not inaccurate by more than 1 or 2 per cent. Still the growth of population is significant. The results are :

	Increase Per Cent
Burdwan	20
Presidency	23
Rajshahi	6
Dacca	16
Chittagong	13
Bengal	15.9

However wrong our figures for increase for the whole of Bengal may be, it will not be inaccurate by more than 1 per cent. In no decade previously there has been such an increase of population. The inter-censal increase for the several decades are given below :

Decade	Increase Per Cent
1872-1881	+ 6.7
1881-1891	+ 7.5
1891-1901	+ 7.7
1901-1911	+ 8.0

Decade	Increase Per Cent
1911-1921	+ 2.8
1921-1931	+ 7.3
1931-1941	.. + 15.9

There have been large increases in every Division excepting Rajshahi, which is a matter of great concern. The total population is about 59 millions.

Assuming that there has been a correct census in 1931; and assuming further that the growth of the Hindus and Muhammadans to be the same within the division, the proportion of the Hindus (including others) : Muhammadans is 46:54 now in 1941.

But we think the relative proportion of the Hindus to be much greater, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee has estimated that about 6 to 8 per cent of the Hindus escaped enumeration at the last Census. These Hindus have now been counted. Part of the large increase in the Presidency and the Burdwan Divisions is due to the inclusion of the "uncounted" Hindus of 1931. If Mr. N. C. Chatterjee is right, the proportion of the Muhammadans in 1931 was between 52 and 53. This time it would come down still further by 1 or 2 per cent.

Another result noticed is the increase in the urban population. Many Hindus have migrated with their families from villages to towns on account of the general insecurity of life and property in villages. In one Eastern Bengal district town, where our enquiries were comparatively more thorough, the entire increase in population is due to the migration of Hindus from villages. The sex-proportion in such towns is more normal than it was in 1931.

The Muhammadans are migrating to Assam and to Cooch Bihar and to Burma; while the trek of the Hindus, especially of the *Bhadralok* castes, is to the westward on account of the frequent communal disturbances. The Dacca district as a local centre is also attracting the Hindus; the relative proportion of Hindus there is likely to increase.



A NEW HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE :

BHARATIYA ITIHAS PARISAD

THE prospectus of the Indian History of India projected by the Bharatiya Itihas Parisad or Anjuman-i-Tarikh-i-Hind has been published on the *Vasant Panchami* (Saraswati Puja) day (February 1, 1941). The history will be a comprehensive work of 20 volumes, a tentative plan of which has been given. About a hundred scholars, both Hindu and Mohammedan, from all parts of India and Ceylon has promised their co-operation to the Parisad and more than 80 out of them have formally joined it as associate-members. A General Board of Editors has been appointed with the following as its members :

1. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, D.Litt., Chairman
2. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archeology
3. Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri
4. Dr. R. C. Majumdar
5. Prof. Md. Habib
6. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, and
7. Prof. Jay Chandra Vidyalankar, Secretary

A small foreword is attached to the prospectus explaining the scope and the method of the work and why it should be done by the Indian scholars only.

FOREWORD

A comprehensive history of India written on the co-operative plan by Indian scholars, has long been felt to be a prime necessity for the enlightenment and guidance of our nation, and the subject has been discussed privately among our research workers for many years past. The question has assumed an urgent character from the immense and daily increasing mass of newly discovered materials and ascertained facts relating to India's past, from the hands of numberless specialist workers in all the different provinces of India and published in many different languages and periodicals scattered over the country. A foreigner, however, scholarly and detached in attitude, cannot possibly know all these, nor can he keep touch with the growing volume of printed books, articles and brochures on Indian historical subjects. That work can be done only by a syndicate of Indian scholars from the different provinces, possessing the necessary linguistic equipment and access to the local periodical literature. Moreover, that intimate knowledge of the social and cultural background of India which is indispensable for the correct interpretation of our past life and the documents relating to it, can come from a native only and not from a foreigner. It is this combination of the most accurate knowledge and the most responsive sympathy of spirit that can raise history from the rank of a mere bundle of dry facts to that of a piece of "philosophy teaching by example."

The principle that our National History shall be written by our own people has, therefore, been adopted in no narrow spirit of national pride. The scope and method we have agreed to follow in this work will be clear from the letter of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Babu Rajendra Prasad (and the reply of the latter), printed as Appendix I. We seek to bring out, as far as human endeavour can bring it out, the whole truth about the

evolution of the Indian people through the recorded ages, concealing nothing, belittling nothing, but trying to understand fully the reasons why our ancestors rose in certain ages and fell in others, what contributions to the complex national life of India as it is today have been made by the different races or creeds that have made India their home and the different civilizations that have impinged upon this receptive land. We shall endeavour to paint the whole picture, the good things as well as the bad things, in our past record. We shall attempt neither a chauvinistic eulogy of our ancestors nor a "drain inspector's report" about the faults of India and the Indians

This National History, being meant for all the different provinces of India, will be published simultaneously in Hindi and English; but it is intended to have each volume published later in other Indian languages also as soon as arrangements can be made and finances provided for the purpose

APPENDIX I

Letter of Sir Jadunath Sarkar to Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the latter's reply.

A—From Sir J. Sarkar to Dr. Rajendra Prasad

C/o Alienation Office, Poona.
November, 19, 1937

Dear Babu Rajendra Prasad,

. . . It is also necessary to have a clear understanding beforehand as to how your co-adjutors interpret the term "national history"; I have not asked for your own opinion on this point because I know that a man who has shown such transparent devotion to truth all his life will agree with me in insisting on the fullest truth in the writing of history too.

National history, like every history worthy of the name and deserving to endure, must be true as regards the facts and reasonable in the interpretation of them. It will be national not in the sense that it will try to suppress or white-wash everything in our country's past that is disgraceful, but because it will admit them and at the same time point out that there were other and nobler aspects in the stages of our nation's evolution which offset the former, that a "drain inspector's report" is not the whole truth about any race.

The first duty of our national historian will be to depict all the aspects of our nation's life in the past usually ignored by foreign writers, who merely give us an unrelieved picture of bloodshed and dynastic change. Social life and thought, art and culture, will have no less importance in the history to be written by us. In addition, we should try to explain, with that sympathetic insight which only a native can possess,—or a rare foreigner like the gifted sister Nivedita,—why things happened with our ancestors as they did actually happen. In this task of appraisement of moral values in the recorded biography of a race,—the historian must be a judge, weighing out the due meed of praise or blame

even to his own progenitors. He will not suppress any defect of the national character, but add to his portraiture those higher qualities which, taken together with the former, help to constitute the entire individual. Any other method would land us in futility. सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्।

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Jadunath Sarkar

B—From Dr. Rajendra Prasad to Sir J. Sarkar

Sadakat Ashram, Patna.
November 22, 1937

My dear Sir Jadunath,

I thank you very much for your letter. . . . I entirely agree with you that no history is worth the name which suppresses or distorts facts. A historian who purposely or intentionally does so under the impression that he thereby does good to his native country really harms it in the end. Much more so in the case of a country like ours which has suffered much on account of its national defects and which must know and understand them to be able to remedy them. Therefore, the whole object is to gather together in one compendi-

ous form the latest authoritative facts relating not only to Kings and their wars but also to the growth of art, science, philosophy, as also to the general life of the people. My belief is that an inspiring history of our country can be written without distorting facts, minimising defects or suppressing truth and I wish the Academy to take up this work. . . .

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
(Sd.) Rajendra Prasad

The prospectus concludes with an appeal by Dr. Rajendra Prasad which is as follows :

Our national regeneration requires that we should have a true and accurate picture of our past history before us. Foreign scholars have attempted to write Indian history, but a nation's history is best written by its own sons and daughters and it should be a matter of humiliation for us if we depended upon foreigners for the knowledge of our own past. Fortunately we have amongst us today scholars who can write and produce an authoritative history of India and they have promised us whole-hearted co-operation. To get this work done by them we are in need of funds. I appeal to my countrymen to contribute liberally for this great national cause.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Content of Social Welfare

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru writes in *The Triveni Quarterly*:

What exactly is social welfare? The well-being of society, I take it. If so, it includes almost everything that one can think of—spiritual, cultural, political, economic, social. It covers thus the entire field of human activity and relationships. And yet, this wide and all-embracing sense is seldom applied to it, and we use the words in a far more restricted sense. The social worker, often enough, considers himself or herself as working in a field which is strictly separated from political action or economic theory. He or she will try to bring relief to suffering humanity, will fight disease and slum conditions, deal with unemployment, prostitution and the like. He may also seek to bring about some changes in the law in order to remedy present-day injustice. But he will seldom go down to the roots of the problem, for he accepts the general structure of society as it is, and seeks only to tone down its glaring injustices.

The lady who visits the slums occasionally to relieve her conscience by the performance of good and charitable deeds is a type we need not consider.

Yet, it seems to me, that all this good work is largely wasted, because it deals with the surface of the problem only.

Social evils have a history and a background, roots in our past, and intimate connections with the economic structure under which we live. Many of them are indeed the direct products of that economic system, just as many others are of religious superstition and harmful custom.

Any scientific consideration of the problem of social welfare must therefore inevitably go down to these roots and seek out the causes. It must have the courage to look deep down into the well of truth and to proclaim fearlessly what it finds there. If it avoids politics and economics, and all that goes by the name of religion, for fear of treading on dangerous ground, then it moves on the surface only and can neither command much respect, nor achieve results.

For nearly two years now I have been associated with the National Planning Committee, and the conviction has grown upon me that it is not possible to solve any major problem separately by itself; they all hang together and they depend greatly on the economic structures. To social problems, in the limited sense, this applies with equal force. Recently, the Planning Committee considered the report of their Sub-Committee, on Woman's role in Planned Economy. This Sub-Committee, more than any other, had to deal with social problems, and it tackled them in all earnestness and with great ability.

In doing so it was all the time coming up against political conditions and even more so economic aspects and religious injunctions, or just prejudices with the force of custom.

It is not easy to say which is more difficult to deal with—economic vested interests or religious vested interests. Both these series of vested interests want to maintain the *status quo* and are opponents of change. The path of the real reformer is thus a difficult one.

Inheritance, marriage, divorce are all supposed to be parts of the personal law of various communities, and this personal law is supposed to be part of religion. It is obvious that no change can be imposed from the top. It will become the duty of the Government of the day to try to educate public opinion so as to make it accept the changes proposed. It should be clearly laid down, in order to avoid suspicion, that any change of this type will only apply to a community when that community itself accepts it.

It seems to me that a uniform Civil Code for the whole of India is essential. Yet I realise that this cannot be imposed on unwilling people. It should, therefore, be made optional to begin with, and individuals and groups may voluntarily accept it and come within its scope. The State should meanwhile carry on propaganda in its favour.

One urgent need is the extension of the Civil Marriage Act to cover marriages between any two persons, to whatever religion they may belong, without any renunciation of religion as at present. This will of necessity be optional.

Another desirable step is to have records kept of all marriages. This will be useful in many ways and it will gradually make people think in terms of civil marriages. The sacramental forms of marriage should certainly continue for all who want them, but it will be desirable later to have a civil registration also which the State will recognise.

Divorce laws, especially for the Hindus, are a crying need, and so indeed are so many other changes. We want changes which apply to both men and women, we want changes also especially applicable to women who have suffered for ages past under a double burden. Let us accept the democratic principle of equal rights and equal obligations as between man and man and woman and woman, and frame our laws and social structure accordingly.

The New Ideal to Re-build the Nation

In the course of his article on the new ideal to re-build the nation in *India To-morrow* Dr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee observes :

Universities in British India owed their foundation mainly to a desire on the part of the authorities to secure the loyal services of administrators and service-holders who could keep going the complex machinery of a bureaucratic Government in an orderly and efficient manner. There was also the idea of spreading in a conquered territory, through the agency of the Universities, a system of Western education which in those days of

benevolent despotism was regarded by the rulers as a path of duty and the sure means of elevating India to what they thought to be a higher standard of life.

Universities were not established as seats of learning nor was education attempted to be organised for the highest development of Indian culture and civilization.

Nearly half a century after the establishment of the first University in India, the ideal of a teaching University where scholars might meet for the dissemination and advancement of knowledge was first formulated. But the general system of education was not even then closely linked up with those essential problems which called for early fulfilment, so that India might reach her destiny through education and regain her supremacy in the domain of culture and enlightenment as also in the social, economic and political spheres of activity.

While I shall be the last person to minimise the value and importance of the work which Indian Universities have done to advance educational progress in this country, to spread wholesome ideas among the people, to widen the outlook of millions of men, to instil in their minds fundamental ideas of progress and liberty, and to rouse the national consciousness of the citizens, I shall yet say that the time has come when a re-orientation of University education is urgently called for in order to suit the changing conditions of our country.

Our Universities should no longer continue to be regarded principally as training grounds for the professions and services.

The professions are overcrowded and recruitment to public services is now based on a variety of considerations where merit does not always play the most prominent part.

The colleges should provide at the base what has been known for generations as a sound liberal education that is catholic, expansive, free from narrowness and bigotry in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. That education should be imparted through the medium of our own languages. The acceptance of this principle may raise initial difficulties but such difficulties have been overcome in free countries and India must also face and surmount them. In Eire, the Irish language, once said to be unsuited to the needs of modern civilisation, has been introduced with success. This is of fundamental value in the true building up of national life. It is more than a mere means of communicating ideas : it is the expression of the national spirit. The other day a vigorous attack was launched on the Nazi policy of attempting to destroy the language and literature of some of the countries over which Hitler holds his sway today.

In India also, for more than a century, education imparted through the medium of a foreign language has unduly dominated its academic life.

It has now produced a class of men who are unconsciously so de-nationalised that any far-reaching proposal for the recognition of the Indian languages as the vehicle of teaching and examination up to the highest University stage is either ridiculed as impossible or branded as reactionary. But I plead earnestly for the acceptance of this fundamental principle not on account of any blind adherence to things that I claim as my own but out of a firm conviction that the fullest development of the mind of a learner is possible only by this

natural approach and also that by this process alone can there be a great revival of the glory and richness of the Indian languages.

While I plead for the due recognition of our own languages, I recognise that English should remain a compulsory second-language. . . . Provision should also be made for the study of other important languages, both Eastern and Western.

The writer is not one of those who favour University students remaining aloof from the burning questions of the day. He would not, however, like them to be engrossed in party politics.

I believe they should maintain their independence of outlook and zealously cultivate that spirit of clear and critical thinking, that free power of reasoning, which should be their main asset as they enter upon public life on the completion of their educational career. . . . Frankly speaking, occasional outbursts of youthful feelings should not worry educational administrators.

I have noticed recently a notification issued by a Provincial Government laying down severe penalties for the maintenance of discipline amongst students.

One threat held out is that such students as may come under the purview of the order will be debarred from Government service.

To my mind, threats of punitive action will defeat the very object which the authors of the order themselves allege to have in view. Besides this particular threat is an idle one. For today admission to public services is controlled by various non-academic considerations and in any case it absorbs only a fraction of University-trained youths. Again, no words can be too strong to condemn any policy of espionage which encourages secret reports of the activities of the students to be supplied by the teachers themselves. Any attempted transformation of the free and sacred temple of learning into a branch of the Intelligence Department is a sure method of destroying the soul of India's manhood.

The Illusion of Progress

According to Dr. D. G. Londhe, the widely-held belief in the continuous progress of mankind through the ages is nothing more than a sweet sentiment and does not stand a critical and searching analysis of its arguments and implications. He writes in *The Aryan Path* :

A culture is nothing if it is not individual. Oswald Spengler would even regard every culture as being as individual as a botanical organism. Every culture develops a characteristic individuality, is inimitable and unique. The technique of building Pyramids was a peculiar property of the Egyptian culture. Similarly the art of preserving mummies has ever remained a unique achievement of the Egyptians. The individuality of the Greek culture consisted in the harmonious development of body and mind in the individual, in political institutions, in literature, in arts and in architecture. The Greek culture became a model and a source of inspiration to many European nations and from time to time many a leader of a cultural movement came forward with the watchword : " Back to Hellas ! " Ancient Indian culture bore an unmistakable mark of inwardness and spirituality. At a very early stage of its historical

development, Indian thought took a psychological turn. The characteristic feature of Indian culture is Yoga. In the entire available history of human achievement we come across nothing approaching the Indian Yoga. The modern culture of Europe and of America has found its characteristic expression in the theory and the practice of electricity in all its forms. The radio and the aeroplane are its characteristic twin symbols. Electricity and the internal-combustion engine sum up the triumphs and glories of the twentieth-century science.

Now, if we try to compare the Egyptian, the Greek, the Indian and the European cultures with a view to discovering evidence of progress, we meet with an initial difficulty, *viz.*, their characteristic features and expressions are so diverse and heterogeneous that we cannot place them along one line so as to be able to say, "This particular culture marks a further stage of progress than that other one." We cannot compare pyramids with political institutions and Yoga with the radio and the aeroplane! Those enthusiasts who affirm their faith in progress must take upon themselves the responsibility of pointing out unmistakable signs of progress from one era to another. We fail to detect any such signs which compel us to recognise that every succeeding cultural era shows humanity happier and better.

Are we moderns physically better than our predecessors? No one can honestly answer this question in the affirmative.

The anthropologists find the so-called civilized men positively inferior to primitive peoples in beauty and symmetry of bodily form, in muscular strength, in power of endurance, in resistance to fatigue, in agility of movement and in speed and grace of gait.

Morally also we are not nearer perfection than our ancestors. In modern civilized society we meet with sophistication, hypocrisy and mutual distrust, in place of truthfulness, straightforwardness and candidness which were the acknowledged virtues of the ancients.

Science is neutral as regards the possibility of progress. The world which physics and astronomy picture is indifferent to human hopes, sentiments and aspirations. A belief in progress implies a rationalistic view of history. Accident plays an overwhelming part in the determination of events. Voltaire said: "King Hazard fashions three-fourths of the events in his miserable world."

Civilizations rise and fall. The course of cultures is cyclic and not linear.

The movements in history are but ripples on the surface of a timeless Reality. If we stand on the sea-shore and, from this vantage-ground of philosophy, watch the waves rolling forwards and backwards, we cannot help remarking: "Movement there is here, no doubt, but Progress in the ocean as a whole there is none!"

It was the discerning Disraeli who rightly remarked: "The European talks of progress because by the aid of a few scientific discoveries he has established a society which has mistaken comfort for civilization."

The running horse tied to a post only thinks that he is going ahead.

The Poor As World-Conquerors

In the course of his article under the above caption in *The Hindustan Review* Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarker observes:

Poverty can be no excuse for pessimism, despondency and inactivity. It is the poor that have

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conquered in the past and it is the poor that bid fair to conquer in the present. My futurism declares the prospects of world-conquests by the poor. Let me be perfectly clear and definite in my pronouncement. Bengali society and culture today are not being governed by the millionaire of the modern capitalistic bourgeoisie type, by the feudalistic zamindari aristocracy, or by the higher rungs of the administrative bureaucracy, although certain members of these groups are often in evidence through newspapers and public functions. The men and women who have conquered the hearts and heads of the Bengal people, who have been rendering Bengal and Bengali culture a world force, and by whom the Bengali people is slowly but steadily being lifted to the level of a power among the powers of mankind are the *adh-peta khawa* (half-mealer), non-income-tax-paying, poverty-stricken people, the children of clerks, peasants and artisans, born and bred in mud hovels and under leaking thatched roofs.

The Decline of the New Roman Empire

The disappearance of the whole Italian Empire in Africa seems imminent. In the course of an article under the above caption in *The Indian Review* G. A. Johnson observes :

An Italian collapse seems to be on the way, but it would be unwise to put a date to it in advance. Germany may consider that Italy will hold out until she has time to prepare and launch her diversion. The most obvious forms of diversions are : (1) A flank attack on Greece, (2) An attack on the Suez Canal, (3) An attack on Gibraltar, and (4) The invasion of Britain.

Greece might be attacked either by the shorter, but hilly, route through Yugoslavia or by way of Bulgaria and the Thracian plain. The second route gives opportunity for the use of Germany's mechanised forces and has the advantage of taking Greece in the rear. (A third form of "flank attack," persuading the Greeks to accept an armistice, has also been discussed). A march through Bulgaria, Turkey, Syria and Palestine would bring the Germans to the Suez Canal. But this ambitious programme would be resisted by the Turks and probably also by the French forces in Syria. Allowing for the difference of climate, it would seem to have all the disadvantages of Napoleon's march on Moscow. Moreover, it would have to be undertaken very quickly if it was to give relief to Italy's armies in Africa. An attack on Gibraltar might offer better prospects of a quick diversion. These plans are conditioned to some extent by the attitude of the Spanish in one case, of the Balkan States not yet at war in the others. If two or more of the plans were combined (and, perhaps, a threat to Iraq thrown in) the force of the conditioning factors would be greatly increased.

The situation in the Balkans is, as usual, complicated.

Recent and at the time of writing, still obscure, developments suggest that Rumanians may be getting tired of kissing the rod. The attitude of Bulgaria to the passage of German troops is equivocal. The Bulgarian Premier's speech which, in the summary cabled to this country, appeared to be an invitation to the Germans to march in, had an unexpectedly favourable reception in Greece. Russia continues to assert her neutrality. But it seems unlikely that she would sit idly by if her interests were threatened. But, again, what are those interests? And who can be sure that, if Germany

makes a move, Russia's interests will not have been secured by prior arrangements between them?

It would be a mistake to regard German strategical ingenuity as limited to the three forms of diversion already discussed or the fourth which will be considered later. There is, for example, the possibility of a diversion, not in Italy's interest, but of interest from Italy. The situation at Vichy may be cleared up by the time this article appears in print. Will the egregious M. Laval be restored to office? It is not, perhaps, widely known that, at the outbreak of war in 1914, M. Laval, then a Socialist, was one of the people whom the French Government had marked down for arrest for disloyal activities. If Laval gets back, will Germany get control of the French fleet and the French colonial armies? In such circumstances, the Italians might be let go their doom. France would be at least equally capable of sustaining the task of diverting British attention to the Mediterranean.

It is very doubtful whether even Laval could work a voluntary transformation of French policy on these lines. There remains : invasion.

Many people doubt whether the invasion of Britain has ever been seriously contemplated and ask whether the massing of troops and the concentration of barges in continental ports are not mere bluff. Others contend that the opportunity for invasion has passed and that the Germans know it has passed. Moreover, the influence of sea power is even more important in the North Sea and English Channel than in the Mediterranean. But it is plain that Germany's sole hope of defeating Britain lies in a successful invasion.

Both Italian difficulties, and the probability of a large increase in American aid to Britain, suggest that, if the attempt is to be made, it must be made soon.

World Order

War is not an unmixed evil. The Second European War of the twentieth century has provided men of genius at least with an opportunity for speculation about the future of human society and the world order that is to emerge from the present struggle. In the course of his article in the *Current Thought*, Dr. Monindra Mohan Moulik observes :

World order means international order, and can be achieved only through some form of international organization and collaboration in the diverse fields of human activity. The dream of a world order is nothing new in history, nor is it a speciality of the modern age. Since the dawn of political history in the world, the hope of establishing a universal conduct of life and a universal pattern of society has successively advanced and receded. Political feuds and religious conflicts have played an equally significant part in the destiny of its evolution as economic rivalries and racial jealousies. The ground gained by one generation has often been lost by another, and the world order still remains, after centuries of longing and striving, a far cry and a utopia. A universal empire such as was contemplated by the ancient Hindus and Romans, a world-church such as was sought to be established by the Papacy, a universal society based on the fabric of Roman Law such as was the ambition of Napoleon have all been frustrated by that historical process which makes political speculation such a dangerous pastime. The Roman Empire gave way to the invading hordes of the Teutonic world; the Greek

Church was separated from the Roman Church, and the Reformation intensified the ecclesiastical rupture by dividing Christians into Catholics and Protestants. Religious wars of the sixteenth century, dynastic wars of the seventeenth century and colonial wars of the eighteenth century helped only to deepen the clef which had already divided the European peoples. The humanitarian ideas of French illuminism raised once more high hopes for the advent of society untarnished by schisms, but they were again baffled by the fall of Napoleon. There was to be no *Pax Napoleonica* since the nations of Europe were already too strong and power-conscious to submit to a French hegemony. The League of Nations was established at Geneva with a magnificent ideal; the Covenant inspired hope and confidence in many but was distrusted by those few whose co-operation most mattered in the stability of an international order. Seen on the broad canvas of history, the present struggle would appear to be one for supremacy between *Pax Britannica* and *Pax Germanica*, first on the continent of Europe and then in other spheres.

If the aim of world order is peace, peace cannot be established by victory in war. Nor can it be secured by treaties, dictated or negotiated.

The dynamism of history has proved it frequently that humanity's political evolution follows its natural course, that hasty attempts to canalize it before its main direction becomes evident have sometimes resulted in disaster. A world order that aspires after securing lasting peace must be based on social justice within States and political and economic justice between States. Harmonizing the various conflicting interests that lead to war would produce a kind of stability which is the basis of lasting peace. International statesmanship will be required to think in terms of harmony and stability before it can think in terms of peace. War-weariness or exhaustion which has so often in history given the illusion of peace is not real peace. . . . The evolution of National-Socialism itself demonstrates how political ideologies transform themselves to answer the necessities of *Weltpolitik*. Formerly Socialism and Nationalism were seldom friends and never allies. The Socialist was usually an Internationalist, and the patriot, with militarist tendencies, was usually an anti-Socialist. Now Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin have shown how to combine elements of real Socialism with full-blooded Nationalism. as Walter Lippmann says: "The fascist appeal combines the emotions of patriotism with the grievances of the proletariat. Those who have been Socialists have become National-Socialists. The class-war is diverted toward international war."

Europe has been a perpetual victim of treaty, revisionism, war, and war, treaty, revisionism moving in an endless cycle. The problem, therefore, needs a new approach.

Such an approach is offered by Sir William Beveridge, one of the chief exponents of the idea of international federalism, who seems to have seized the crux of the problem when he says: "Left to herself, Germany will always produce Hitlers." So Germany must be integrated into a European system on the terms of partnership. Sir William further pleads: "Granted that dictatorships are more likely than democracies to lead to war, what leads to dictatorship? Historically, the Nazi dictatorship is the channel through which the German people have expressed their sense of economic

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suffering and national injustice. Germany may ultimately be made peaceful in accord with her own desires and not against them. She must be allowed to share the economic opportunities which in her view make peace easy for the democracies." (*The Deeper Causes of the War*, Unwin, London, 1940, p. 169). Although the type of Federation which Sir William Beveridge advocates has many attractive points for its general acceptance, it is, he concedes, meant only for Europe. World federation is for the millennium. The logical conclusion, therefore, is that the proposed Federation cannot come into force unless Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin decide to return to democracy, and Spain, Portugal and most of the Balkan States shed their autocratic forms of government. Such an anticipation, however, is anti-historic, and is more a pious wish, a learned conjecture than a possibility warranted by the political experience of Europe. Yet, the British Empire needs peace and a Federation of European States for its safety and survival.

No other country depends for its existence more on the tranquillity and general welfare of the world than England.

The British Empire contains within itself the most explosive elements of disintegration, and the reason why British foreign policy is so vitally concerned with the preservation of peace in the world may be realized from the following observations of Professor Gilbert Murray: "She (England) presents the contrast of white rulers and coloured subjects on the greatest scale. If there is a war of civilizations, if Moslem ever rises against Christian, or Hindu against either, it is inside the Empire that the explosion will take place. If a war

breaks out on the emigration question, the Empire contains to a high degree both the territories that demand emigration as a necessity of existence and the territory that will never admit immigrants. We are tied to the most disturbed of continents, Europe; to the most dangerous of oceans, the Pacific. We are interpenetrated by the most formidable of subject civilizations, Islam. We are the chief representatives of the most hotly disputed of international principles, the rule of one race of men over another." (*The Deeper Causes of the War*, p. 38).

Another familiar approach to the problem of world order is that which is represented by the declaration of President Wilson in August, 1917, while replying to the Pope as to the intentions of the belligerents : "Equal rights for all peoples, great and small, to share, on just conditions in the economic wealth of the world."

World order is a myth.

It does not exist except in the wishful thinking of political speculators and heretical humanists. It is more or less as real and as elusive as truth itself. The world order may come or may not come. There are as many good reasons for its coming as for its not coming at all.

How Far Census in Bengal is Accurate ?

Jatindra Mohan Datta writes in *Science and Culture* :

We all know what sensus is. "A census in modern times is an official enumeration of the inhabitants of a State or a country, with details of sex and age, family occupation, possession, etc.," says the *Cyclopaedia of Law*. In Bouvier's *Law Dictionary* it has been defined as "an official reckoning or enumeration of the inhabitants and wealth of a country." The plain dictionary meaning of census is "an official registration of the number of the people, the value of their estate and other general statistics of the country." (Webster). In the Indian Census Act, 1939, census has not been defined; but from the tenor of the several sections it may be taken to mean primarily an official enumeration through direct visitation of all the people with various data concerning the persons enumerated, such as religion, caste, marital condition, etc.

A census is a sort of photographic record of population group at a given moment, and resembles a periodic taking account of stock in business. The scientific importance of a census lies in large part in the fact that it furnishes the needed basis for a study of changes in the number of people through births and deaths, immigration and emigration, and of changes in their status through marriage and divorce, etc. Speaking of the utility of taking census, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th edition) says, "Census statistics are the common tools and materials of the business of Government in ways too numerous to detail; but they are equally indispensable to the direction of State policy."

Our Census is not accurate :

The British Imperialists at Whitehall want to devise a new instrument of 'Divide et Impera'; and they have not failed to manipulate the census for their own purpose. They manufacture castes and classes among the Hindus; wrongly include certain castes and classes among the Muhammadans; convert the untouchable Muhammadan Halalkhors of 1901 into Depressed Hindus of 1931; and put them as one of the Scheduled Castes under the new Government of India Act, 1935. Their main purpose is to see that there can never be unity amongst the different sections of the population, and thus sabotage the growth of the Nationalist spirit. The result is that our Censuses are not accurate pictures.

Why the Indian Census is likely to be inaccurate ?

In the special circumstances of India, particularly of Bengal about which the author can speak from personal knowledge, especially in view of the unpaid, temporary, non-official agency employed for enumeration and collecting data, the *de jure* census is less likely to record true facts, and as such will be more inaccurate. The *Supervisors* are equally unpaid, temporarily impressed non-officials. The *Charge Superintendents* in the interior of rural Bengal are the local Union Board Presidents this time. Some of them are scarcely literate; and most of them lack the zeal and public spirit necessary for correct enumeration and proper collection of data regarding the persons enumerated. Imagine such men conducting the census enumeration—the importance of which they do not realise and a thing which do not appreciate.

On A Steamship

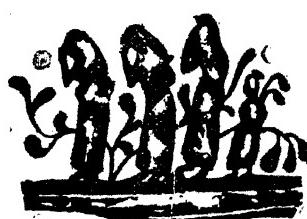
All night, without the gates of slumber lying
I listen to the joy of falling water,
And to the throbbing of an iron heart.

In ages past, men went upon the sea,
Waiting the pleasure of chainless winds;
But now the course is laid, the billows part;
Mankind has spoken : "Let the ship go there" !

I am grown haggard and forlorn, from dreams
That haunt me, of the time that is to be,
When man shall cease from wantonness and strife,
And lay his law upon the course of things.

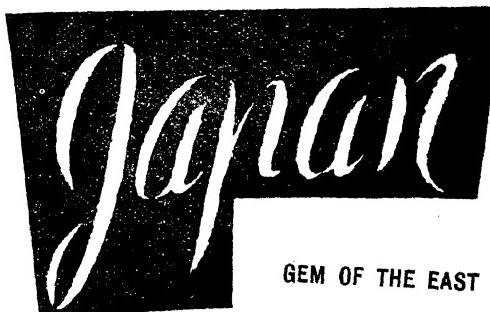
Then shall he live no more on sufferance,
An accident, the prey of powers blind;
The untamed giants of nature shall bow down
The tides, the tempest and the lightning cease
From mockery and destruction, and be turned
Unto the making of the soul of man.

UPTON SINCLAIR
in *The Scholar Annual*, 1940.





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National Defence and Scholars

Living in a war-like world, it is a paradox for any nation to shut its eyes to the problem of defence in the face of foreign aggression. Many are under the delusion that the organisation of defence is solely the concern of the soldier, this lack of interest on the part of the intelligentsia on military questions can never be conducive to the successful organisation of national defence. Edward Mead Earle in his article in the *Political Science Quarterly* stresses the need of collaboration of civilians, especially political and social scientists, in planning the national defence.

The problems of national defense have a claim upon the political and social sciences. The need of security against aggression is, as Hamilton said, "the most powerful dictator of national conduct." It involves one of the most delicate of political problems—the reconciliation of liberty and authority, the provision of the maximum degree of security with the highest degree of freedom. It is, indeed, intimately related with all other objectives of organized society; in the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, the "common defense" is significantly enough linked with the establishment of justice, the insurance of domestic tranquillity, the promotion of the general welfare, and the preservation of "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." In short, national defense is a basic function of government in a world of competitive national states; the world being as it is, perhaps it is the basic function. As one American student of government has put it: "By general consent this is the supreme consideration of every Government. At all events, no other appeal commands such widespread popular support, receives such undivided allegiance. Those who resist it are loaded with the heaviest social opprobrium and those who betray it are stamped with the highest of crimes, treason."

Nor is the organization of defense the problem of the soldier alone. Under parliamentary and representative Government, particularly as exemplified by Great Britain and the United States, the control of military affairs by civilian authority has been one of the foundation stones of the arch of freedom. This does not necessarily imply that there is any inherent conflict between two mutually antagonistic forces, civil and military. On the contrary, it is essential that there be effective collaboration between the civilian, military and naval authorities in the interest of maximum efficiency and, of co-ordinate importance, that there be adequate and intelligent military implementation of national policies.

There is ample evidence that civilians and soldiers alike have come to recognize that it is vital both to military efficiency and to national integrity that war and the costly and elaborate preparation for war shall not be reserved either to technicians alone or to civilians alone.

The organization of security and, in the event of war, the organization of victory require that there be sympathetic, intelligent and unreserved collaboration between the several groups which contribute to the total military effort. A blunt civilian Clemenceau said: "War is much too important a business to be left to the soldiers." A distinguished British officer, Sir Frederick Maurice, agreed that as war requires the employment of the whole resources and the maximum power of the nation, it is "clearly not a matter to be left to soldiers or sailors, nor would any responsible soldier desire it to be so left." The mere mention of the names Rathenau, Lloyd George and Baruch will suggest what civilian influence meant in the last war. Even in the realm of military technology, one can point to innumerable instances in which civilian contributions concerning even the employment of weapons of war—as well as their invention, development and supply—were outstanding and sometimes controlling: this was notably the case in questions involving tanks, convoys, artillery fire, machine guns and submarine detection.

What was true in the war of 1914-1918 is likely to be even more true in the present struggle. No modern war can be waged without the national effort going far beyond the boundaries of technical military efficiency into almost every realm of civilian activity. The British and American officer of today is encouraged to widen his horizons of knowledge to include an understanding of social and economic questions. There is no reason, in turn, why the civilian should not bring military affairs, which so vitally affect the nation at large and even himself as an individual, into his purview. After all, military problems do not dwell in the realm of the occult, the supra-temporal, or the recondite, for "secrecy" is largely confined to matters of *materiel*. Military problems are susceptible of analysis, criticism and practical contributions by informed laymen, and factual data upon which to base sound scholarship are generally accessible. Indeed, it is imperative that laymen, especially scholars, concern themselves with the problem of national defense, for failure to do so may be disastrous to the success of rearmament or of the war effort.

What led to Germany becoming one of the foremost military power, is not only the technical efficiency of her armed forces but also comprehensive studies of a non-technical character, which was more a responsibility of the civilians rather than of the military. Hitler's "bloodless victories" amply proves this.

The truth of the matter is that, in a democratic society, it is imperative that we have the widest possible discussion of military problems, conducted on the highest possible plane. In the absence of such discussion, we cannot formulate intelligent and practicable foreign policies or, for that matter, domestic policies. Few military decisions (such, for example, as the acquisition and fortification of bases or the choice of types of ships and aircraft) are without widespread political repercussions. Likewise, political decisions—hemispheric defense, the Monroe Doctrine, the balance of power, alliances, aid to

Britain and China—must be susceptible of military and also of economic implementation unless they are to be largely devoid of result. There must be an understanding of the impact of a vast armament program—which amounts in fact to national mobilization before Mid-day—upon the normal activities of a peaceful people : economics, education, psychology and morale, the standard of living, the social services. It must be clearly comprehended that in and of itself the financing of the military effort will have portentous effects upon capitalism and democracy. It must be kept in mind that vested economic interests within the nation do not always coincide with the national interest vis-a-vis foreign powers and that the resulting conflicts of interest must be frankly faced and intelligently and fairly resolved.

Strategy is not merely a concept of war time but an inseparable element in statecraft at all times; as such it is a legitimate and, indeed, an unavoidable concern of the social scientist. Only a narrowly restricted terminology would define strategy as the science and art of military command. If this be true, as it seems to be, then the scholar and the soldier have indispensable and mutually complementary tasks to perform. The mere appropriation of vast sums for armaments will not give assurance of effective defense. These arms must be supplemented by and related to a comprehensive national policy. And the formulation of such policy is a function of the executive and legislative branches of the Government. If they are to arrive at the desired goal, they must have clearly before them the facts upon which alternatives may be weighed and decisions arrived at. It is the function of scholarship to make the facts available and, over a period of years, to provide by education a trained personnel which will understand the essential place of military affairs in the science and operation of Government.

It must be admitted that political and social scientists have not heretofore undertaken adequate systematic inquiry into the problems of defense and strategy. An examination of contemporary textbooks on politics, economics and international relations reveals that military affairs are a conspicuous lacuna or, at best, have been treated as incidental and peripheral in character. This is not surprising, for although writers on politics, since the days of Aristotle and Plato, have given some attention to military subjects, and although Machiavelli, Sir Francis Bacon, Adam Smith, Alexander Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin, among others, have shown an acute understanding of the role of strategy in statecraft, the treatment of military affairs throughout the nineteenth century and until recently in the twentieth has been left to soldiers writing for soldiers rather than civilians writing for civilians.

The armament programme, the question of hemispheric defense, balance of power, alliances, foreign policies have far-reaching repercussions on economics, education, psychology and morale, the standard of living, etc. In fact only from effective collaboration between the civilian and the soldier can emerge a successful defence. It is imperative that military problems should have the widest possible discussion, conducted on the highest possible plain.

Military critics are few in number, and not all of them possess an adequate knowledge of history, economics, psychology and politics, nor should they be expected to possess such knowledge in a position where different skills are called for. But the avidity with which

military journalism is read is an indication of the potentialities which exist for more adequate treatises on defense, written in accordance with the canons of scholarship. The influence of the writer on military affairs may be widespread, far transcending the bounds of the casual public and reaching into high places. What is essential to the national interest is that the writing be above the transitory and the superficial.

The study of military affairs is not an emergency matter, although the emergency gives it added importance and, indeed, a character of importunity. If we now had on hand a reserve of trained scholars who had devoted any considerable portion of their lives to problems of strategy, they could be of inestimable service to the nation. Staff officers have been transferred to service with troops, and the Army War College has been closed because of the shortage of commissioned personnel in the higher ranks. There is now no group of trained personnel engaged in theoretical studies—a deficiency which expert scholars might overcome were they available in any number.

There are certain subjects which the civilian can take within his purview but which the professional officer can deal with not at all or only with the greatest reserve. Every commissioned officer is subject to severe restrictions, explicit or implied, in dealing with questions which border on the political. In time of crisis, as at present, official orders make it difficult for officers to write or speak on anything but the purely technical, military aspects of international relations and national policy. This is probably as it should be. But it would seem to be in the public interest that competent persons be free to speak with authority at all times, and particularly in times of emergency, and that they speak as individuals without official fear, favor, or bias. This the scholar can do.

This healthy state of affairs cannot be brought about, it may confidently be predicted, unless there be an entirely new approach to the problem of national defense. The professional officer is powerless to deal with the phenomenon, because, in the public eye and in the Congressional mind, he is associated with a vested interest. In times of apathy he is regarded with suspicion, in time of crisis with undue reverence. Only the scholar is capable of maintaining a continuous, objective and documented study of the problem. Experience shows that comparable results cannot be expected from the public, the politician, the Government, or even the armed services. Furthermore, only the scholar can create a vast reservoir of competence in the field. The people whom he teaches and for whom he writes today will be the voters, teachers, reserve officers and statesmen of tomorrow. No such reservoir of competence now exists, but it requires no great imagination to see, did it exist, what it would mean to the national morale, the national economy and the national security in the existing crisis. Studies now undertaken will have some influence, of course, before the present emergency is passed. But their greatest importance will be in laying sound and broad foundations for a national military policy in the longer future which will not merely be concerned with a passing crisis—however menacing and prolonged—but will be intimately related to our political ideals, geographical position, industrial resources, governmental institutions, standard of living, and long-run national objectives.

War and Pacifism

In a brief article in *The Commonwealth*, R.G.M. analyses the foundations of pacifism thus:

Briefly, pacifism has a double foundation; on one side it is personal, on the other public. On the personal side, there is a man's feeling of the part he should play in life. A man asks himself what his relation to other men ought to be, as man to man. He sees men as men, with feelings and hopes like his own. He wishes to keep on seeing them like that. But if he takes part in war he has to stop seeing men like that. "The enemy" is there to be killed or disabled, and he has to do to him all the things he does not like to have happen to himself. If his feeling of the enemy as a man like himself is very strong he cannot kill him directly with any happiness to himself, or any belief that he is doing good. So he is likely to be a pacifist on that ground. For fully effective pacifism it is a necessary ground. Not all can feel that way; they simply go with the crowd, and are peace lovers in peace time and war lovers in war time. But a pacifist has to stand on his own legs, with as much sympathy for those who can't as may be.

The other ground for pacifism is public. It is broadly that war does nothing for humanity but lead to later wars. Every war fought is traceable, historically, to some former war or wars. One war following another like that, down the ages, has bred a tradition of war, and all cultured people have been bred to worship the tradition, while all the uncultured have grown up to see it as necessary. The pacifist on public grounds sees that the first need is to break this tradition. It can only be broken by individuals refusing openly to take part in war. Such refusal may convince few, but it makes many ask questions. And all question asking is good, for in war most take the attitude, "theirs not to reason why."

A second public ground is that war is ineffective for anything fit to be done in our time. It belongs to a past that people in high places, particularly, are reluctant to grow out of, for to such it offers power and prestige and wealth. It can still prove which of two empires is the tougher, or which is willing to suffer most for empire. Perhaps it can still keep one country from dominating another, though that is doubtful. The age of Bannockburns is past, and the money lender is a subtle conqueror. Modern empire is the power to lend to backward peoples at high rates, and wars are fought for exclusive rights to do this.

Even in defending democracy, or establishing it, or founding a new social order war is useless. It solves one evil by creating a greater, as such war can never end war.

1918 gave the world's democracies as complete a military victory as possible. Why did they do so little with it? In 1913, all forward-looking peoples saw in parliamentary democracy the world's hope. By 1933, nearly all Europe was under dictators, and the world at large had lost faith in parliaments. Hitlerism was the crowning of a movement, not its origin. But why the movement?

Most who fought in the World War felt a fury of faith and hope in theoretic democracy, but years of war meant years of anti-democratic practice, in an intense form. There was a universal habit of violence and intolerance. A win-the-war atmosphere pervaded everything. In that atmosphere the spirit of democracy died. It had to die, for there was no air to keep it alive.

This happening is not new. All the great wars for democracy illustrate it. The Puritan democratic victory in 1649 was spoiled by the fact that while the Puritans

knew how to win a war they were incapable of ruling a nation. The broad result was that they and their descendants were shut out of English public life for more than 150 years.

The promise of the French Revolution was also spoilt by war, and the aspirations of the French people were diverted to Napoleon worship, which, reviving again under Napoleon III, led to 1870, which led to 1914, which led to 1939. And so it has gone on.

The Civil War in U. S. A. eighty years ago freed the slaves, but in a way to create a racial bitterness to last a century, while in the old rough-and-ready, equalitarian, democratic North it launched an unlimited dollar worship, which remained the dominant American characteristic till the Slump in 1930. And this slump, going round the world, destroyed the Weimar Republic, and made Hitler overlord of Europe.

Man and Machine

With the advancement of scientific knowledge the technique of warfare has changed immensely. With the invention of scientific machineries of destruction, individual prowess has given place to skilful handling of these machines. The following extract is reproduced from *The Inquirer*:

The whole tension of the war at the moment, perhaps the whole fate of the war, is involved not in the actions of millions of potential combatants, but in the combats that take place between a few hundred, at the most a few thousand men, using weapons of destruction. The never-ceasing air struggle taking place over this country is a struggle for the whole issue of the war. True it is that this struggle takes place upon the basis of the organisation of millions of men for warfare, but just as in ancient warfare combats were sometimes decided by picked men fighting in front of the embattled hosts, so this combat is being decided at the moment, by a few picked men. But the analogy breaks down at the machine; it is not so much individual prowess that counts, as individual prowess manipulating more or better machines.

Thus destruction staring at the face men are helpless. Their life and welfare depends upon the creation of machines and controlling them:

Thus the whole organisation of modern life ascends to this peak point (or descends to the nadir, according as to how one chooses to look at it); the whole intricate assembly of men living in community depends for its life and welfare upon the use it shall make of the machine. Two million Frenchmen are in prison, many of them held captive in their own land, marched to whatever work they do under the eyes of their captors, and, superficially at least, this state has been created by the manipulation of a few machines. Superficially, because there were whole vast processes at work in the minds and souls of men before that hideous state of affairs was created. In this world struggle, for it is in fact now a world struggle, the issue rests, not on this diplomatic move or that, not essentially on the movement of this vast body of men or that, but on the capacity of the arrayed forces to use their civilisations to create the machine, and control it when it has been created.

